This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

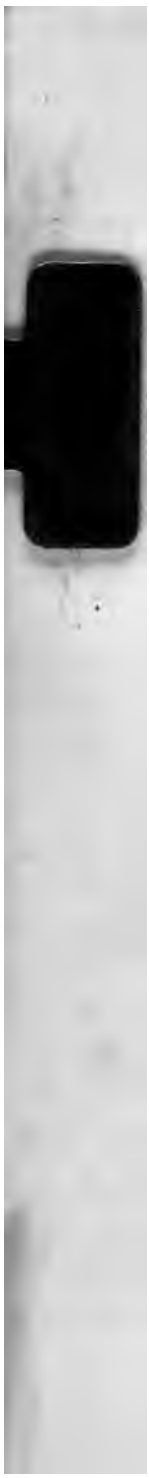
+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`



Per. 2621 cl. 53/6

Emma Willard

THE

AMERICAN

Journal of Education.

EDITED BY

HENRY BARNARD, LL.D.

VOLUME VI.

HARTFORD, F. C. BROWNELL.

LONDON: TRÜBNER & CO., 12 PATERNOSTER ROW.

1859.

ENTERED, according to Act of Congress, in the year 1838, by
HENRY BARNARD,
In the Clerk's Office of the District Court of Connecticut.

THE

American Journal of Education.

No. XVI.—MARCH, 1859.

CONTENTS.

PAGE.

PORTRAIT OF MRS. EMMA WILLARD 1

I. THE GERMAN UNIVERSITIES. From the German of Karl von Raumer 9

I. Historical 9

1. Introduction. Universities of Salerno, Bologna, and Paris 9

2. List of German Universities, with date of their foundation 10

3. The German Universities in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth centuries 11

A. Charters, or Letters of Foundation 11

B. The Pope and the Universities 12

C. The Emperor and the Universities 16

D. Organization of the earliest German Universities 17

a. The Four Nations. Four Faculties. Rector. Chancellor. Endowments .. 18

b. The Four Faculties 20

1. Faculty of Arts 20

2. Faculty of Theology 21

3. Faculty of Canon and Civil Law 24

4. Faculty of Medicine 26

c. Customs and Discipline 27

4. University of Wittenberg and its relations to the earlier Universities 30

5. History of the Customs of the Universities in the Seventeenth Century 37

A. The Deposition 42

B. Pennalism 52

APPENDIX. I. Bull of Pius II., creating university of Ingoldstadt 52

II. List of Lectures in the Faculty of Arts in 1366 54

VIII. Address of Prof. Heyder, at Jena, in 1607 56

IX. Synonyms of "*Beanus*" 58

X. Meyfart's "*Aretinus*" or Student Life in the 16th Century 59

XI. Grant of Privileges by Leopold I. to the University of Halle 61

II. SAMUEL PHILLIPS, JR., and Phillips Academy at Andover, Mass 66

Memoir 66

List of Benefactions to Phillips Academy 72

Act of Incorporation 73

III. JOHN PHILLIPS AND PHILLIPS ACADEMY at Exeter, New Hampshire 75

Memoir 75

Establishment of Phillips Academy at Exeter, N. H 77

Endowment 78

IV. HISTORY OF COMMON SCHOOLS IN THE STATE OF OHIO. By William T. Coggeshall. 81

Ordinance of 1785 and of 1787 81

Provision in first Constitution of Ohio 82

Bill for establishing a System, introduced by Ephraim Cutler, in 1819 82

Message of Governor Worthington, in 1817 82

Nathan Guilford, and his Almanac, in 1821 83

School Commissioners in 1822 83

Mr. Guilford's Letter and Report on Free Schools in 1823 83

School Law of 1825 85

Progress of state taxation for schools 85

College of Teachers, organized in 1831 85

State Convention in 1836 85

Return respecting condition of the schools required in 1836 86

Appointment of State Superintendent in 1837 86

PAGE.

The Ohio School Director in 1838 87
The Pestalozzian in 1839 88
The Common School Advocate in 1840 89
Secretary of State declared Superintendent in 1840 89
Annual Reports of Samuel Galloway 89
First Teachers' Institute in 1845 90
Dr. A. D. Lord's School Journal 90
Western School Journal 91
Formation of State Teachers' Association in 1847 91
Report of M. T. Cowdery, in 1848, on Institutes 92
Report on Union Schools 93
Legislation of 1848-9 95
Dr. Lord's Journal of Education and Western School Friend in 1850 95
School Fund augmented 96
Lorin Andrews appointed Agent of Teachers' Association in 1851 96
Constitutional Convention of 1851 97
Report of Mr. Andrews 99
The Ohio Teacher 100
Ohio Journal of Education in 1852 100
School Law of 1853 101

V. SETH J. NORTH, AND THE STATE NORMAL SCHOOL OF CONNECTICUT 104
Portrait 104
Memoir 104
Donation of $6,000 to State Normal School 105

VI. THOMAS H. BURROWES, AND THE SCHOOL SYSTEM OF PENNSYLVANIA 107
Portrait 107
Memoir 107
First connection with public schools in 1836 110
Constitutional provision of 1780 111
Law of 1809 111
Law of 1824 111
Law of 1834 111
First Report of Mr. Burrowes in Feb. 1836 113
Amendments proposed and adopted 113
Professional training of teachers proposed 115
Revision of school law in 1836 116
Second Report in 1837 117
Difficulties peculiar to Pennsylvania 118
Results of the system 120
Plans for the Improvement of the System 121
Supply of good teachers 121
Schools for teachers proposed 129
Influence of state donations to Academies 124

VII. MRS. EMMA WILLARD, AND FEMALE EDUCATION 125
Portrait 125
Education and training for her life-work 126
First experience in teaching District Schools 130
Westfield (Mass.) Academy—Boarding School at Middletown, (Vt.) 134
Aims in teaching 134
Letter to Gov. De Witt Clinton, in 1818 136
Plan for Improving Female Education 137
1. Defects to be remedied 138
2. Principles to be regarded 139
3. Plan of a Seminary 140
4. Benefits 141
Legislative experiences—removal to Troy 142
Gov. Clinton's message in 1820 143
Memorial to the Legislature in 1821 144
The Troy Seminary 145
Study of the Mathematics in female education 146
Geography and History 149

PAGE.
Time maps 150
Training of teachers at the Troy Seminary 155
Visit to Europe—Female education in Greece 157
Letter to the Willard Association 158
Religious teaching 159
Treatise on the Motive Powers and Circulation 160
Work among Common Schools 160
List of Publications 168
VIII. PESTALOZZI'S EDUCATIONAL PRINCIPLES 169
Evening Hour of a Hermit 169
IX. THE TRUE ORDER OF STUDIES. By Rev. Thomas Hill, Waltham, Mass. 180
Mathematics, Physics, History, Psychology, and Theology 182
Tabular view of the studies in a liberal education, from the age of 5 to 22 years 188
X. JOHANN GOTTFRIED HERDER. By Karl von Raumer 195
Education, &c 195
Early ideal of Christian Training 197
Plan of a School 197
Experience in France 198
Views of Voltaire, Rousseau, and Basedow 199
Opposition to the "Gallomania" of the day 201
Teachers' Seminary in Weimar 202
Advice to preachers to become teachers 203
Plan of studies for a young theologian 204
Report on the education of young clergymen at the University 204
Addresses before the Weimar Gymnasium 205
Views on Physical Education, the Fine Arts, &c 206
XI. JOHN LOCKE, AND HIS PEDAGOGY. By Karl von Raumer 209
Memoir 209
Locke's pedagogy 209
Definition of Education 210
1. Physical training. Health 211
2. Mental training 212
3. Punishment and Rewards 212
4. Precepts to be few 213
5. Manners 213
6. Advantages of Home Education 213
7. Pardonable and punishable faults 214
8. Requisites of a good private tutor 215
9. Parental familiarity 216
10. Ambition and covetousness of children 216
11. Whining and crying 217
12. Timidity and Foolhardiness 217
13. Kindness to Animals and to inferiors 217
14. Curiosity, Idleness, Carelessness 217
15. Playthings 217
16. Lying 217
17. Fear of God 218
18. Practical Common Sense 218
19. Courtesy and politeness 218
20. Learning 218
21. Reading 219
22. Study of Latin. Latin Poetry 220
23. Manual Labor 221
24. Book-keeping and mercantile forms 222
25. Travel 222
26. Education must be varied according to circumstances 222
XII. STEPHEN VAN RENSSELAER, NEW YORK. By D. D. Barnard 223
Portrait 223
Memoir 224
Commission to explore route of Western Canal 226
Regent and Chancellor of State University 231

PAGE.

Board of Agriculture 232
Geological surveys 232
Rensselaer Institute incorporated in 1826 234
Private charities 236
Graduates of Rensselaer Institute 238
XIII. BRITISH MUSEUM OF PRACTICAL GEOLOGY, AT LONDON 239
Origin of 239
Description and educational uses 241
Services of Sir Henry De la Beche 239
Government School of Mines 245
Mining Record Office 244
Parliamentary appropriations to 246
XIV. JOHANN GEORG HAMANN. By Karl von Raumer 247
Early Education 247
Experience as a Teacher 248
Exalted views of the teacher's office 251
Pedagogical thoughts 257
XV. FRIEDRICH AUGUST WOLF 260
Memoir 260
Professor of Pedagogy 261
Philological Seminary at Halle 262
Prolegomena 279
Concilia, and pedagogical views 289
XVI. SYSTEM OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION IN THE KINGDOM OF BAVARIA 273
Territorial Extent, Population, Religion, Races, &c 273
System of Public Instruction 274
I. Common, or Primary Schools 274
I. Historical Progress 274
II. General Outline, &c 276
School attendance 277
Obligation of communes, parents, &c 277
Qualification of teachers 281
III. Number and character of schools 282
IV. Internal organization 284
Number of classes 285
Course of instruction 284
Industrial element 286
Discipline 287
V. Condition of the Teachers 288
School Apprentices 289
Teachers' Seminaries 289
Appointment and dismissal of Teachers 290
Compensation and pensions 291
Female teachers 292
XVII. STATE OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION IN FRANCE 293
I. Primary Schools 293
The Brothers of Christian Teaching 293
II. Secondary instruction 294
Meaning of *Academy* in French system 294
Lycées 294
III. Superior instruction 296
The Faculties of *Letters, Sciences, &c* 296
University of France 296
College de France, and the Institut 296
XVIII. WILBUR FISK 297
Portrait 297
Memoir 297
Letter of Dr. Cook, of Lawrence University 310
XIX. STATISTICS OF CRIME, PAUPERISM, LUNACY, AND EDUCATION IN GREAT BRITAIN .. 311
INDEX to Names and Subjects in Number 16 316

I. THE GERMAN UNIVERSITIES.

(Translated from the German of Karl von Raumer for this Journal.)

I. Introduction.

The foundation of the earliest German universities took place at a time when both Italy and France had long possessed them. Tacitus' saying of the youth of Germany, "*Sera juvenum pubertas*," is equally applicable to the development of her intellect.

Among the oldest universities of the middle ages,* we may here remark upon three—Salerno, Bologna, and Paris.

The school of Salerno was an extremely ancient school of medicine; a sort of isolated medical faculty, which had no special influence upon subsequent universities.

At the University of Bologna, law was the leading study. The origin of the university is obscure. At the diet of Roncaglia, in 1158, it received from Frederic Barbarossa a grant of privileges which has often been referred to on occasion of the issue of charters to later German universities.†

The organization of the University of Bologna was materially different from that of all the later German universities. This appears from the fact, that in it only the foreign students (*advenæ forenses*) had at Bologna, complete rights of membership. They chose the rector, and their assembly, summoned by the rector, was the proper university. In this assembly the teachers and professors had no voice, but were wholly dependent upon the rector and the university.‡ This single fact shows clearly enough, that Bologna was not the model of the German universities. Paris served in that capacity, especially for the earliest; such as Prague, Vienna, Heidelberg, &c.

The University of Paris differed from that of Bologna chiefly in that theology was its prominent study,§ and also in respect to its organization. At Paris, the authority was exclusively in the hands of the teachers, the scholars having no part whatever in it. As a rule, only actual professional instructors could be members of the governing assembly, and other graduates only on extraordinary occasions.

---

* The following brief sketch I gather chiefly from the clear and thorough account of Savigny. (*History of the Roman Jurisprudence in the Middle Ages*, vol. ii. 2d ed. 1834.)

† Compare, further on, the charters of Archduke Rudolph and of Albert of Austria, to the University of Vienna.

‡ For later extensions and changes in the university, see Savigny, l. c.

§ In Paris, however, only the canon law, proceeding from the Church, could be read,—not the civil law; and this prohibition was not removed until 1679.

Both teachers and scholars were divided into four nations: French, English or German, Picard, and Norman. Each nation had a procurator at its head; as their subsequent derivatives, the four faculties, had each a dean.

The rector was chosen only from the faculty of arts (of philosophy), and, indeed, only from masters in that faculty.

To the university belonged colleges, some of which were foundations for the poor, and others pension (boarding) institutions for those in good circumstances. One of these colleges was the Sorbonne, founded in the year 1250.

In discussing the German universities, especially the oldest, we shall repeatedly refer to the organization of the University of Paris. We have no complete body of statutes of this university, but can arrive at a near approximation to them, from various sources. For some of the German university statutes, as for instance those of Vienna, repeatedly declare that they wholly follow the organization of the Paris university; so that we may consider them, in substance at least, as representing those which formed there, in fact if not in statutory form, a common law.

II. List of the German Universities in the Order of their Foundation.

The universities of Germany were founded in the following order:

a. In the 14th Century.

1. Prague, 1348.
2. Vienna, 1365.
3. Heidelberg, 1386.
4. Cologne, 1388.
5. Erfurt, 1392.

b. In the 15th Century.

6. Leipzig, 1409.
7. Rostock, 1419.
8. Greifswald, 1456.
9. Freiburg, 1457.
10. Ingolstadt, 1472; transferred to Landshut in 1802, and in 1826 to Munich.
11. Tübingen, 1477.
12. Mentz, 1477.

c. In the 16th Century.

13. Wittenberg, 1502; removed to Halle in 1817.
14. Frankfurt, 1506; removed to Breslau in 1811.
15. Marburg, 1527.
16. Königsberg, 1544.
17. Dillingen, 1549.
18. Jena, 1558.
19. Helmstädt, 1576; dissolved 1809.
20. Altorf, 1578; dissolved.
21. Olmütz, 1581.
22. Wurzburg, 1582.
23. Grätz, 1586.

d. In the 17th Century.

24. Giessen, 1607.
25. Paderborn, 1615.
26. Rinteln, 1621; dissolved in 1809.
27. Salzburg, 1623.
28. Osnabrück, 1630.
29. Linz, 1636.
30. Bamberg, 1638.
31. Herborn, 1654.
32. Duisburg, 1655; dissolved.
33. Kiel, 1665.
34. Inspruck, 1672.
35. Halle, 1694.

e. In the 18th Century.

36. Breslau, 1702.
37. Göttingen, 1737.
38. Erlangen, 1743.

f. In the 19th Century.

39. Berlin, 1809.
40. Bonn, 1818.
41. Munich, 1826.

III. The German Universities of the 14th and 15th Centuries.

A.—CHARTERS.

The origin of the universities of Bologna and Paris is uncertain, as is that of the two English universities of Oxford and Cambridge.

The origin of every German university, however, is known. German princes, either temporal or spiritual, founded them, except a few, such as Erfurt, Altorf, Strasburg, and Cologne, which were founded by honored town magistrates. The memory of these founders has been acknowledged by naming the universities after them.*

That such a grateful memory is well deserved, appears from the charters which they gave to the universities; which show clearly the sincere benevolence, and noble princely conscientiousness, with which they cared for the temporal and eternal well-being of their subjects, as well as their real respect for learning, and recognition of its value to men.

These characteristics are to be discovered even in the decree issued by the Emperor Frederic Barbarossa at the Diet of Roncaglia, A. D. 1158, in favor of the teachers and students of Bologna; and which has furnished a precedent for many charters given to universities by later princes. In this decree the emperor promises his protection to the students and professors during their journeys to and from the university city, and their sojourn there. "For," he says, "we hold it proper, if all those who do well deserve in all ways our approbation and protection, that we should protect with special affection against all injury, those through whose learning the whole earth will become enlightened, and our subjects will learn to be obedient to God, and to us, his servant." For, the decree continues, who will not sympathize with those who, when they have left their native land and exposed themselves to poverty and peril for the love of learning, often suffer misuse from the vilest of men, without reason? And the emperor threatens all, even the authorities, with fines and other penalties, if they shall disobey the decree.

From all the charters of foundation of the German universities, from the most ancient time down to the present, it would be difficult to select one better than another by way of example. All of them, so far as I know, display the same noble benevolence.

Archduke Rudolph IV. of Austria, in his charter† to the University of Vienna, founded by him in 1365, declares, "that as God has placed

* As, Albertina, Julia, Ruperta, &c. Sometimes a university has a double name: for the founder and for a restorer or some important benefactor. Thus, the University of Erlangen is named Frederico-Alexandrina, from the first founder, Margrave Frederic, and the restorer, Margrave Frederic Alexander.

† Schlikenrieder, 10.

him in authority over important territories, he owes thanks to him, and all benefits to his people. A profound obligation, therefore, rests upon him, to make such ordinances in the territory under his government, as shall cause the grace of the Creator to be praised, the true faith to be spread abroad, the simple instructed, the justice of the law maintained, the human understanding enlightened, the public good promoted, and the hearts of men prepared to be illuminated by the Holy Ghost. And if the darkness of ignorance and of error were dispelled, then would men, applying themselves to divine wisdom, which enters into no wicked soul, bring forth from their treasuries things new and old, and bear much fruit on earth. In order, therefore, to do something, though but a little, in token of gratitude to God, and to his honor and praise, and for the benefit of the human race, he has determined, upon ripe consideration, to found in his city of Vienna a university (*studium generale*)." In this university, continues the decree, shall be read, taught, and studied, that sacred science which we call theology, the natural, moral, and polite arts and sciences, canon and civil law, medicine, and other approved studies.

Similar terms are used by Rudolph's brother in the charter which he granted to the University of Vienna in 1387.* It is his sense of Christian obligation that causes him, in return for the princely station intrusted to him by God, to thank the Giver, and to exercise conscientious care for the temporal and eternal good of his subjects; and the university lies near his heart, because these good objects will be promoted by it.

Duke Ludwig of Bavaria expresses similar sentiments in the charter of foundation of the University of Ingolstadt, granted by him in the year 1472.† Among the blessings, he says, which the grace of God permits to men in this transitory world, learning is of the first. For by it the way to a good and holy life is taught, the human reason enlightened in right knowledge, and trained to good habits and morals, the Christian faith promoted, and justice and the common good established. "And as," he continues, "we are mindful that the divine mercy has for a long time maintained our predecessors and ourselves in princely honor and glory, and has in a sensible manner guided our people and our kingdom, we recognize it as our duty to give thanks for this goodness, and to exert our earnest and assiduous industry that learning shall be instilled into men's minds, that their senses and reason may be enlightened, the Christian faith extended, and justice, good morals, and good conduct promoted. And, therefore, to the praise of

* Schlikenrieder, 93. † Mederer, iv. 42.

Almighty God, the strengthening of Christendom, the good of all believing men, the common profit, and the promotion of justice, we have founded a university in our city of Ingolstadt."

Five years later, in the charter of foundation of the University of Tübingen, in 1477, Count Eberhard* says that "he has often had it under consideration how he might best set about undertaking some enterprise well pleasing to the Creator, and useful for the common good and for his own subjects. He had arrived at the conclusion that he could begin nothing better and more pleasing to the eternal God, than to prepare means for the instruction of good and well-intentioned youths in the liberal arts, and in learning, so that they may be enabled to recognize, fear, and obey God. In this good belief, he has determined to found a school for human and divine learning."

Many like examples of the God-fearing spirit of the German princes, temporal and spiritual, could be adduced, testifying to their pure and noble objects in founding universities. In reading these testimonies, the belief is necessary, that God's blessing must rest upon institutions so evidently founded for his glory and the benefit of men.

And that these pious expressions were not mere empty or hypocritical ones, not corresponding with the truth, appears from the many proofs of real love which the princes have bestowed on the universities, as well at their first foundation as in succeeding times; such as gifts, immunities, protections, honors, &c.†

As peace and quiet are necessary to students, Duke Rudolph of Austria gave to the University of Vienna a large and retired tract of land, with all its houses, gardens, &c. He promised to all its teachers and scholars coming thither, and to their servants and goods, his safe conduct, which they were to obtain from the authorities whenever they should enter his territories; and the same promise was made for their return. If they suffer any damage, it is to be made good to them. Neither are they to pay any toll for their property or goods.‡ All the officers of the university, even including the beadles, he freed from all assessments and imposts. To these prerogatives Rudolph added this: that members of the university, even in criminal cases, should be almost or quite altogether under the jurisdiction of the Rector's Court.

---

* Klüpfel, p. 2.

† It is not my design to give full accounts of the endowments, immunities, &c., of single universities, particularly as Meiners, Dieterici, Koch, &c., have written upon them. I shall cite only a few items in relation to them, especially such as have most connection with the intellectual history of these institutions.

‡ "And if any one shall presume to receive any toll or custom for passing such goods, let him know that he shall incur our heavy indignation."

The endowments of the different universities were derived not from the single source of gifts by the princes who founded them—each university has a financial history of its own. The Popes,* in particular, gave much assistance to them, by granting them various sorts of income from the property of the Church—benefices, tithes, &c. After the Reformation, the property of many convents was given to the universities; and at the dissolution of the Society of Jesuits, in 1773, their estates were distributed, even to Catholic universities.†

B.—THE POPE AND THE GERMAN UNIVERSITIES.

In early times, when the German princes desired to found a university, they commonly made previous application to the Pope, to issue a bull for granting the foundation and its privileges. Thus, Clement VI., in 1347, issued a bull for founding the University of Prague; Urban V., in 1365, for that of Vienna; Alexander V., in 1409, for that of Leipzig; Pius II., in 1459, for that of Ingolstadt. In like manner, in 1389, Urban VI. granted to the city of Erfurt permission to found a university.

The contents of these bulls were in substance always the same. The Pope, as head of all the faithful, declared it his duty to do all in his power to promote the prosperity of learning, by which the glory of God is spread abroad, and the true faith, law and justice, and human happiness, are promoted. Therefore he willingly authorizes the foundation of a university (*studium generale*), as prayed for, and grants it all the privileges of universities already existing, which are commonly cited by name. In particular, he grants to the four faculties the right to teach, and to promote the scholars, according to rule, by gradations, to be bachelors, licentiates, and masters; and he authorizes those so promoted to teach everywhere. It was this permission especially, which, according to the early doctrine, the Pope only could grant, as standing at the head of all Christendom. From this circumstance also, it may be, the name *studium generale* is derived; not from the fact that the institution includes all four of the faculties, but because the graduates of a university founded by the Pope, were recognized as such by all the Christian universities of Europe, and so had the privilege of teaching everywhere.‡

---

* See Meiners, *History of Universities*, &c., 2, 8, &c.

† That of Prague, for instance. Tomek, *History of the University of Prague*, 340.

‡ Urban V., in his bull of 1365, constituted the University of Vienna of three faculties, but without a theological one. This omission was supplied by Urban VI., by his bull of 1384, in which he granted the request of Duke Albert: "We have deigned, out of our apostolical benignity, to grant that in the same university lectures on sacred theology may be publicly read, and that the honors and degrees of bachelor, licentiate, and master, in the said theology, may

The bull usually complimented the city in which the university was to be established. Thus, Ingolstadt is praised for its pure air, and its abundance of the necessaries of life; and it is observed that there is no other university within a circuit of a hundred and fifty Italian miles. Frankfurt, in like manner, is praised for its healthy air, its wealth in the means of life, and its abundance of proper lodgings for students; and Leipzig, not only for the productiveness of its vicinity and its favorable climate, but because the citizens are polite and of good morals.*

The Pope's bull designated some high ecclesiastic as chancellor of the university, one of whose duties was to be, to see that degrees were orderly conferred. At Prague, for instance, the Archbishop of Prague was made chancellor; at Vienna, the Provost of the Church of All Saints; at Frankfurt, the Bishop of Leubus, &c.†

C.—THE EMPERORS AND THE UNIVERSITIES.

According to what has been said, the Pope's bull sufficed to give the university standing and currency in the religious world; but the inquiry remains, whether they did not need a grant of privileges also from the emperor, who was also King of Rome? Charles IV. authorized, as King of Rome, the charter of foundation which he had given to the University of Prague the year before (1348), as King of Bohemia;‡ but no imperial grant is mentioned as having accompanied the Papal one at the foundation of those of Vienna, Heidelberg, Cologne, Erfurt, Leipzig, and Ingolstadt.§

It was only from the time of Maximilian I. that the emperors seem to have treated the founding and assistance of universities as an official privilege of their own, which they were bound in conscience to assume. That emperor, in 1495, at the Diet of Worms, even made

---

be conferred in order as is accustomed to be done in the universities of Bologna or Paris, or Cambridge or Oxford. . . . And we have further ordained that, in the said town there shall be a university (*studium generale*) in theology." The theological teachers are to possess the same privileges as in Bologna and Paris; especially that of orderly creating bachelors, licentiates, and masters; who being so promoted, shall thereafter, "without any other examination or approbation, have full and free authority to govern and to teach, as well in the aforesaid town as in any other universities whatever, in which they may choose."

* Gretschel. The University of Leipzig, p. 18.

† As an example of the bulls for founding universities, I have inserted (Appendix I.) the bull of Pius II., of 1459, for the foundation of the University of Ingolstadt, already mentioned. The oath contained in it to be taken by each scholar, of faithfulness and obedience to the Pope, is worthy of attention.

‡ Tomek, 4.

§ I found no imperial grant for Vienna in Schlikenrieder's *Chronologia Diplomatica*. May the reason have been Duke Rudolph's enmity to his father-in-law, Charles IV.? But Mederer's very full *Annales* give no imperial charter for Ingolstadt; and as to Leipzig, Gretschel remarks (p. 18) that this university never received any imperial confirmation. Neither does Motschmann give any for Erfurt.

the proposition that each elector should found a university in his own territories; which proposal may, perhaps, have occasioned the establishment of the universities of Wittenberg and Frankfurt.

All those universities founded after Maximilian's time, down to the end of the German Empire, were required to have an imperial grant; as Halle, in 1693, Göttingen, in 1737. The last Protestant university founded by the emperor, was Erlangen, in 1743. But what was the relation between the imperial and papal grants? Did the emperor define the temporal, and the Pope the spiritual, privileges of the institution, and was the Pope's authorization required before that of the emperor? These questions would be difficult to answer.

The Emperor Maximilian, in 1502, granted a charter for founding the University of Wittenberg. In this he declares himself bound, as emperor, to care for the promotion of learning in his realm. He grants the request of the Elector Frederick, for the foundation of a university* at Wittenberg, and the appointment of teachers in the four faculties. He grants further, the power of creating, after a fair and strict examination, bachelors, masters, licentiates, and doctors in all the faculties; who may thereafter possess all the rights and privileges which the doctors of the universities of Bologna, Paris, and Leipzig possess, in all places and countries of the Roman Empire, and in all other places.† And he also grants to the university the privilege of making its own statutes and choosing its own rector.

This imperial grant was recognized by Cardinal Raymundus, and, at the request of the elector, authorized; the latter hoping, says the cardinal, that the university will truly prosper, having, besides the imperial foundation, the light of the apostolical splendor. Thus the Pope, in this case, assumes a place subordinate to the emperor, and the latter grants privileges before only proceeding from the former. A doubt, however, remained, although the cardinal had confirmed the establishment by Maximilian of the four faculties, whether valid degrees could be given in theology and canon law without special authority from the Pope; for which reason he expressly adds this authority supplementary.

Maximilian I., in the year 1500, granted a charter for the foundation of the University of Frankfurt, which corresponds in substance with that of Wittenberg, and which, like it, makes no mention of a papal bull. Pope Julius II. issued such a bull in the year 1506, and

---

* "*Studium generale sive universitatem aut gymnasium.*"

† "*In omnibus locis et terris R. Imperii et ubique terrarum.*" And in the imperial charter to the University of Frankfurt it is provided that those having degrees, "shall have license in whatever other universities, without further examination, to read, teach, and do all other things which the masters and doctors of any other universities may do."—*Beemann*, 10.

confirmed it by another the next year; and in both of these, he in his turn makes no reference whatever to the imperial charter, and provides for every thing as if no such thing existed.*

While the subsequnt founders of Protestant universities (of which Marburg was the earliest) naturally did not apply for papal bulls, still the Catholic emperors from time to time made grants to such universities. Thus, Charles V. did so in 1541, for Marburg; Ferdinand I., in 1557, for Jena; Maximilian II., in 1575, for Helmstadt; Ferdinand II., in 1620, for Rinteln; Leopold I., in 1693, for Halle; Charles VI., in 1737, for Göttingen; and Charles VII., in 1743, for Erlangen.

These grants were all similar in substance and in part word for word. But in the later ones, the rector or pro-rector, for the time being, of the university, at Erlangen the pro-chancellor, is granted the countship of the Holy Lateran Palace, and of the Court of Cæsar (count palatineship).† As such count palatine (pfalzgraf), he possessed singular privileges,—might appoint notaries; might appoint and displace guardians and curators; restore their honor to the infamous; legitimate illegitimate children of all kinds,‡ and create poets-laureate. These latter might freely read, write, and dispute upon the art (*scientia*) of poetry, in all countries of the Roman Empire, and everywhere; and in all places might enjoy the privileges, honors, &c., of poets-laureate.§

One circumstance relating to the University of Königsberg deserves special notice. Although Margrave Albert, in 1544, granted it a charter of foundation wholly Protestant in character, yet he, together with Sabinus, first rector of the university, applied to Cardinal Bembo,

---

* Whole portions are transferred word for word from the imperial charter to the papal bulls. An expression in the second bull seems to explain the matter. Julius II. mentions that his predecessor, Alexander VI., had already in the sixth year of his pontificate (1498), granted permission to the Elector John to found a university; which was two years before Maximilian's charter. The latter, it would seem, referred to the papal grant only in this, that he appointed as chancellor the Bishop of Leubus, whom Alexander VI. had probably designated for that office, and whom Julius definitely appoints, without any reference to the imperial charter. For a specimen of the imperial charters, see Appendix II.

† So the protector at Halle and Gottingen. Ferdinand II., in 1623, granted the count palatineship to the faculty of jurisprudence in Ingoldstadt. This university, he says, "is the palæstra where we remember with kindly affection that our own youth was educated." For further information on this countship, see Dufresne, *sub voc.*, *Comes palatinus* and *Comitiva*.

‡ The charter to Halle (Koch, i., 458), and that to Göttingen (Gesner, 6), enumerate "*naturales, bastardi, spurii, manserœ, nothi, incestuosi.*"

§ Hedwig Zaunemannin, of Erfurt, composed a poem for the dedication of the University of Göttingen, ending with the lines:

"Long may live this Muse's home;
And prosperous it shall remain,
Until the universe shall fall with crash and flame."

And upon this it is remarked—"This most noble virgin, for this and other most elaborate monuments of her talents, deserved to receive the poetic laurel from the university."

with the request that the Pope, for the certification of the university, would issue a bull granting it the right of conferring degrees in course. Bembo answered that the Pope would do so as soon as a copy of the imperial confirmation should be laid before him; as Königsberg was under the emperor's protection, if not actually under his authority. As the emperor, however, granted no confirmation, no bull was issued, and Albert found himself under the necessity of applying to King Sigismund, of Poland, for a confirmation. He accordingly issued one, in 1556, giving the university all and every the academical privileges,—jurisdiction, right of making its own statutes, right of conferring degrees in course, &c.; and all the privileges possessed by his own University of Cracow.*

D.—ORGANIZATION OF THE FIRST GERMAN UNIVERSITIES.

A. *Four Nations.—Four Faculties.—Rector.—Chancellor.—University Endowments.*

The charter of foundation and the imperial and papal grants of privilege having been issued, the university could now come into active life. The founder first invited teachers, who in turn gathered scholars about them. Teachers and students both, in Prague, Vienna, Heidelberg, and Leipzig, after the manner of the University of Paris, were divided into four nations, and each nation appointed a master of arts to stand at its head as procurator.

This division into four nations was laid down by Duke Rudolph in his charter of foundation to the University of Vienna in 1365;† but was more clearly defined by the university itself in 1366, and, as is expressly declared, upon the model of Paris.‡ The first nation, denominated the Southern (*Australis*), was chiefly composed of Southern Germany; the second, the Saxon, chiefly Western and Northern Germany; the third was the Bohemian, and the fourth the Hungarian. This division was modified by Duke Albrecht in his charter of 1384, so as to call the first nation, the Austrian; the second, the Rhenish, including Bavaria, Suabia, Alsace, Franconia, and Hesse; the third, the Hungarian, including also Bohemia, Moravia, and Poland; and the fourth included Saxony, Westphalia, Prussia, &c.

At Prague, great importance was found to attach to the division

---

* Arnoldt, 58, &c.; and Appendix XI.

† Schlikenrieder, 27. "We ordain that all the clerks (clerum) of the university shall be divided into four parts, of which each shall include masters and students from fixed and ascertained countries, constituting one nation according to the characters and circumstances of each."

‡ "We, considering that the venerable University of Paris is, by reason of its experience, under better regulations than others, have thought proper to divide our own university into four nations, as that is divided, after its model, although under different names."

into the four nations* of Bohemia, Bavaria, Poland, and Saxony. The Bohemian included also part of Silesia, and Moravia and Hungary. As the Polish nation included Prussia, Lusatia, Thuringia, and other German countries, the Bohemian nation differed from all the other three, which were almost exclusively German. Thus it naturally happened that the Germans often outvoted the Bohemians on university questions. The latter, irritated at this, petitioned the Emperor Wenceslaus in 1409, with Huss and Jerome of Prague at their head, to decree that thenceforward the Bohemian nation should have three voices and the three other nations only one. This was the reason why five thousand teachers and students left Prague, and why that university, instead of being a universal German one, was afterward exclusively Bohemian. The seceders went mostly to Leipzig, and caused the establishment of the university there, to which they also transferred the division into four nations. This division was only disused in 1830,† although it had long lost its place in the other old universities, and had very seldom been introduced into those founded later than Leipzig.‡

In Paris, besides the division into four nations, there was a second, altogether distinct from it, into four faculties, which also found its way into the German universities. The members of newly founded universities, thus divided into nations and faculties, needed first of all to choose a rector as their general head. At Vienna, Duke Rudolph's charter of foundation directed, still after the model of Paris, that the four procurators of nations should be the electors, and that the appointee must belong to the faculty of arts (the philosophical).§ But nineteen years afterward, in 1384, Duke Albrecht's charter allowed the rector to be chosen from either of the four faculties.‖ The election was made in like manner at Heidelberg. The first rector, Marsilius von Inghen, was here chosen, in 1386, after the Paris plan, from the faculty of arts. But as early as 1393, Konrad von Soltow, a doctor of theology, was chosen rector.¶

---

* Tomek, 9, 10.

† Gretschel, 288.

‡ At Frankfort, there were four nations, called Marchcia, Franconia, Silesiaca, and Prutenica. But afterward, only the distinction into four faculties was preserved.

§ Schlikenrieder, 27.

‖ Schlikenrieder, 96. "The four procurators of the university must elect a rector, who shall seem to them fit for that office, a professor either in arts or in some other faculty." The Vienna statutes of 1384, prescribe that the electing procurators shall swear, before electing, "that they will not undervalue any faculty, nor prefer it to another, but will elect a fit person, to whatever faculty he may belong, so ordering that the rectorate shall not always remain in one faculty." Impartiality as to the faculties was promoted by the statutory regulation that the four procurators should not always belong to one faculty, but to several. Ib. 127.

¶ Schwab, 4, 12.

Down to the present time, the rector may be chosen from any faculty; and an alternation is usually had among them all.

The electors must be "actual teachers, or men recognized as fit for teachers."* In Erfurt alone, one student, selected from the philosophical faculty, took part in the election.†

The rector was the head of every university department, of management, instruction, and discipline; but was bound to govern himself by the statutes. About him was placed a senate, which varied extremely in composition and authority at different times and in different universities. Although, for example, at Prague, a "university congregation," of masters and students together, was erected, which met twice a year, and a special "university council" besides it, this general congregation soon fell into the background, and there remained only a congregation of masters, scholars being excluded.‡ The Vienna statutes admitted bachelors and those who actually read lectures (*actu legentes*) to the "general congregation," but adds, that this is to be the regulation only until there shall be doctors and masters enough, as in Paris, to fill the congregation.§ The chancellor, as we have seen, was usually appointed by the Pope, and in general was a high ecclesiastic,‖ whose especial duty it was to observe that the degree of master and licentiate were properly conferred, and he must himself confer the degree of licentiate (*licentia docendi*).¶

At the head of each faculty stood a dean, who was chosen from the masters who actually read lectures; and these masters formed the council of the faculty.

The endowments of the universities began, as we have already seen, with the gifts of the princes who founded them, and with the ecclesiastical properties and incomes granted them by the Popes. They were augmented by other gifts, especially by private legacies; Heidelberg, in 1391, received a grant of Jews' goods.** At the Reformation, the estates of dissolved convents, and afterward, in 1773, those of the dis-

* Meiners, *History*, ii. 172.

† Motschmann, i. 328.

‡ Tomek, 12.

§ Schlikenrieder, 131.

‖ At Vienna the Chancellor was Principal of the Church of All Saints, at Prague the Bishop of Prague, at Ingolstadt the Bishop of Eichstadt, at Leipzig the Bishop of Merseburg. The chancellor, in conferring the degree of licentiate, represented the Pope; using the words, "I, by authority . . . of the apostolical see, which I here represent, confer upon you the license to read," &c. (Zeisl, 37). In Tübingen, the appointment of chancellor passed over, after the Reformation, to the rector and senate; and he conferred degrees, not "by apostolical authority," but "by ordinary and public authority."—*Klüpfel*, 54.

¶ For more information as to the degrees of bachelor, licentiate, master, and doctor, see the description of the faculties. "In Prague, there was no distinction between a master and a doctor, except that the degree of master was commonly conferred in the faculties of theology and arts, and that of doctor in those of jurisprudence and medicine."—*Tomek*, 17.

** Häusser, i. 300.

solved Order of Jesuits, were given to the universities. In most of the charters of foundation, as in that quoted of Duke Rudolph of Austria, many immunities were granted to members of the university; freedom from imposts and tolls, right of hunting, right to retail wine and beer; most of which have subsequently been taken away, by reason of misuse of them, quarrels over them between the members of the university and the citizens of the university town, and great changes in Church and State.

Among the university endowments belong, as pecuniary aids to study, bursaries, free tables, stipends, &c., which will be afterward considered.*

B. *The Four Faculties.*

We shall proceed to consider the organization for instruction, and the discipline of the older universities.

We have seen that the division into four faculties was transferred from the University of Paris to those of Germany. These faculties are the same which our universities now include,—of theology, law, medicine and philosophy; which last was anciently termed the faculty of arts. We shall speak first of this latter.

1. *Faculty of Arts.*

This derived its name from the seven liberal arts; namely, the *Trivium*, including grammar, rhetoric, and dialectics; and the *Quadrivium*, including arithmetic, music, geometry, and astronomy. These seven were commemorated in the following memorial verse:

"Lingua, tropus, ratio, numerus, tenor, angulus, astra."

In the title "Master of the liberal arts," these seven are referred to. The relation of this faculty to the three others was very different at different universities and different times. At Paris, the rector was chosen from this faculty by the masters in it; and the rule was the same, at first, at Heidelberg and Vienna, as we have seen, after the Paris model. The situation of this faculty was very different at Tübingen, where it was subordinate to the three other faculties, only its dean and two other members belonged to the senate, and its professors received smaller salaries than those of the other faculties.†

These seven liberal arts were the subjects of instruction in the faculty of arts, and they included many subordinate subjects, as did, especially, dialectics. We have programmes of lectures from various universities, as Prague, Vienna, Ingolstadt, Erfurt, which all agree

* The same may be said of the various pecuniary helps furnished in later times, mainly by the growth of medicine and the natural sciences.

† Klüpfel, 7, 56.

substantially on this point. The dialectic, ethical, physical, and other works of Aristotle, in such translations as were then extant, are everywhere the principal theme.* Together with these are found a few other books, as for instance those of Petrus Hispanus and Bœthius, which, like Aristotle's, were included under the comprehensive term, dialectics.

In grammar were given lectures on Priscianus, Donatus, the *Doctrinale* of Alexander de Villa Dei, and the *Græcismus* of Eberhard von Bethune, which is a grammar in metrical Latin, in which Greek technical terms are explained; upon the same author's *Labyrinthus*, which treats of the difficulties of schoolmasters; and upon the *Poetria Nova* of the Englishman Gottfrid, which treats of the duties of masters.†

To the course of lectures on the four arts of the Quadrivium belonged those:

1. On the Algorism (Arithmetic).‡
2. On the work of Johannes de Muris, of Paris (1330), on Music.
3. On six books of Euclid and the *Perspective*§ of Johannes Pisanus (Geometry).
4. On the *Sphæra Materialis* of Johannes de Sacro Bosco,‖ the *Computus Cyrometricalis*,¶ the Almanac, and the Almagest of Ptolemy (Astronomy).

Masters, licentiates, and bachelors were permitted to read lectures. The *scolaris simplex*, the student, was at Vienna prohibited from reading; but at Prague, the statutes permitted a student to deliver lectures put into his hands on behalf of a master, who had previously revised them. Reading was termed pronouncing (*pronuntiare*).** The statutes of the University of Vienna say: "We direct each reader to pronounce faithfully and correctly, slowly and distinctly, distinguishing paragraphs, capital letters, commas, and periods, as the sense requires, in such a manner as to assist those who write after him; and that he do not pronounce any thing erroneous by deceit or fraud."

---

* See Appendix II. for the programmes of lectures of the faculties of arts at Prague, Erfurt, Ingolstadt, and Vienna.

† *Monumenta Universitatis Pragensis*, 1, 2, 560.

‡ Algorism or Algorithm (see *Monum. Univ. Prag.*, 1, 2, 550), is composed of the Arabic *al*, and the Greek *arithmos*. According to Renaud's *Mémoire Géographique sur l'Inde* (1849), the word signifies the Arabian author Al-Kharizmy, whose works, translated into Latin, spread the knowledge of the Indian system of numeration in the West; which system was then named after this author. My respected friend and colleague, Prof. Spiegel, drew my attention to Renaud.

§ This *Perspective* (a work on optics) is of the year 1280.

‖ For Euclid and Sacro Bosco or Busto, see this work, Part 1, 6, 7, 317, 326.

¶ For cyrometricalis, read chirometricalis, the art of finding the dates of the calendar by means of the fingers.

** *Monum. Univ. Prag.*, 1, 1, 13; and Zeisl, 146.

This extract is explained by another from the statutes of Prague of 1367. The masters, it is here said, have brought it into consideration, that the readers have permitted themselves to be guilty of many irregularities, disfigurements, and errors, from which much harm may come to the students, and much scandal to the whole faculty. Every *scolaris* has read what he chose and when he chose. Men have boldly committed to writing incorrect and unknown compositions, full of errors, and given them out as the works of eminent masters, to attract more hearers. Hereupon the faculty decreed that in future every master should read, either himself or by another, his own comments upon such work as should be selected from among the text-books by the faculty; and in like manner might read or cause to be read by another the writings of others, provided these were composed by eminent masters of the universities of Prague, Paris, or Oxford, and provided he have previously carefully revised them, and have secured a fit and skillful reader (*pronunciator*).

The bachelors, it was ordained further, should not read their own comments on Aristotle and other difficult works, but those of masters from Paris, Prague, and Oxford; but these must first be examined by a master, to see whether they are in reality the composition of such author, and correct.

No student shall presume to deliver lectures, unless he be authorized by a master.

According to these extracts, the teaching consisted in dictating the matter of the regular text-books, and in the speaker's or some other person's remarks upon them; and the notes taken down served instead of printed copies of the books.

Before the commencement of the lectures, the masters of Prague and Vienna met and agreed upon the books which each one should take to read;* and it was the duty of each, having chosen his book, to read it through if he had as many as two hearers.†

The permission to read at Prague the writings of Oxford masters had a great immediate influence upon that university, and also upon the Reformation in Bohemia and Germany; for in this manner Wicliff's teachings were imported into Prague, and widely disseminated by Huss.‡

---

* *Monum. Univ. Prag.*, i. 1, 18; Zeisl, B. 4.

† The masters who read were called *magistri actu regentes*, and *lectores*. The Erfurt statutes required them to read during three months of the year. And in those of Prague (Monum., i. 1, 81), it is prescribed that "none shall be called an actual reader (*actu regens*) who does not read his ordinary (book) as long as he has hearers." In Prague, one who has been five years master, and two years an actual reader, became a member of the Council of the Faculty, whose sittings were in the faculty-room (*stuba facultatis*).

‡ Palacky, *History of Bohemia*, ii. 2, 189.

The lectures were accompanied with frequent disputations, in which teachers and scholars took part. The regular disputation day was Saturday. *Sophismata* and *quæstiones*, after the fashion of theses, furnished the basis for the disputing. The purpose of them all seems to have been not so much to deal with the truth of the matter as with the form; they were dialectic fencing with all the tricks of sophistry; exhibitions of skill in arguing for and against the same proposition.*

In all the faculties the bachelors were lowest in grade, the licentiates next, and the masters next. To become a master it was necessary, at Vienna, to have studied two years, and to have heard lectures in the regular books. The candidate was examined, and was obliged to hold ten disputations. If he passed this examination, and received his bachelor's degree, he might receive the licentiateship at the end of the year from the Chancellor, after a sufficient examination. He might now become master at his option by a formal act of promotion, unless he preferred to remain a licentiate for the sake of avoiding the expense of the step.

According to the statutes of the Faculty of Arts at Ingolstadt, inasmuch as there was a distinction between those students who followed the way of the ancients (i. e., who adhered to the Realists), and those who followed the way of the moderns, or Nominalists, there was a separate dean and council for each "way."† At Heidelberg, Nominalism prevailed; its first rector, Marsilius von Inghen, having been a Nominalist. In Tübingen, the opposition between the Nominalists and Realists ceased only at the Reformation; Gabriel Biel being, here, "the last representative of the dying scholasticism."‡

Lectures, disputations, examinations, and even the daily conversation of the scholars (*scolares*), were in Latin. The Ingolstadt statutes say: "A master in a bursary shall induce to the continual use of Latin by verbal exhortations and by his own example; and shall also appoint those who shall mark such as speak the vulgar tongue, and who shall receive from them an irremissible penalty." In another place they say: "Also, that the students in their academical exercises may learn, by the habit of speaking Latin, to speak and express themselves better, the faculty ordains that no person placed by the faculty upon a common or other bursary shall dare to speak German. Any one heard by one of the overseers (*conventore*) to speak German, shall pay one kreutzer."

* In Melancthon's time there was at Wittenberg a disputation on one Saturday and a declamation on the next; which indicates that dialectics had at first predominated, but that at the revival of classical literature, rhetoric, under the influence of Cicero and Quintilian, came more into vogue.

† Mederer, iv. 70. ‡ Klüpfel, 80.

The very Latin of these quotations exemplifies the Latinity of that university, which was lampooned in the "*Epistles of Obscure Men.*" Nothing was said in them of classical studies.

2. *The Theological Faculty.*

The Theological Faculty of the University of Vienna declares, in the beginning of its statutes of 1389, that the Faculty of Paris is its model. In the first title of these statutes it is provided that every year, upon the day of St. John the Evangelist, a devout sermon shall be preached upon that "most profoundly speculative theologian," and the Holy Scriptures and purity of conscience shall be recommended to the students. The preacher shall choose a text which has a complete and intelligible meaning; not an expression unintelligible by itself, which he can interpret arbitrarily.*

The second title of the statutes treats seriously and ably of the morals of theological students. It says: "As knowledge and learning in the Holy Scriptures, which are to be attained by study and practice in theological faculty, are the rule of morals, and lead to true propriety of conduct, we consider it exceedingly wrong and most unseemly that theological students should not be distinguishable from all others by their virtues. The spiritual eye must be very clear from sin in order to discern the lofty themes of theology. That science itself teaches that only the pure in heart shall see God; and that wisdom cometh not into the sinful soul, nor abides in a body under subjection to sin. Therefore, students of theology must show by their whole life that they belong truly and really to the theological faculty; and a religious life must be the expression of their spiritual acquirements. Therefore, students of theology must be free from shameful vices, serious and modest in speech, decent, respectably clothed—no drinker, lecher, or brawler—an avoider of evil companions; must shun suspicious places, and must not run after idle amusements. The schools of theology must be not merely schools of science, but still more, schools of virtue and of good morals."

While in the faculty of arts more than thirty subjects of instruction were specified, the theological statutes name but two: the Bible, and the "*Four Books of Sentences*" of Petrus Lombardus, which were of the first rank as dogmatic authority. The bachelors who read upon the Bible were called Biblical, or *cursores*, from their reading their regular courses, or the Bible. They were to explain the text thoroughly, and to add good glosses, as was the custom in the cursory lectures at Paris.

* Zeisl, 8, 10.

He who wished to become *cursor* must have studied theology six years, and if not master in arts, must be well trained in opposing and answering. The *quæstiones* upon which the disputations were held in the theological faculty, were to be intelligible and seriously useful (*rationabiles et seriose utiles*) upon practical or speculative subjects, and clear, brief, and intelligible.

When the *cursor* had finished his Biblical course, he became *sententiarius*, and read for one or two years on Petrus Lombardus' "*Four Books of Sentences.*" When he had come in his readings to the third book, he was called *Baccalaureus formatus.* When he had arrived at the end of the fourth book, he had yet to train himself at the university for three years in disputing and preaching, and in attending disputations, before he could receive the degree of licentiate or of master.

The *cursores* or *sententiarii* were not to deal with philosophical topics, which have no relation to theology; but were, at proper places, by logic or other arts, to endeavor to solve theological difficulties.

When the *sententiarius* had passed his examination for a licentiateship, the chancellor delivered it to him, saying:* "By authority of the Omnipotent God, and of the Apostles Peter and Paul, and of the Apostolical See, which I here represent, I give you license to read, dispute, and preach in the theological faculty, and to exercise all other acts of a master in the same faculty, here and throughout the world, in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. Amen."

A few days after this, the new licentiate maintained a disputation; and on the day after the disputation the chancellor placed the master's cap on his head in the hall, as a token of the dignity of master, and said: "Begin now your teaching, in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. Amen." Whereupon the new doctor (*novellus doctor*) began with an address in praise of the Holy Scriptures.

3. *Faculty of Canon and Civil Law.*

The statutes of this faculty, at Vienna, prescribe that before beginning the lectures, a solemn mass shall be held, and Sundays and feast days strictly observed.

The second title treats in earnest language of the morals of bachelors and students at law. They are to conduct themselves in an orderly manner, and to be quiet at lectures; not to shriek, howl, or hiss, or laugh indecently, and not to yell at strangers and new-comers. In other places, they are in words, gestures, and clothing, to show them-

* Zeisl, 37.

selves students of moral science; to shun vile companions, especially infamous persons, brawlers, and gamesters; neither to attend public dances, nor to direct others to them; not to carry weapons, nor to have them carried after them, and not to write any indecent compositions.

The doctors are to read honestly, to omit no part of the ordinary gloss, but to read clearly, wisely, and intelligibly, both to beginners and to those further advanced, and always to endeavor to be useful to their hearers. They shall make their lectures complete, and not too brief; and shall willingly answer, especially after lecture, such students as may ask questions on doubtful points. The doctors, especially such as read lectures in the morning, are forbidden to make it known to their hearers by handbills; the practice being objectionable, and allowed by no faculty of jurisprudence.

The teachers are also bound to give an honest statement of their hearers.

The doctors in civil law are to form one faculty with those in canon law, even at examinations. Neither bachelors nor students, but only doctors and licentiates admitted to the faculty, compose it (in the strictest sense), and no others can become deans.

The dean shall, during his official term, diligently visit the bursaries and the houses of the students at law.

A student who has heard lectures on civil law for two years, and on canon law for two years, may become bachelor. Before becoming a licentiate, he must have studied seven years, and must have received a *baccalaureate.*

But this term of years will not suffice without proof of learning; and learning will not suffice without good character and laudable morals.

"As our faculty," the statutes proceed, "is above all others bound to protect the sacrament of matrimony, and to reject every unlawful union, since both laws express themselves in various ways opposed to such, and as, moreover, the doctorate is an honor, we decree, like all the other faculties, that no illegitimate child, or child of a harlot, may become doctor or licentiate."

The bachelor must prove his attainments by examination and disputation; as must also the licentiate, at whose examination the chancellor or his substitute must preside.

At the conferring of the doctorate, the candidate receives the doctor's hat (*birretum*) and ring, the shut and the open book, the master's kiss and blessing; after which he reads and disputes. To the doctor presenting him (that is, to the *præses* of this disputation), the new doctor must give fourteen ells of cloth, at two florins an ell; to the

beadle, six ells, at one florin an ell; and to every doctor actually lecturing, wine and confects.

4. *The Medical Faculty.*[*]

Medicine, say the Vienna statutes, is a truly rational science, both as to its theory and its practice. We adhere to and obey civil dignitaries, the Pope, bishops, and prelates. A weakly, inefficient pastor injures the Church much. Dukes, counts, soldiers, and the common people, who should serve to protect the State, are, if they lose their health, entirely useless. It is a recognized truth, and on this we lay most stress, that medicine cares for men even while yet in their mother's womb, and from their birth, through all their life, to their death, both by preserving and curing.

The candidate for a baccalaureate must have heard lectures upon the work of Joannicius, the first or fourth of the canon of Avicenna, and some work on practice, as that of Rasis Almansor. If he is a master in arts, he must have heard lectures in the medical faculty for at least two years; if a mere student, for three. He must be twenty-two years old, born in wedlock, and not deformed in body. If princes or others, whoever they may be, shall apply for a degree for one unworthy of it, reference shall be made to the statutes in refusal, and to the oaths which have been sworn by the faculty.

A candidate for licentiateship, if he has a degree in arts, shall have heard lectures on medicine for five years; if not a graduate, for six years. If he is found fit in knowledge and character, without canonical impediments, and not too effeminate of countenance, he may receive his degree at the age of 26, but in strictness not until 28.

The *Aphorisms* of Hippocrates and Galen are to be the basis of the examination.

The promotion of licentiates to the doctor's degree must take place in the Church of St. Stephen; where the new doctor must deliver an address in praise of medicine, and afterward a lecture upon any portion of Avicenna, Hippocrates, or Galen.

The custom of conferring degrees in church was observed down to a much later period. Thus Rehfeld received his, in 1634, in the cathedral at Erfurt. Meifarth first preached from Sirach xxxviii. 1, 9; after which appeared a representative of Divine Providence, who directed the dean to take his seat. The latter, as *promotor*, then delivered a discourse on tobacco, after which Divine Providence directed the promotion to proceed, upon which the candidate was consecrated at the altar.[†]

---

[*] Zeisl, 78. [†] Motschmann, ii. 316.

In Erfurt, the bachelor of medicine swore that he would observe all things to which the oath of Hippocrates, of Cos, binds every physician. This oath begins, "I swear by Apollo Medicus, and Æsculapius, &c., and by Hygeia and Panaceia, and all the gods and goddesses, calling them to witness that I will fully observe this oath."*

C.—MORALS AND DISCIPLINE.

Before treating these subjects I think it necessary to make a few general remarks.

Robert von Mohl, in 1840, published his "Historical Account of the Morals and Conduct of the Students at Tübingen during the Sixteenth Century." He drew such important facts as he found from the archives of the university, in which, as he says, are many records of the life and morals of the students. But he adds, that "many interesting pages of that life remain entirely unilluminated by them; as more especially, the praiseworthy qualities, the quiet virtues of industry, and of labor for learning, which have not given occasion for any record, while faults and excesses have called for official treatment and perpetuation."

What Mohl says here, with so much truth, of the matters recorded in the archives of the universities, is as true of most of the histories of universities. Everywhere in them are displayed vices, violations of discipline, outbreaks of abandoned students, brawls among themselves and with citizens, even murders, abominable immoralities, and these are often related at length. Among all these noisy, hateful, and lamentable wickednesses, the reader is in danger of overlooking the fact that at the same universities, and at the same time when the same wickednesses prevailed, were often studying, in quiet and unknown, youths who afterward, as men, were the pride and ornament of their country.

Vice should not be concealed. No one who knows men, especially the young, will put faith in any historian who finds every thing excusable and as pure as the angels.

And, on the other hand, the university historian would be to blame if he should give such prominence to every thing evil, as to make one believe, finding the history of the university only a "scandalous chronicle" of the vile tricks and vulgarities of vulgar students and professors, that only evil prevailed. The faults even of the instructors should not be concealed, but should be held up as warning examples, with religious seriousness; nor should the narrative ever remind the reader of the heartless tattle which is so often, unfortunately, to be heard relative to the occurrences of the present day.

* Motschmann, ii. 304.

The universities were not immaculate at any time, or in any country. No human corporation is faultless. They are all gone astray; the expression holds of all times and countries. Human sinfulness remains always substantially the same; and so, in consequence, do human sins. What Augustine related more than fourteen hundred years ago of the universities of Carthage and Rome, has remained true down to the present day. Even the *eversores** of whom he speaks, villainous students who took a devilish pride in leading astray newcomers, have been extant from that time to this. But at that same time there was at the University of Carthage with them that Augustine who, through God's grace, afterward became the greatest father of the Church, and the strictest in morals. How frightful was the moral condition of Paris afterward in the 13th century! A Papal bull of the year 1276 excommunicates such students of that period as celebrated festivals by feasts, drinking-bouts, and public dances, and even "did not fear to play dice in the churches and on the altars where they ought to worship God."

What horrible facts does Jacques de Vitry relate of the University of Paris! He says: "Everywhere in the streets and squares of the city, public harlots dragged students to their stews almost by violence; and if they refused to enter, they immediately followed them, shouting after them, 'Sodomite!'" In one and the same building there were schools above and a house of ill-fame below. In one part the harlots were quarreling with each other and with their pimps, and in the other the students were disputing and contending noisily. Jacques de Vitry, who relates these abominations, lived in the 13th century, and his account agrees only too well with the picture drawn of that century in the bull of excommunication just quoted. And in that same century the greatest of the scholastics, Albertus Magnus, Thomas Aquinas, Bonaventura, were students and teachers at the University of Paris. Thus it appears that from the earliest period to the present, good and evil have existed in the universities together.† At the same time it should not be denied that good may have prevailed more at some one time, and evil at another.

To learn what evils prevailed at some one university at one particular time, it is only necessary to read those parts of the statutes which refer to the conduct of students and professors. The evils which they

* *Confessions*, 3, 3.

† The worst period of the German universities falls, as we shall see, in the time of the prevalence of Pennalism, nearly from 1610 to 1661; and within the same period belongs the student-life of some most excellent men: as, Simon Dach, born 1605; Paul Fleming, born 1609; Johann Franck, born 1618; Paul Gerhardt, born 1606; Otto von Guerike, born 1602; Martin Opitz, born 1597; and many others.

cite on particular occasions, had almost certainly already become general in the university.

To refer, for example, to the statutes of the four faculties at Vienna, already quoted. When the theological students are warned not to become drunkards and lechers, to avoid suspicious places, &c.; when the students of law are directed to be quiet at lectures, and not to shriek, howl, or hiss, to avoid vile company, infamous persons, and brawlers, gamesters, &c., and so on, as might be cited from these statutes, it may be taken for certain that those who drew the statutes were obliged to insert these warnings, by the most disagreeable previous experience. And the facts which vouch for such warnings are frequently to be found in the records of the universities.

The like is true of what the statutes say with reference to teachers. If, for example, some master at Prague had not lowered the established honorarium for lectures, to attract more hearers, the statutes would not have prohibited the doing so.

We may here insert some prohibitions from the Vienna statutes.* The students, these say, shall not spend more time in drinking, fighting, and guitar-playing, than at physics, logic, and the regular courses of lectures; and they shall not get up public dances in the streets. Quarrelers, wanton persons, drunkards—those that go about serenading at night, or who spend their leisure in following after lewd women, thieves, those who insult citizens, players at dice, having been properly warned and not reforming, besides the ordinary punishment provided by law for those misdemeanors, shall be deprived of their academical privileges and be ex-matriculated. These threats are directed especially against those who go about breaking into doors. Masters of different faculties shall keep the peace with each other; *beani* shall not be ill-treated; and at disputations no ribaldry or indecent gestures shall be permitted.

The pious earnestness of the expressions, not only of the faculty statutes, but of those of the University of Vienna, respecting the religion and morality of the students, is truly edifying. Sins, they say, darken the spiritual eye, so that it cannot discern refined truths. Though one in that condition should make great advances in learning, it would be in his hands a weapon for fearful wickedness, not a help upon the road to virtue. In schools of learning, a strict discipline must prevail. Holy Church can never gain by study, as long as men injure themselves by vice more than they are enlightened by instruction; for

* Schlikenrieder, 122 sqq. Compare the Ingolstadt bursary regulations, which provide that "those appointed to such by the faculty shall not spend more time at taverns, fighting-bouts, with guitar-players and lute-players, than in philosophy."—*Mederer*, iv. 97.

the destroying one single soul is so great an evil that it cannot be made good by the enlightenment with learning of innumerable others. Better that children remain at home in ignorance, but pure and innocent, than that they should go to school and be destroyed by sin.*

It was an object of solicitude to pious and conscientious men at all periods, that youth should lead moral lives at the universities, and should be saved from perversion. To this end the most various means were resorted to, but mostly without avail.

At the older German universities, as at Paris, bursaries were founded,† at which a number of students lived, under the strict supervision of a *Rector bursæ*, and receiving assistance from him in their studies. But many facts show that in these bursaries the students led lives any thing but moral, as did many of the rectors. These latter endeavored to attract new-comers to their bursaries; and in order to make themselves acceptable to them, overlooked their misdemeanors, cast aside all strictness of discipline, and even pursued abandoned courses in common with them; all for the sake of the profit to be made from the bursarii (*Burschen*). At Erfurt, each *Rector bursæ* took an oath, in the words, "I promise that I desire to be a faithful example to my *bursarii* in manners and learning."‡ And these same rectors drove a large trade in Naumburg beer, sold it like tavern-keepers to any one, neglected their duties as teachers, and by such courses grew rich, while their students ran down in circumstances, and became so poor that they had to give up their studies and go home.§

We shall hereafter see what means, either friendly or harsh, were afterward used to constrain the students to reputable lives and industrious labor.

IV. The University of Wittenberg, and its Relations to the Earlier Universities.

When the first German universities were founded, the period of the great profound scholastics was long past. Anselmus, Hugo de St. Victor, Roger Bacon, Thomas Aquinas, Bonaventura, belonged to the 11th, 12th, and 13th centuries. The later doctors in arts possessed, for the most part, only a technical skill in dialectic fencing, a fruitless power of playing with empty forms, without feeling any need of any real mental acquirements or progress. It is not to be wondered at that such a useless state of things should soon be attacked from more

* Schlikenrieder, 121. † See App. XII., Bursaries.

‡ Also, to practice them in Latinity. Motschmann, I. 646. The oath is from the statutes in force before 1469.

§ Motschmann, 651. The Ingolstadt bursary statutes (Mederer, iv. 96,) provide that "The overseers (*conventores*) must expel from the bursary public gamblers and lechers, on pain of loss of office." Such orders had to be enforced by threats of punishment!

than one direction, and that in such an intellectual desert a longing should grow up for some living spring and the green of flourishing life.

In another part of this history I have sought to describe the contest between the ancient and dying scholastic system of instruction, and the young and vigorous classical system; the strife between the doctors in arts and the poets, as the two opposing camps were then called. We have seen that Cologne was the headquarters of the upholders of the ancient system; and that most of the champions of the new, either voluntarily or involuntarily, gathered into Germany, and in one place and another began to teach the new doctrines in universities and gymnasia.

About the end of the 15th and beginning of the 16th century, the new system found a home in the universities of Tübingen and Heidelberg: Agricola, Reuchlin, the youthful Melancthon, and others, arose at these places. The study of the classics did not suffice for them; a second and more profoundly comprehensive department of investigation was entered, namely, the exegetical study of the original text of the Old and New Testament,—a thing before unheard of.

There is a great resemblance between the great reformatory efforts of the latter years of the 15th century and those of its beginning, in which Huss was so influential. These efforts, so intimately connected with the study of the Scriptures and of the classics, found a point of concentration at the small but world-renowned University of Wittenberg, founded in 1502.*

To compare this with the earlier universities, we do not find it to differ in the mode of its foundation, nor in its first statutes, from those of Prague, Vienna, &c. It was founded by the Elector Frederic, and received grants of privileges from the emperor and the Pope. Its first statutes are dated in 1508. In them it is dedicated to God, and Mary the mother of God; St. Paul is made patron of the theological faculty, Ivo of the juridical,† Cosmas and Damian of the medical, and St. Catharine of the philosophical. St. Augustine was chosen as patron of the whole university.

In the year of the publication of these statutes, the Augustin Luther received the appointment of professor of ethics and dialectics in Wittenberg, became doctor of theology in 1512, published his theses in

* See Raumer's *History*, i. 127–218, 316–330; the descriptions of Luther, Melancthon, and the University of Wittenberg. The following account is intended in particular to elucidate the relations of this university to the early German ones.

† Grohmann, i. 108. Ivo was also patron of the faculty of law at Vienna and Erfurt. He was Bishop of Chartres in the 11th century, and served as a patron of the poor without pay. Motschmann, i. 147. St. Catharine was patroness of the philosophical faculty at Vienna and Ingolstadt.

1517, and in 1518 took Melancthon as his fellow-laborer in the great work of the Reformation, which was mainly based upon the teaching of the patron of the theological faculty, St. Paul,—upon the doctrine of Justification by Faith.

Wittenberg is strongly distinguished from the earlier universities, not only by its powerful Reformatory influence, but also by the new studies introduced there, and the new spirit and method in which they were pursued.

It is true that in the older universities lectures were read upon the Bible, but it was by beginners in the profession of teaching, the *Baccalaurei Biblici;* while at Wittenberg two doctors lectured in the Old Testament and two in the New, and that upon the original text. In the place of the mediæval dogmatics of the *Sentences* of Petrus Lombardus, appeared Melancthon's *Loci*, composed in the very spirit of the Reformation.

In comparing the courses of lectures in the older universities with those at Wittenberg, we find also in the latter the seven liberal arts, except music; but in none of them were the earlier text-books used, except in astronomy and geometry. At first sight it would appear that dialectics played a part in many respects the same as in the older universities; but further examination shows that instead of the mutilated translations of Aristotle formerly used, the Greek originals were introduced. Thus, the Wittenberg statutes say: "The professor of ethics shall read Aristotle's Ethics *in the Greek*, word for word;"* and in like manner is the professor of physics to read Aristotle's Physics. And where the original text is not made the basis of instruction, Melancthon's manuals of dialectics, physics, and ethics, composed with the most thorough study of Aristotle, are substituted for them. In like manner, Melancthon's Rhetoric was a text-book, in which he closely followed especially Cicero and Quintilian; and which, as he says, was intended as an elementary introduction to the understanding of the writings of both those authors, who were, in the middle ages, as good as forgotten. The entirely subordinate place previously occupied by rhetoric in comparison with dialectics, and its introduction to a higher one by means first of Cicero and Quintilian, and in general of the study of the classics, appears from the fact that in Wittenberg declamation alternated with disputation on the Saturdays, whereas previously there had been disputations every Saturday.

In grammar, great changes took place. We have elsewhere related how the scholars of Hegius in particular, as Busch, Murmellius, Cæsa-

* *Corpus Reformatorum*, x. 1010.

rius, &c., strenuously opposed the received grammatical text-books, particularly the *Doctrinale* of Alexander de Villa Dei, and how they were more than once persecuted for that reason by the adherents of the ancient scholasticism, especially the Cologners. The "*Epistles of Obscure Men*" was a prominent satire upon the vulgar lives, and the correspondingly barbarous style of these scholastics.

Melancthon's *Latin Grammar* was the result of the study of the classics, and both promoted that study and drove out the previous grammatical text-books.

Lectures upon the Latin and Greek classics were not given at all in the earlier universities, while they filled a very important place at Wittenberg. By the study of the Latin classics, the new Latin grammar, and a rhetoric based on that of antiquity, was gradually substituted for the barbarous mediæval Latin. Melancthon's historical lectures, also, took the place of Carion's *Chronicon*, as a new work.

The University of Wittenberg—mainly through Melancthon's influence during the 16th century—became a model for other Protestant universities. This will appear at once upon comparing, for instance, the lectures of the theological and philosophical faculties of Königsberg and Greifswald with those of Wittenberg; they will be found entirely similar in substance to the latter.*

While it thus appears that the University of Wittenberg was far in advance of the earlier ones in respect to learning and instruction, the question also arises, What was it as to morals and discipline as compared with them?

To judge from its statutes of 1546, it was in no better condition than Vienna, Tübingen, Ingolstadt, &c., had been before. These denounce the folly of such youths as imagine the university to be a place of unbridled license, and who by their bad example ruin many others; who destroy quiet and studious industry, disobey the rector, do not attend church, wander about by day and night, stir up disturbances, break into houses, rob gardens, commit thefts, and wantonly insult and injure others. They enact that none shall challenge another to fight; harlots are threatened with severe punishment; decent clothing is enjoined; immodest dancing† forbidden at festivals, and lampooners and liars are declared to be infamous.‡

* Koch, i. 604, 868, 872, sqq. Music is among the subjects of lectures at Greifswald. Ib., 879. Luther may be security that although there were no lectures on music at Wittenberg, music itself did not fail there. In part i. of this history, p. 173, an extract from his Table Talk is given, beginning thus: "On the 17th Dec., 1538, when Dr. M. Luther entertained some musicians, and they sang some beautiful motets and set pieces," &c.

† "We shall punish those who are immodest in dancing, and who carry young women round in a circle (waltzing?), in violation of the ordinary forms of decent dancing."—*Corpus Reform.*, x. 997.

‡ Ib. x. 995, &c.

Various discourses, drawn up by Melancthon, to be delivered by the rector before and after the annual reading of the statutes, prove the sad state of things which the statutes indicate clearly enough. Thus, one of these addresses, delivered in 1537,* says: "When I consider how at this time discipline is broken down and disorder prevails, deep grief seizes me. I see in spirit the severe punishment which shall overtake the obdurate. Never were youth so hostile to the laws; they are resolved to live according to their own desires only, and not to regard the wishes of others. They are deaf to the word of God and to the law. How few strive after profound and thorough learning! A few learn here and there something which will afterward be useful to them, and the rest learn nothing whatever."

"Let it not be imagined," says another of these addresses, "that universities are intended to assemble young men of leisure to amuse themselves and gamble. No; they are meant to foster divine knowledge and other good learning; they are meant to enlighten men around them by wisdom and virtue."†

It is scarcely necessary to observe that, despite the vices thus censured, to which part of the students at Wittenberg were addicted, yet at this same time there proceeded from the school of Luther and Melancthon most influential and excellent men; men like Trotzendorf, Camerarius, Neander, Matthesius, and many others.‡

It may perhaps be asked, How was it that such extraordinary teachers as Luther and Melancthon did not exert greater moral influence on these vicious students? The great number of them was one hindrance; and the more, as they gathered to Wittenberg from all the countries of Europe, and by reason of their differences in national character, were harder to manage than if all natives. It should also be remembered what requirements were made upon Luther, Melancthon, and the other teachers for the great work of the Reformation in church and school; how much they printed, what an extensive correspondence they kept up. Thus it happened that, notwithstanding their wonderful activity, very little time remained to them for personal intercourse with the students; and that only with such as sought them of their own accord;§ not with those who kept at a distance from them, living a low life, and desiring to be undisturbed in it. Lastly, the history of the Reformation shows that the students in various ways misinterpreted for evil the newly rising intellectual freedom, and, not

---

* *Corp. Reform.*, x. 934. † Ib. x. 939.

‡ Compare the previous remarks as to the existence at the same time of good and evil at the universities.

§ For Melancthon's kindness to such, see this work, part i. 189.

having any religious adaptation to it, foolishly and wildly broke over all bounds. To understand this state of things, it is only necessary to recall the excesses which forced Luther to leave the Wartburg and return to Wittenberg to restore order there.

V.—History of the Manners of the Universities in the Seventeenth Century.

We have described the dark side of the discipline at Wittenberg in the 18th century. At the other universities, Protestant and Catholic, the students were in a similar condition of disorder. Thus at Tübinger, Königsberg, Greifswald, Ingolstadt, the statutes prohibited drinking, gaming, lechery, fighting, street tumults, &c.; the same excesses which are threatened with punishment by the statutes at Wittenberg.*

It would seem that such insubordination could not be exceeded. It was, however, during the 17th century; a period when wickedness was more wanton, influential, and universal than before.

But in order the better to describe the peculiarities of this terrible demoralization, something must first be said of the deposition.

A.—Deposition,

Called, also, *Beania*. "Beani" were those who are now called by the universally received term, which needs no definition, of "Foxes." The word is derived from the French *bec jaune*, yellow-bill.† The Beania or Deposition was a strange ceremony by which the Beani were received to be students.

In a dissertation of the Swede Fryksell, there is a description of a Deposition which the author attended in 1716, at Upsala; and which, from the illustrations accompanying it, seems to have been precisely like the German ones.‡

"The principal of the ceremony, called Herr Depositor," says this author, "caused the youths who desired to be received into the class of students to dress in clothes of various patterns and colors. Their faces were blacked, and long ears and horns were fastened to their hats, whose brims were fastened down smooth; in each corner of their mouths was inserted a long boar's tusk, which they must hold fast, like two little tobacco-pipes, during the subsequent beating; and on their shoulders were placed long black mantles. Thus hideously and ridiculously clothed, like those whom the Inquisition has condemned to the flames, the Depositor dismisses them from the Deposition-chamber and drives them before him with a stick like a herd of oxen or asses, to a hall where the spectators are awaiting them. Here he arranges them in a circle, in the middle of which he stands, makes faces at them and silent reverences, ridicules them for their absurd appearance, and then delivers a discourse to them, proceeding from burlesque to earnest. He speaks of the vices and follies of youth, and shows how necessary it is for them to be improved, disciplined, and

* See Klüpfel, 21; Koch, i. 387-393, 592-595.

† *Beanus* was defined, acrostically, *Beanus est Animal Nesciens Vitam Studiosorum*. Instead of *Beani*, *Bacchanten* is often found; and instead of *Fuchs* (Fox), Meyfart says *Feux*.

‡ *Dissertation on the Origin of the Initiation of New-Comers into Universities*, 1755.

polished by study. Then he asks them various questions, which they must answer. But as the swine's tusks which they hold in their mouths hinder them from speaking distinctly, they make a noise more like swine's grunting; whereupon the Depositor calls them swine, gives them a light beating with a stick over the shoulders, and a reproof. These teeth, he says, signify excesses; for young people's understandings are obscured by excess in eating and drinking. Then he produces out of a bag a sort of wooden tongs,* with which he takes them about the neck, and shakes them about until the tusks fall down on the ground. If they are docile and industrious, he says, they will get rid of their tendencies to intemperance and gluttony, as of these swine's tusks. Then he pulls off their long ears, by which he gives them to understand that they must study diligently, unless they wish to remain like asses. Then he removes their horns, which signify brutal rudeness, and draws out of his bag a plane. Each *Bean* must now lie down, first on his stomach, then on his back, and then on each side, while the Depositor planes him his whole length in each position, saying, 'Literature and liberal arts will in like manner polish your mind.' After some other laughable ceremonies, the Depositor fills a great vessel with water, which he pours upon the head of the novice, and afterward wipes him with a coarse towel. The buffoonery being ended by this washing, he admonishes the planed, scrubbed, and washed assemblage that they must commence a new life, strive against wicked impulses, and lay aside evil habits, which will envelope their minds just as their different garments envelope their bodies."

This account was illustrated with cuts, and it and they appeared in a little book published in 1680.† The frontispiece represents all the instruments of deposition,‡ and the remaining cuts the use of them, and under each is a brief explanatory rhyme. In the first the *Beanus* is having his hair cut off, in the second his ear cleaned with an enormous ear-pick, and underneath two lines, importing—

> "Let your ears be closed to protect you against fools;
> I cleanse you for learning, not for vile buffoonery."

Further on, his Bacchant's teeth are shaken out, his hand filed, a beard painted on him; he is hewed with an axe, planed, bored; the horns are taken off him,§ and he is measured with a measure.

Besides the explanations already given of the meaning of these ceremonies, there are many others substantially similar. Thus, one writer‖ says:

---

* "With legs which stretch out and draw back in zig-zag"—an instrument very vividly represented in the accompanying cuts.

† "*Ritus Depositionis. Argentorati, apud Albertum Dolhopff.* 1680."

‡ These are named in the following hexameters:

> "*Serra, dolabra, bidens, dens, clava, novacula, pecten*
> *Cum terebra tornus, cum lima malleus, incus,*
> *Rastraque cum rostris, cum furca et forcipe forpex.*"

§ H. Conring (*De Antiquitatibus Academicis*, Dissert. iv. p. 122) says, "The initiation of new students, which we call *the Deposition of the horns*." Does this give rise to the phrase, "He must get rid of his horns first?" Another derivation of "*Deposition*" is, from the putting off their Beanus-ship upon a goat; or their rustic manners, with it. See *Monum. Univ. Prag.*, i. 2, 553. The phrase reminds us of Leviticus, xvi. 20–22.

‖ "*Short Account of the Academical Deposition, for New Gentlemen Students and Others*, by F. B. Pfenning, Imperial Notary Public and Depositor in the University of Jena." Unfortunately without date.

"The hat and horns represent a wanton, wild, and insubordinate nature, like that of an obstinate ox; the Bacchant's teeth represent a man who is like a wild boar, and when the Depositor takes them away from the new student, there should also be taken away all such wild, snappish, and devouring qualities. The great axe and plane allude to coarse, unpolished, and boorish manners. And as *eruditus* means nothing else than an image hewn and shaped out of a rough block, thus should a student be *erudite* from such coarse, unpolished manners; that is, hewn and planed, so that after the Deposition he may be a polite and well-mannered student. The comb, shears, knife, and soap, refer to purity of body and soul; and the auger means, 'that by pains and industry, men in like manner pierce into, investigate, and discover the secrets of nature.'"

The above account of the Deposition at Upsala omits a concluding act of the ceremony which was practiced both there and in Germany.* After the Beani had gone through all their symbolical annoyances, they were brought to the dean of the philosophical faculty, who examines them about their school-knowledge, and admonishes them how to use it in studying and in life. Then he consecrates them, putting salt in their mouths, and pouring wine on their heads. The salt was a symbol of wisdom, and reminded them of the words, "Let your conversation always be salted with salt;" the wine signified purification from the dirt of the *Beania*, and admonishes the student thenceforward to lay aside all uncleanliness, and to live a pure life.

Most writers on Deposition state that in ancient times, at Athens, Constantinople, and Berytus, the novices were subjected to the same annoyance.†

That the ceremony of Deposition, at the German universities, was not merely a piece of buffoonery invented by the students, but was reckoned an officially authorized ceremony, appears, for example, from the following statute of the University of Erfurt: "No one shall be enrolled as a student who shall not previously have undergone, here or elsewhere, the rite of *Deposition*, anciently established.‡ In like manner, by the ancient statutes at Prague, no one could be admitted to the baccalaureate examination who had not undergone Deposition. The ceremony was permitted to be performed, however, immediately before the examination or during it, in the presence of the master.§

The Greifswalde statutes of 1545 say,‖ "The Deposition is to be

* Frykell (p. 17) says, "We learn from Freinsheimius that salt and wine were commonly brought in here (at Upsala) as at other universities;" and he cites an address of Freinsheim at a Deposition at Upsala in 1645.

† So Conring, who gives an extract from Gregory Nazianzen, in which the latter mentions the usual annoyances of novices at Athens; which carries the custom back into the fourth century. In the sixth, the Emperor Justinian forbade the tormenting of novices coming to Constantinople and Berytus. The statutes of the University of Vienna of 1384 say: "Also, let none presume to vex the new-comers, who are called *Beani*, with exactions not due, or to molest them with other injuries or contumely."

‡ Motschmann, i. 797; and he says (1st continuation, p. 463), "The chief beadle conducted the Deposition in the faculty-room."

§ *Monum. Univ. Prag.*, i. 1, 125. ‖ Koch, i. 367.

kept up. Such *Beani* as feel themselves free from school discipline, are inclined to idleness, and think themselves exceedingly learned, are to be somewhat sharply admonished during the Deposition how trifling their learning is, and how much they have yet to learn."

Opinions of the Deposition were very different. Melancthon said, "This vexation may remind you that you must meet in life many troubles and difficulties, which are to be borne with patience, lest impatience bring you into worse condition."

Luther's views were similar. Matthesius relates that at one Deposition, Luther himself "absolved" the novices. Among many other beautiful remarks, he said, "This was only a child's Deposition; when they grew up and served the people in church, school, or state, they would then really 'depose' their parishioners, pupils, and citizens. And this annoyance accustoms the children from their youth to endurance; and he who cannot endure and listen to any thing, will not do for a preacher or governor."*

"When Martin," it is related elsewhere (Luther's *Table Talk*, Walch, xxii. 2232 and 2233), "was at a Deposition, he 'absolved' three boys, saying, 'These ceremonies will also be of this service, that they will make you humble, not pompous and presumptuous, nor accustomed to wickedness. For such vices are frightful monstrous beasts, which have horns, and are not good for students, but do them harm. Therefore be humble, and learn to suffer and have patience, for you will be passing through a Deposition all your lives. . . . . When any thing befalls you, do not be mean-spirited, cowardly, and impatient . . . . but be bold, and endure such a cross with patience, without murmuring: remember that at Wittenberg you were consecrated to endurance; and you can say, when such a thing happens, Well, I began to be "deposed" at Wittenberg, and it will last me all my life. Also, this Deposition of ours is only a figure and picture of human life, in all manner of ill-fortune, trouble, and discipline. Pour wine on their heads, and absolve them from being *Beani* and *Bachants*.'"

Later writers, again, spoke with contempt of the Deposition, and called it a stupid buffoonery† and a barbarous custom.‡

These opponents lived during the 17th century, in the time of the terrible custom of Pennalism; and in the shameful abuse of the Pennals they saw only an extension of the Deposition. The Deposition, says Weisius, is finished in an hour, while the vexations of the Pennals

* Matthesius' 12*th Sermon on Luther*.

† Conring—"The folly of petulant students." Conring died in 1681.

‡ "Put away this barbarism from Germany," says Limnæus, who was inspector of studies at Ansbach. He died in 1665.

last a year.* In Jena, Valentin Hoffmann came out in defense of the Deposition,† saying that "the barbarous and barbarously named custom of Pennalization, though it looked much like the Deposition, was nevertheless as wide as the heavens apart from it, since the Deposition was not private but public, and conducted by some one appointed by the authorities."

Although we may well believe the respectable and officially appointed depositor Hoffmann, still there are many reasons for believing that the Deposition was what gave its origin to Pennalism, as it certainly was what the latter falsely claimed to resemble. Luchten, in his "*Oration against Pennalism*," says that "the *Schorists* do not pass over those who have been 'absolved' by Deposition. From Beanism, they tell them, you are free; but you are now Pennals; you must remain in that equally shameful condition, and cannot escape from it in less than a year."‡ The same appears from the above cited description of the Deposition in Upsala. After the ceremony of Deposition, it is said, the Depositor declares that the Beani are thenceforth free students, but that they must still for six months wear the same black mantle used at the Deposition, and must every day offer themselves to do service to their older fellow-students of the same nation, both in their rooms and at taverns, and must do all things which they are commanded, and endure all reproaches and abuse. "And this," adds the French relater, "is what they call *les Pénales*."§

This unfortunate similarity between the Deposition and Pennalism, would, of course, at a time when all means were resorted to to put down the latter, destroy the former also. Thus, the Deposition was discontinued at Tübingen in 1717, although new students continued to be examined on their school studies by the dean of the philosophical faculty.‖

The statutes of the University of Halle, of 1694, also put an end to the Deposition. "At the same time," they say, "we retain the purpose for which a judicious antiquity established that ceremony; namely, that the students may be examined by the dean of the philosophical faculty, may be admonished of the piety, modesty, and manners which

---

* "*Q. D. B. V. ritum depositionis academicæ.*" Præses Sonntius, respondens Weisius: 1697, Wittenberg.

† *Praise of the Deposition of Beani;* pronounced in 1657 by Valentine Hoffman, Depositor at this University. 2d ed. Jena, 1688.

‡ Luchtenius. In *Chrysander*, p. 42.

§ Frykell, p. 17. "*Ce qui s'appeloit les Pénales.*" The relater seems to derive it from the French pénal (*pœnalis*).

‖ Arnoldt, i. 234: and he gives, at p. 414, an extract from M. Sahmen's "*Dissertation on the Ceremony of Deposition.*"

befit an ingenuous youth; that advice for the prosperous beginning of their studies may be supplied them; and that, evidence of this being given, they may be admitted to the study of letters, if their age permits, by the use of wine and salt, and dismissed."*

In Jena, the Deposition was restricted to this: that the instruments of martyrdom were only exhibited to the new-comers, their use explained, an appropriate admonition given, and then, as before, they were taken to the dean of the philosophical faculty, who examined them, and instructed them how they ought to live and to study.† In Wittenberg, the practice was discontinued in 1733; and sixteen groschen, which the Depositor had received from a *Beanus*, were handed over to the philosophical faculty.‡

B.—PENNALISM.

The Deposition, in spite of all the tragi-comic annoyances to which the new-comers had to subject themselves, was still, as we have seen, intended in earnest; was even recognized, and indeed commanded, in the academical statutes, and performed in the presence and with the help of the dean of the philosophical faculty.

Unprincipled older students perverted the practice, however, in a dishonest manner, into the devilish caricature of Pennalism. This has been described to us by many cotemporaries, even in many official papers, in royal rescripts, and in a decree of the Diet of Ratisbon; all of which agree so perfectly that we cannot, unfortunately, doubt at all of the actual existence of this imp of the devil.

We have already seen that the university statutes and annals show that at all times dangerous vices and disorders were arising in all the universities.

In a discourse by Prof. Wolfgang Heyder, of Jena,§ in 1607, the whole repulsive life of a rude, disorderly student is described in the strongest language; but Pennalism is not alluded to in it. But only a few years later, about 1610 and 1611, it first appeared,‖ and for fifty years, until 1661, it had possession of the universities. The flourishing season of its tyranny fell in a most terrible period for our country, in that of the Thirty Years' War; in those years when it seemed as if evil had completely gained dominion over good.

---

* Koch, i. 478.

† Pfenning; at the end.

‡ Grohmann, iii. 47.

§ See Appendix VIII.

‖ In the ordinance of the University of Jena, relating to the entire disuse of Pennalism, dated in 1661, it is said that fifty years and more ago it had come thither, and that a prohibition of it had appeared as early as 1610. (Schöttgen, 81.) Luchtenius, at Helmstadt, delivered an address in 1611, at the conclusion of his vice-rectorate, in which he says, "A contagious plague has even now (*pridem*) attacked our university, coming I know not whence"—namely, Pennalism.

What now was the distinction between Pennalism and the other previous vices of student-life; and how did it come to pass that even governments allied themselves together and sought all possible means of exterminating it?

The reason was, that this case was not one of excess by a single person, as had previously happened, but was a real conspiracy, an organization of bad men, by means of which older and abandoned students exercised the harshest tyranny over the younger, and made all discipline impossible. Nor was this organization confined to one isolated German university. The ringleaders in all of them had entered into a league for the maintenance of their villainous scheme, for the prevention of all discipline, and the frustration of all the regulations of academical authorities.

If it is asked how this hellish league could establish itself in so few years, it may be said that the existing ceremony of Deposition was an assistance to it. And when one generation of elder students had, under the cloak of inflicting only the usual annoyances, established complete authority over the new-comers, and kept them for a year in the harshest manner, under the indecent and abominable Pennal service, it was endured in the hope, after the Pennal year was ended, of taking a place among those who should in turn tyrannize over new-comers. Thus the government of these tyrants propagated itself from one generation to the next.

The older, or tyrannizing students, were called *Schorists*, "because they cut off (*abgeschoren*) the hair of the younger students, and also gave them a good dressing down, or, as their vulgar dialect had it, sheared (*geschoren*) them." They were also called *Absoluti*, as being freed from the Pennal obligations.*

The name (Pennals) of the subject-students has been variously derived. It might, very evidently, have been derived from the wearing of such a bunch of feathers as is even now used in schools under the name of Pennal;† those students were intended to be ridiculed by it who industriously made notes of the lectures.‡

The mode in which the Schorists apprehended the new-comers is given by Schröder. "When young people," he says, "come to the university, they have scarcely set one foot inside a door, or house, or city, before one of these national brothers waits upon them to inquire, 'Will you come to the magnificus, and promise to obey him in all proper things?' 'What magnificus?' they ask. 'You have no friend near him,' it is answered, 'and his opinion of you will be small. We

* Schüttgen, 16. † Ib. 18. ‡ For other nicknames of the Pennals, see Appendix IX.

will advise you how to arrange matters so that you shall thank us all your lives. Follow our advice with cheerfulness, or you will have to follow it in sorrow; join yourself to the nation; a year soon goes by; lest they treat you so that you will have cause to curse them all your life.'

"To accomplish their designs they used both deceit and force. As for the former, they pretended that their organization and meetings established love and friendship,—as the Epicureans were accustomed to do, probably; that is, by great glasses, beakers, and cans. There they bound themselves to each other, with cursing and swearing, to live and die like brothers for the welfare of each other. But scarcely would an hour or half an hour go by, when from one word, or one cup which one had got more or less than another, arose a great quarrel; and those who a little before had been willing to praise each other to the heavens, both by word and writing, were abusing each other and pulling each other by the hair."*

We have many descriptions of the vile and abandoned student-life of the period of Pennalism; the following very lively one is from the pseudonymous Philander von Sittewald:†

"Meanwhile I saw a great chamber; a common lodging-room, or museum, or study, or beer-shop, or wine-shop, or ball-room, or harlot's establishment, &c., &c. In truth I cannot really say what it was, for I saw in it all these things. It was swarming full of students. The most eminent of them sat at a table, and drank to each other until their eyes turned in their heads like those of a stuck calf. One drank to another from a dish—out of a shoe; one ate glass, another dirt; a third drank from a dish in which were all sorts of food, enough to make one sick to see it. One gave another his hand: they asked each other's names, and promised to be friends and brothers forever; with the addition of this clause, 'I will do what is pleasant to you, and avoid what is unpleasant to you;' and so each would tie a string off his leather breeches to the many-colored doublet of the other. But those with whom another refused to drink acted like a madman or a devil; sprang up as high as they could for anger, tore out their hair in their eagerness to avenge such an insult, threw glasses in each others' faces, out with their swords and at each other's heads, until here and there one fell down and lay there; and such quarrels I saw happen, even between the best friends and blood relatives, with devilish rage and anger. There were also others who were obliged to serve as waiters and pour out drink, and to receive knocks on the head and pulls of the hair, and other similar attentions, which the others bestowed on them as if on so many horses or asses; sometimes drinking to them a dishful of wine, and singing the Bacchus song, or repeating the Bacchus Mass—'*O vitrum glorioum!*' Resp. '*Mihi gratissimum!*'—which waiters were termed by the rest, Bacchants, Pennals, house-cocks, mother-calves, sucklings, quasimodogeniti; and they sang a long song about them, beginning—

'Proudly all the Pennals hither are gathered,
Who are lately newly feathered,
And who at home have long been tethered,
Nursing their mothers.'

And which ends—

'Thus are all of the Pennals treated,
Although they all are very conceited.'

* Schröder's *Trumpet of Peace*, 33; in Schöttgen, p. 40; and compare Meyfart's description, Appendix X.

† *Sixth Tale*, Part I. Given by Schöttgen, p. 35.

"At the conclusion of these ceremonies and songs they cut off their hair, as they do that of a professing nun. From this, these students are called *Schoriten*, also *Agirer*, *Pennalisirer*; but among themselves they call each other gay, free, honest, brave, or stout-hearted students.

"Others I saw wandering about with their eyes nearly shut, as if they were in the dark, each with a drawn sword in his hand, which they would strike on the stones till the sparks flew; then would cry out into the air so that it would give one a pain in the ears; would assault the windows with stones, clubs, and sticks, and cry out, Here, Pennal! here, Feix! here, Bech! here, caterpillar! here, Mount-of-Olives-man! with such a tearing and striking, driving and running about, cutting and thrusting, as made my hair stand on end. Others drank to each other off seats and benches, or off the table or the floor, under their arms, under their legs, on their knees, with the cup under them, over them, behind them, or before them. Others lay on the floor and let it be poured into them as if into a funnel.

"Soon the drinking-cups and pitchers began to fly at the doors and the stove, and through the windows so outrageously, that it provoked me; and others lay there, spewing and vomiting like dogs."

A second description of this abominable student-life is given by Schöttgen, from a work published at Giessen,* which states that "the Schorists, at the Pennal feasts, when they have eaten and drank to their satisfaction, are accustomed to carry off movables, books, manuscripts, clothes, and whatever else they happen to find; and, moreover, to be guilty of all manner of insolences, such as breaking down and destroying stoves, doors, windows, tables, and chests.

"And, further, the younger students have been made to copy all sorts of writings, to wait, to go of errands, even ten and twenty miles and more. If one of these *maleferiata* and Pennal-flayers happens to choose to have something copied, the junior must be at hand to serve as his scribe; has he guests and friends with him, the young man must be there to wait; is there any thing else to be done or to be obtained, or to be brought from any of the neighboring villages, the young fellow must go at his order, and be his servant, messenger, and porter. Does he choose to walk, the junior must attend as his body-guard; is he stupidly drunk, the novice must not flinch nor budge from him, but must remain close at hand as if he were his master, must serve him and help him along the street. Is he sick, the juniors must wait on him by turns, so that he need never be alone; does he wish for music, if the junior is skilled in it he must be his musician, all night long if he desires it. Is any thing else whatever required, the new-comer is set about it, and he must be forthcoming, even if he were sick in bed from his discipline, and at midnight. Does the older student get into a quarrel or a fight, the junior must carry his sword to him, and be ready for assiduous service in the matter. Would he gratify his vile desires with blows, the junior must suffer the blows and boxes on the

* Schöttgen, p. 46; from "*Pennalismi Abrogatio et Profligatio ex Academia Hasso Liesna.*" Giessen, 1660, folio.

ear which come from his cursed and devilish passion; must patiently endure the most shameful personal abuse, and must let the other work his entire will upon him as if he were nothing but a dog. In short, he treats him like a slave, after his own hateful will, almost more harshly than the harshest tyrants or most shameless men could do; and what is still more, although these tormentors inflict the most unendurable tortures upon these young people, they must preserve perpetual silence about it, and must not dare to open their lips or complain to any one, even to the academical authorities; or otherwise they will never be 'absolved' and admitted to become students; which threat terrifies them so much, that they would suffer the most severe and vilest shame and torment ten times over rather than to inform any one about it."

We find a third description in a rescript of Duke Albrecht of Saxony to the University of Jena, in 1624.* He says: "Customs before unheard of—inexcusable, unreasonable, and wholly barbarian—have come into existence. When any person, either of high or low rank, goes to any of our universities for the sake of pursuing his studies, he is called by the insulting names of Pennal, fox, tape-worm, and the like, and treated as such; and insulted, abused, derided, and hooted at, until, against his will, and to the great injury and damage of himself and his parents, he has prepared, given, and paid for a stately and expensive entertainment. And at this there happen, without any fear of God or man, innumerable disorders and excesses, blasphemies, breaking up of stoves, doors, and windows, throwing about of books and drinking-vessels, looseness of words and actions, and in eating and drinking, dangerous wounds, and other ill deeds; shames, scandals, and all manner of vicious and godless actions, even sometimes extending to murder or fatal injuries. And these doings are frequently not confined to one such feast, but are continued for days together at meals, at lectures, publicly and privately, even in the public streets, by all manner of misdemeanors in sitting, standing, or going, such as outrageous howls, breaking into houses and windows, and the like; so that by such immoral, wild, and vicious courses not only do our universities perceptibly lose in good reputation, but many parents in distant places either determine not to send their children at all to this university—founded with such great expense by our honored ancestors, now resting in peace with God, and thus far maintained by ourselves—or to take them away again; so that if this most harmful state of affairs is not ended and removed out of the way at the begin-

* Dated Dec. 9; given by Meyfart, p. 205.

ning, it may well happen that very soon no students whatever will be left in the place, and that this institution, which even in these careful and perilous times is so useful in advancing the glory of God, spreading abroad his name, which alone makes blessed, the promotion of all good and liberal arts, and the maintenance of spiritual and temporal government, which depends on them, may go entirely to ruin."*

Much influence was exerted by a work upon Pennalism, entitled, "Christian Recollections of the Orders and Honorable Customs introduced in many of the Evangelical Universities in Germany, and of the barbarous ones now for some years crept in during these miserable times, by Johannes Matthæus Meyfart, Doctor in the Holy Scriptures and Professor in the Ancient University of Erfurt: Schleissingen, 1636." The author will be remembered by many readers by his hymn, "Jerusalem, thou lofty builded city," and by his two works "On the Heavenly Jerusalem," and "On the Four Last Concerns of Men." It may be imagined what the feelings of one who found such pleasure in the great themes of eternity would be in respect to the immoral and vicious courses of the students of his university.† In severe anger against it, he describes it in the coarsest terms, only caring to make his account true and comprehensive. His anger sometimes carries him beyond moderation, and even to injustice to the Lutheran Church; but the substantial truth of his description of Pennalism is shown by its agreement with those of his contemporaries.‡

Although in earlier times part of the students lived immorally, still new-comers could easily avoid them, and follow their own course. But during the ascendency of Pennalism this was substantially impossible, as appears by a letter of the well known Schuppius to his son, who was about entering the university. He says to him: "You may imagine that at the universities they sup clear wisdom up by spoonfuls, and that no folly is to be seen in any corner, but when you come there, you must be a fool for the first year. You know that I have spared no pains or money upon you, and that you have not grown up behind your father's stove, but that I have carried you about from one place to another, and that already a great lord has looked upon you with pleasure and given you a place at his table. But you must forget this. For it is a part of wisdom to be foolish with the age, and to give in to its manners so far as conscience will allow. Let yourself be plagued and abused for this year, not only in good German but in slang. When an old Wetterauer or Vogelsberg Milk Cudgel steps up

* Luchtenius says of Pennalism, even in 1611: "It cannot be said how it produces all manner of corrupt ways, destroys all discipline, and evidently cools down a love of learning."

† Meyfart was born at Jena in 1590, and died at Erfurt in 1642. ‡ Appendix X.

and pulls your nose, let it not appear singular to you; endure it, and harden yourself to it. '*Olim meminisse juvabit.*' I warn you faithfully against becoming yourself one of the gang of Schorists after the Pennal year is over."* Whether the son followed this advice after enduring the frightful Pennal life for a whole year, is very doubtful.

"The end of the Pennal year," says Schöttgen, "was the absolution; in which a member of the whole Landsmannschaft 'absolved' them, after the conclusion of the year, and declared them real students. For this purpose the poor Pennal was obliged first to go round to all the members of the Landsmannschaft, and request them to permit him to be released from his slavery. If he found grace in their eyes, he had now to furnish an absolution feast. After this he was a student, and there forthwith entered into him seven evil spirits, who made him torment the Pennals just as he had himself been tormented."

The various governments now undertook to put an end to these evils, but after a time they found that successful efforts were impossible singly. For if an ill-conducted Schorist were sent away from Leipzig, he would go to Jena, and be received with open arms by his companions there. For this reason several universities, as Wittenberg, Königsberg, Marburg and others, associated together and made statutes in common against the practice.† Still they accomplished no more than other single universities with their innumerable prohibitions and severe punishments.

In 1654, the German princes took occasion, at the Diet of Ratisbon, to procure the following ordinance:‡ "Whereas we have taken into careful consideration the severe and bitter afflictions, especially the bloody and wearisome war, with which Almighty God, in his justice, is disciplining our beloved fatherland and the German nation, together with other neighboring kingdoms and countries, and have still more ripely considered the causes whereby these evils have come upon a country and people so remarkably prosperous, we have found not to be the least, among other fearful vices which have come into vogue notwithstanding both the first and second tables of the Ten Commandments of God, that most harmful and disorderly custom which has crept into the universities of Germany, called Pennalism; by which certain young persons, reckless, wicked, evil-trained, and neglecting all Christian discipline, waylay in the most scandalous manner those who come from other places to the universities from trivial-schools, pæda-

* Schuppius' "*Friend in Need*," i. 252.

† These statutes are given in Arnoldt (i. 438), and were confirmed by Elector George William. (Ibid. 444.) Schöttgen (p. 140) gives the same information from the orations of Schuppius.

‡ Schöttgen, 149.

gogiums, or gymnasiums, to acquire various learning in the classical tongues, liberal arts, philosophy, or in the higher faculties, as well as those who are born and brought up in the places where such universities are,—who treat them barbarously, not only with insulting scoffing gestures and words, but with dishonorable and abominable abuses and blows, and often demand of them such service and waiting on as a reasonable master would hesitate to require from the least of his servants, —but also oblige these new students, at coming and going, and whenever else they choose, to furnish them with feasts and entertainments; so that the money which their parents, often with the utmost difficulty, in these times, when money is so scarce, have given them to maintain them through the year, must be squandered in one and another drinking-bout and feast; so that many good minds are driven desperate by such 'exagitations' and 'concussions;' and the result is, that many well-begun courses of study are obstructed, and parents disappointed in the hopes they have conceived, as well as the church, the government, schools and the commonwealth, deprived in the most unjustifiable manner of useful instruments."*

But this ordinance in like manner failed of its effect; and successful steps in the business were only first taken from 1660 to 1662. Saxony was first; Pennalism being driven out from her universities of Wittenberg, Jena, and Leipzig, by the regulation that a student expelled from one of them for that reason, should not be admitted into either of the others. This example was followed by the universities of Helmstadt, Giessen, Altorf, Rostock, Frankfurt, and Königsberg. In 1664, Elector Friedrich Wilhelm powerfully confirmed the Königsberg anathema against Pennalism, by an edict, in which he expresses great indignation against the mode in which students newly come to the university are "held in servitude for a year," and demoralized through and through. And he adds: "This vicious and disorderly life so well pleases the Pennals, that they forget their freedom, and take so much pleasure in their servitude, hard as it is, that they not only do not shame to recognize this slavery by assuming disreputable costumes and other outward distinctions and disgraces, but even hold them a credit; and thus come to respect the usurped authority of their disorderly seniors more than the regular power of the established academical magistracy."†

It was only after the extinction of Pennalism, which was finally destroyed about 1660, that well-meaning students could employ their time well at the universities. This appears by the following letter

* This ordinance is followed by the prohibition of Pennalism issued by Duke Eberhard of Würtemberg, in 1655. (Klüpfel, 184.) † Arnoldt, i. 446.

from Dr. Haberkorn, at Giessen, to Dr. Weller, April 6, 1661.* He writes: "The condition of our university since we have utterly destroyed the Pennal system, is quiet and prosperous. The number of students does not decrease, but increases. The ridiculing and other features of the accursed Pennalism have entirely ceased, so that I hardly seem to be rector, although I yet hold that office. Many parents thank God with uplifted hands, and wish our university much of the divine blessing. I remember to have earnestly urged your high-worthiness, at Frankfurt, to push your efforts to banish this hell-hound out of all the universities in the Roman Empire; but that in spite of all the pains that could be taken, it could not be done. Now, however, I doubt not your high-worthiness will make use of your great influence and good fortune, to banish this deviltry at least out of the Saxon universities. For our example shows clearly that the object is proved practicable, and that the devil will fail of his purpose, however much pains he takes to maintain his kingdom of Pennalism."

To return once more to the history of that vile custom. It has been observed that the old practice of the Deposition may have given rise to Pennalism, and that it was made a cloak for it; and also, that thoroughly organized societies of students made opposition to all discipline, and this not only in single universities, but that there existed a league embracing several of them, which prevented the operation even of the severest regulations.

These societies we have referred to as "nations;" but they had nothing in common with the "nations" of an earlier period. The latter, as we have seen, were openly established and recognized corporations, who elected procurators, took part in the government of the university, &c.; whereas the "nations" of the 17th century corresponded to the "*Landsmannschaften.*"† This is clearly shown by a "programme" issued by the University of Leipzig in 1654, at expelling a Schorist. "From this," says Schöttgen,‡ "we see that the Schorists had their 'nations,' and in them *seniores*, *fisci*, and a fiscal officer; that they had a correspondence with other universities, and that when one university would endure one of their number no longer, they pro-

* Schöttgen, 111.

† It has been stated that Duke Rudolph organized four "nations" at the University of Vienna, as having taken that of Paris for a model. Each of these included students from the most different and distant countries:—e. g., the Saxon nation included Treves, Bremen, and Prussia. The *Landsmannschaften*, on the other hand, belonged to the countries after which they were named. Thus, in the 17th century, at Tübingen, the students from Hohenlohe organized the New Würtemberg *Landsmannschaft*; those of Ulm the Danubia; those of Old Würtemberg the Würtembergia, and the Swiss the Helvetia. (Klüpfel, 293.)

‡ Schöttgen, 103. The "nations" thus broken up at Leipzig, had no relation whatever to the four old "nations" which existed from the foundation of the university until 1830.

vided for him elsewhere; that they held those dishonorable who revealed any matter to the authorities, and persecuted them everywhere." From a similar document of November 13, 1659, we see in still greater detail, "that each 'nation' had its seniors, directors, fiscal department, and even its beadles, who held their offices by turns, some for a longer and some for a shorter time. New-comers had to submit to be 'inscribed' in one of these. They were cited before the Schorists, and their cases adjudicated; and every one who according to this tribunal was guilty of any thing, was fined in money or in an entertainment. Any one who told tales out of school, or went to the authorities to complain, was held dishonorable."

What a devilish sort of authority the "seniors" of these nations practiced, appears from an example given by Schöttgen.* In 1639 a student named Holdorff complained to the prorector at Rostock, that "as his Pennal year was out some days since, and he was required to proceed to Copenhagen to enter into an employment there, he had gone to Höpner, as senior of his nation, and had asked to be absolved. He answered, however, that it had been decided in the nation that he must stay six weeks over his year; and therefore he required him to stay. He went to him again and asked amicably that he might be absolved; to which Höpner answered that he must remain, and should; and that if he did not complete his year, and six weeks, six days, six hours, and six minutes besides, he would be *sent for*. He asked him a third time to absolve him; but Höpner answered no less positively that if he did not stay, and went, he would surely be sent for." Höpner afterward cited Holdorff before him, and because for fright he did not appear, that senior and four others broke into his lodgings at night with drawn swords.

As the tyranny of Pennalism was based on these nations, and operated by means of them, Elector Friedrich Wilhelm, in the rescript already quoted, ordains with great justice, "that the most injurious system of Pennalism, as well as the national organizations, shall be wholly broken up and destroyed."† The truth of the further allegation in the same rescript, viz., that Pennals have become so corrupted by their disorderly life that they have forgotten their freedom, and take pride in their severe servitude, appears from the following fact. When the Elector of Saxony's ordinance against Pennalism in Leipzig was published in 1661, "more than two hundred Pennals got together,

* P. 94. Schöttgen took the account from a university protocol.

† Arnoldt, i. 443. The attempt made by the University of Königsberg, in 1670, to legalize four nations—Pomeranian, Silesian, Prussian, and Westphalian—and to exercise authority over them, failed. Arnoldt, i. 261.

and foolishly swore to adhere to the practice of Pennalism, and not permit it to perish. They, however, soon thought better of it."*

But were these associations destroyed, together with Pennalism, in the year 1662? By no means. We shall see that the *Burschenschaft* substantially put an end to Pennalism, although it may be said to have continued to exist in the *Landsmannschaften*, but not in its earlier coarse and abominable phase.

[To be continued.]

APPENDIX.

I. Bull of Pius II. for establishing the University of Ingolstadt.†

Pius, bishop, servant of the servants of God, in perpetual remembrance:—Among the happinesses which in this unstable life are offered us by the gift of God, it is not to be counted among the least that by assiduous study the pearl of knowledge may be found; which points out the way to live well and happily, and makes the learned far different from the unlearned, and like God. And besides that, it introduces such to the clear comprehension of the secrets of the universe; it assists the unlearned, and raises on high those born in the lowest places; and for these reasons the Apostolic See,—a provident manager in things both spiritual and temporal—a careful distributor of its honorable abundance—and the continual and faithful helper of every commendable work,—in order that men may be the more easily carried to the attainment of so lofty a point of earthly condition, and to refund again with increase to others what they have gained, since distribution diminishes the quantity of other things, but knowledge increases by being communicated in proportion as it is diffused among more persons—exhorts them to prepare places for it; assists and cherishes it; and is itself accustomed, especially at the request of Catholic princes, willingly to make grants for its convenience and usefulness.

A petition lately exhibited to us on the part of our beloved son, the noble Louis, Count Palatine on the Rhine, Duke of Bavaria, imports that he, having long and providently considered that by the labors of those who pursue learned studies the Divine Majesty is worthily worshiped; the truth of the orthodox faith illustrated; virtues and good morals are acquired, and every species of human prosperity augmented, fervently desires, for the good of the common weal, that in his city of Ingolstadt, in the Diocese of Eystett—which is very fit for the purpose, and in which the air is temperate, and an abundance of the necessaries of life is found, and which has no other university within a circuit of almost a hundred and fifty Italian miles around it, or thereabouts—there may be founded a university in all the lawful faculties (*studium generale in qualibet licita Facultate*), where the faith may be promoted, the simple instructed, equity in judgment preserved, reason cultivated, the minds of men enlightened, and their intellects illustrated.

We, having attentively considered the premises, and also the eminent sincerity of the faithful devotion which the said duke has been proved to feel to us and to the Roman Church, experience a fervent desire that the said city may be embellished with the gifts of science, so that it may produce men eminent for mature judgment, crowned with ornaments of virtues, and erudite in the doctrines of the various faculties, and that there may be there a plentiful fountain of learning, from

---

* Schöttgen, 112. † Mederer, iv. 16.

whose abundance all may drink who desire to be imbued with good literature;—and favorably inclining to the supplications of the aforesaid duke on that part, for the glory of the divine name, and the propagation of the faith, by apostolical authority do determine and ordain that in the said city there shall henceforward be a university, and that it shall there exist for all future time, in theology, canon and civil law, medicine, arts, and every other lawful faculty. And that readers (*legentes*) and students in it may for the future enjoy and use all privileges, liberties, exemptions, honors, and immunities whatsoever, and in the same manner as masters, doctors, and students in the University of Vienna do or can enjoy or use them. And that those who in process of time shall have merited the reward of superiority in the faculty which they study, and shall have sought a license to teach, that they may instruct others, or the honor of the master's degree, or the doctorate, may be admitted to the same by the doctor or doctors, or master or masters of such faculty, after strict examination, with the usual formalities. And those who have been examined and approved in the said university of the said town, and have obtained a license to teach, or an honor, may thereafter have full and free liberty of reading and teaching, both in the said city and in other universities where they may desire to read or teach, without other examination or approbation, notwithstanding the statutes, customs, and privileges of the University of Vienna, or of other universities, assured to them by oath, apostolical confirmation, or any other confirmation whatever, precisely as if special and express mention had been made of them, and of the entire tenor of them, in these presents, and of all other contrary matters whatsoever.

But we ordain that scholars in this university about being erected, taking an honor of any grade, shall be held obligated, and obliged, to take a proper oath of fidelity, before the Rector for the time being of the said university, according to the form given in these presents. And the form of the said oath is as follows: "I, a scholar of the University of Ingolstadt, in the diocese of Eystett, will, from this hour forward, be faithful and obedient to Saint Peter and to the holy Roman Church, and to my lord, the lord Pius the Second, papal pontiff, and to his successors canonically succeeding. I will not enter into any plan, agreement, undertaking, or act, to cause them to lose life or limb, or into any machinations or conspiracies for the derogation or prejudice of the person of any one of them, or of the authority, honor, or privileges of his Church, or of the Apostolic See, or of the Apostolic statutes, ordinances, reservations, dispositions, or mandates; neither, as often as I shall know of the agitation of any such thing, will I fail to impede it to the best of my ability, or to do whatever I conveniently can to signify the matter to our said lord, or to some other person, through whom it may come to his notice. But the counsels which shall be intrusted to me by them, their messengers, or letters, I will reveal to no one, to their damage. I will be their assistant against every man, for the retaining and defending the Roman primacy, and the royalties of St. Peter. I will be diligent to increase and promote, as much as in me lies, their authority, privileges, and rights, and to observe with care their statutes, ordinances, reservations, and dispositions. I will assist the legates of the Apostolic See honorably, and in their necessities; and will follow up, and fight against, to the utmost of my strength, heretics and schismatics, and such as shall rebel against any one of the aforesaid successors to our lord. So help me God, and these holy Evangelists of God."

Let no man whatever, therefore, infringe upon this our statute and ordinance, or with rash daring violate it; and if any shall presume to attempt it, let him know that he will incur the wrath of the omnipotent God, and of St. Peter and St. Paul, the Apostles. Given at Siena, in the year of the divine incarnation one thousand four hundred and fifty-nine, on the seventh to the ides of April. In the year of our pontificate, the first.

II. List of Lectures in the Faculty of Arts.

Prague, 1366.†

	Honorarium. Groschen.	Months.
Metaphysica,*	8	6
Physica,*		9
On the heavens,*	5	4
Generation,*	3	2
Sense and sensation,*		
Memory and recollection,*		
Sleep and waking,*		
Length and shortness of life,*		
Vegetables,*		
Ethics and Physics,*		9
Politics and Physics,*		6
Rhetoric and Physics,*		9
Œconomics,*		
Boethius de consolatione,	4	3
The old logic,	3	4
Prior (ethics?)*	4	4
Posterior (ethics?)*	3	3
Topica,*	4	4
Treatise of Peter Hispanus,	2	3
Material Sphere,	1	1½
Algorism,		½
Theory of the planets,	2	1½
Six books of Euclid,	3	6
Almagest,	12	12
Almanach,	10	6
Priscian (major),	2	2
De Græcismo,	6	6
Poetria nova,	2	3
Labyrinth,	1	1½
Boetius on the discipline of schools,		
Doctrinale, 2d part,		

Erfurt, 1449.‡

	Months.
Physics,	3
On the soul,	3
On heavens and earth,	3
On meteors,	3
Lesser natural philosophy,*	2
Ethics,	3
Politics,	6
Œconomics,	1
Metaphysics,	6
Euclid,	6
Theory of the planets,	1½
Music,	1
Art of metrical composition,	1
Perspective,	3
Material sphere,	1½
Old logic,	3½
Prior (ethics?)	3½
Posterior (ethics?)	3½
Topica	4
Elenchi.*	2
Peter Hispanus,	3
Suppositions, amplifications, restrictions, and appellations,	2
Consequences,	1
Billigam?	1
Obligatory and insoluble propositions,	1
Priscian (minor),	3
Donatus,	1
Alexander, part 1st (Doctrinale),	1
Same, part 2,	1
Same, part 3,	1
Boetius on the consolations of philosophy,	1
Loyca Heysbri,	4
Poetria,	2
Computus,	1
Algorism,	1
Labyrinth,	2

Ingolstadt, 1472.§

	Honorarium. Groschen.
Lesser logic, and exercises,	
Old logic, and exercises,	24
Elenchi	3
Obligatory propositions,	1
Physics, and exercises,	
Material sphere,	3
Euclid, 1st book,	1
Algorism, integers,	1
Some book on rhetoric,	1
Alexander, 1st part (Doctrinale),	3
Same, 2d part	3
Prior (ethics?) exercises,	10
(The preceding examined on for baccalaureate; the following for the master's degree.)	
Ethics,	
Metaphysics,	9
On meteors,	11
On generation and corruption,	3
On heavens and earth,	6
Lesser natural philosophy,	3
Theory of the planets,	3
Common arithmetic,	2
Topica,	6
On the soul,	11
Posterior (ethics?)	3

Vienna, 1389.‖

	Honorarium. Groschen.
Physics,	3
Metaphysics,	9
Heavens and earth,	5
On generation and corruption,	3
On meteors,	5
On the soul,	5
Lesser natural philosophy,	3
Ethics,	12
Politics,	10
Œconomics,	2
Boetius on the consolations of philosophy,	5
Euclid, 5 books,	6
Theory of the planets,	4
Perspective,	5
Bragwardinus on proportionate lengths,	3
On breadth of forms,	2
Albertus Magnus' summary of nat. phil.,	4
Old logic,	5
Peter Hispanus,	3
Prior (ethics?)	3

† From "*Monumenta Universitatis Pragensis*," i. 1, 76. I give these lists as in the original sources, with their characteristic errors.

‡ Motschmann, i. § Mederer, iv. 93.

‖ Zeisl, 188. This list is headed, "We now assign the books ordinarily to be read, with the fees of the same, which no master may presume to augment." These fees will sufficiently indicate those for the other ordinary lectures.

Upon the above lists of lectures in arts, it may be observed:

1. The books which passed for Aristotle's are marked with a star (*), in the Prague list; as is also the Elenchi, in the Erfurt list, for the same reason. The latter, together with the Prior and Posterior (ethics?), and Topics, belong to the new logic. The "old logic" (*Vetus ars, Logica vetus*) is not that of Aristotle.

Lesser natural philosophy.—"Part 6th of the Aristotelian Physiology, which disputes upon the general characteristics of living beings, such as memory and recollection, sense and sensation, sleep and dreams, . . . waking, respiration, old age, life, death; which three are called lesser natural philosophy (*parva naturalia*)." See *Monum. Univ. Prag.*, i. 2, 551, 564, 567.

2. *Honorarium, or fee* (*Pastus*).—At Prague, those who were unable to pay 12 gulden a year, might attend the lectures free. The professor was not to take more than the fixed fee for each lecture, nor, however, might he take less (by way of attracting scholars). If the smallness of his audience compelled him to discontinue his lectures, he was obliged to return to those from whom he had received it, the fee, less a part proportioned to the lectures read. Receivers or collectors corresponded to the present quæstors, and their office was "to collect the dues of the faculty; and accordingly *collecta* is the honorarium." (*Zeisl*, 188, 147.)

VIII. EXTRACT FROM AN ADDRESS BY WOLFGANG HEYDER, PROFESSOR AT JENA, DELIVERED IN THE YEAR 1607.

Such a vicious student prays not at all to God, and in accordance with such recklessness, when reproved by any one, even mildly, says, "The hogs, although they neither fear God nor call upon him, yet grow fat on their food in the sty."

He goes unwillingly past a church, not to mention his entering it. He is as rare a bird in the church as a black swan in the African forests. Of preachers he says, "They are passionate, morose, eccentric fellows, whose great enjoyment consists in attacking, reproving, and abusing others; damning them in the pulpit, and sending them to hell. They are always harping on the same string; singing the same old song that everybody has heard a thousand times and more."

He neither has at hand the Holy Scriptures, in which the Son of God has commanded us to search, nor does he think it necessary to read in them, unless when he has been in some quarrel, and been so pounded that he can scarcely breathe, and begins to despair of his life. Then he borrows a Bible from his neighbor, and tries a few verses, just as they occur to his stupid head, but with discomfort, for he gapes with idleness, and scratches his head with the difficulty of reading. But as soon as the barber tells his client to be of good hope, the sick man throws away that old book, and at once resumes his former course.

The base desires which find nourishment in such a life, completely destroy all susceptibility to honor, all love of virtue, and all pleasure in study; and, indeed, extirpate their very seeds. He thinks not of wisdom, nor of ability, nor of honorable studies, nor of the welfare of church or state; but he is absorbed with contemptible tricks, sloth, idleness, drinking, harlotry, fighting, wounds, murder.

If you happen to enter his room, I ask you what will you find for furniture; what will you find? In the first place, no books—for what has such a hot, or frantic soldierly fellow to do with cold and spiritless studying?—or perhaps a few carelessly thrown away under seats or in corners, defiled with dust, eaten by moths, almost destroyed by mice.

If you look up and down, you will see hanging on the wall a few swords and daggers, of which most would not bring three *heller* when the time comes to pay the Rector's bills. And there are are a few guns, which he has from time to time not been ashamed to steal from the suburbs, between some shingled house and the barn full of grain. You will see armor, or steel gloves, with which our giant appears, not unarmed, at the fighting-ground; and doublets, wadded and well-filled in with cotton, tow, hair, or whalebone, so that if a quarrel happens they will stand a sword-thrust.

You will see a few bowls and many glasses awaiting new guests. You will see cards, draught-board, dice, and other means of destroying money and youth.

He attends the public course either not at all, or very late; and hears no lectures, unless he gets caught in the audience, like a hound in a bath.

The lazy marmot either sleeps until noon, or sits at a vulgar drinking debauch, preparing himself for the skirmishing of the night, so that men may see how boldly and actively he will act.

When both streets and chambers are still, and both men have gone to rest and the birds have left off singing in the boughs, and the beasts are sleeping in their dens, then he starts up, with great bangs on posts and doors, and breaks forth from where he had been abiding, armed and surrounded by his followers. Then you have to hear such a frantic horror and tragedy; such a roaring, groaning, hallooing, shrieking, raging, knocking, and throwing of stones, and many more such actions, as, if one of the one-eyed giants had done them, would have brought all Sicily together, and have banished the rioter to eternal misery.

Where one lives whom he thinks his enemy, God preserve us! how many devil's and fool's actions does he perform before his door! how does he kick the door with his feet! how does he throw stones at the window!

He must needs assault the most blameless people, against whom not Momus himself could allege any thing, with such lies, slanders, abuses, and shameful stories, that, although they are all false and pure inventions, something will always be believed, and suspicious minds will be kept uneasy.

When he meets either other students going home, or peaceful citizens, he falls upon them like a murderer or open highwayman, with bare and drawn sword, and while the swearer utters an unimaginable number of oaths, he cuts and thrusts at them, strikes them, wounds them, knocks them down, stamps on them, strangles them, snorts, rages, and behaves exactly like a devil sent out of hell in human shape; and sometimes he injures his adversary, and sometimes carries off his booty with wrath and fury. Or, if the time and place will not endure this, and others will not suffer him to shed swiftly men's blood, and wreak his anger upon them, the ambitious bully requires him with whom he desires to fight to appear at a future day, and requires it with frightful cursings and maledictions. The hour is fixed, and the conditions stipulated, exactly as if he were about to take the field, and lay out an encampment for an army.

And if the summoned party is not prompt in attendance, he must pass for the greatest rascal of all the rascals that ever lived or will live; and probably these announcements are made: "If you are an honorable fellow, meet me early to-morrow morning; if you are of honorable birth, fight me; if you are better than a gallows-thief, set to with me."

When the battle is ended, the university officer comes up and summons our centaurian brawler and man-eater before the Rector. When he appears before him, our cut-and-thruster firstly begins stoutly to deny every thing he did, and for which he is accused and summoned, with a hardy impudence truly wonderful. But when he is convicted, he seeks other devices to escape; and swears that may the devil fetch him if he had not drank so much that he had quite lost his senses, and could neither hear nor see; and that he has forgotten all the things he did or said, and can only very indistinctly remember any thing at all about them.

But all the while that he will not know any thing of the matter, he has every circumstance of it in his mind, and can plead whatever may best serve to excuse his share in the transaction, as skillfully as if Simonides had given him a most masterly training in the art of memory. When the decision is declared, and our young leader must either pack off out of the place, like a tormenting devil whose very shadow harms good people, or must crawl into prison, then you will see what an impassioned advocate he is about his honor. His heroicals surpass all the Stoics and the philosophers, the Aristideses, Rutiliuses, and Catos, and he harangues about his honor with the most brazen impudence.

He requests that his punishment may be remitted; he has just come out for the first time, after being sick; his family will be branded with a disgrace which can never be wiped out. In his country those who have been imprisoned are reckoned infamous; he must have some communication with his friends before undergoing his penalty; and, moreover, there is so much cold and stench in the prison that he cannot be placed there without losing his health, which no money will buy him back.

But when he absolutely must go in, who can tell how horribly he rages about it, and how pitifully our soaker laments! He says he was always a pious fellow, but a little trifle uneasy after drinking. The Rector's official term will come to an end soon, and when he gets out he shall have some new windows, and an everlasting hatred.

They contract mighty debts for board and lodging, which they are never able to pay. But when pay-day comes, and they are called on for the debt, and have to write home, they deceive their parents or guardians about it.

They write, first of all, for their board-money, but with large additions. After it they put down, but with great reluctance and economy, of course, what they have squandered on feast-days, birth-days, and entertainments. After these come the falsest things: "Our landlord married a wife at New Year's, and we had to give her, beyond all measure, a Hungarian ducat for a gift for good fortune; seven *groschen* to each child (there are five), and an *orts-thaler* to each of the servant-girls. And in like manner it was necessary to spend money on each fair-day, of which there are two a year here. And I studied myself into a fever by sitting up late nights, and had to lie abed with it six whole weeks. This cost me eight *thalers* to the apothecary, four to the doctor, three to the barber, and the sixth of one to the boy who brought the medicine and gave it to me.

"I have attended various extra lectures, with great benefit, and paid the instructor who read them, and who values his knowledge highly, six *gulden*, which he refused at first, and wanted one more. I have bought the best and handsomest books, for I could get along as well without them as I could fly without wings. And I owe the bookseller twelve ducats, which I must pay as soon as possible. I have some clothes, to be sure, but my boy has just run away, and stole both my cloaks, my hat, and my purse, with what money I had left, so that I must have some more clothes, which are not to be had for nothing." With such impositions as these they fool their parents and guardians, and also make the insulting charge of avarice against men to whom they have never paid so much as a pear-stem.

Wherever our young gentleman goes, he gives out that he is anxious to marry. He represents himself as an only son, and having very wealthy parents. If his suit prospers, he is going to take his bride to the Fortunate Islands.

He borrows money of his acquaintance, and gets goods on credit at the shops, and with these he befools and entices the poor girl, who most gladly believes what she wishes, and sometimes grants favors which she ought not. But very soon after that, when his desire is satisfied, he pretends an occasion to be angry, and transfers his love to some one else.

His clothes, though not of costly material, are of a foolish and ridiculous pattern. He is first to take up a new fashion, and first to throw it away again, when it is a little out of date.

With hair like a crow's head, and his dog's face scarred up, he is far worse than Virgil's vagabond, Achæmenides.

There is no noble aspiration in him, nor any good habit. He wallows in the filth of his wickedness. His course of villanies hardens him until he loses all sense of shame, and he pursues his evil ways with no reminder from his conscience.

He holds all laws and restraints of authority not worth a snap, and is forsworn and reckless to God—scarcely believing that He exists and governs the world by His wisdom.

After thus passing his university course in neglect of study, debauchery, and folly, he is summoned home, though unwilling; unless, as commonly happens, he is for his heroic virtues cut off like a pestilential member, and rejected from the number of students. He leaves, almost always, yellow, lean, sunken-eyed, lame, toothless, marked all over with scars and bruises. Such are the rewards of his honorable and angelic life.

When he gets to his native place, he is in no great hurry to see the faces of his parents and friends. He turns from a lion to a hare; and in his anguish hides in dark corners, seeks intercessors in his mother, sisters, brothers-in-law, and relatives, and by means of their prayers and entreaties, obtains leave, with great difficulty, to crawl, with what of himself he has not gorged and guzzled away at the university, into his father's house, and to snore and lie hid there. It is months before he has courage to appear on the public streets; the reason, because he will be spit upon and jeered at by every soul he meets. After this he will find himself obliged to follow a different course of life.

IX. Synonyms of Beanus.

Schöttgen says: The Pennals, or young students, have many other names, which I must give in order, in several classes. Some they receive on account of their youth, and as new students, as for example:

1. *Quasimodogeniti*—which excellent expression, used by the Holy Ghost itself, men have shamefully abused.

2. *Neovisti*—perhaps from *neophytus*, a tyro, but with a coarse terminal change.

3. *Crowbills*—as if, like young crows, or other birds, they were yet yellow about the bill.

4. *Housecocks.*

5. *Heifer-calves.*

6. *Sucklings*—as having only just left home, where they had been nursing infants.

7. *Bacchants*—a name, as is well known, applied to all not regularly deposed.

8. *Innocentes*—as not having got far out into the world. By an abuse of theological terms, it was also said that they were *in statu innocentiæ.*

9. *Half-papen*—a name given them at Rostock, meaning half-students. All students were anciently termed *papen*, but at present this term has become one of abuse, which the vulgar are accustomed to apply to students.

10. *Beani*—applied to those not deposed.

11. *Shovers*—because they pretend to be students too soon, and try not to serve out all their Pennal year.

12. *Tapeworms*—for it was pretended that they were full of all manner of uncleanness inside, and so they were given, or, rather, forced to take all sorts of things.

13. *Imperfecti*—because they are not declared free from their obligations; as opposed to the *Absoluti.*

14. *House-pennals; house-goblins; family-foxes* (*stammfeix**)—these names are given to such as are afraid of Pennalism, and stay long at home before going to the university.

X. Meyfart's Aretinus.†

Meyfart (p. 126) relates how the student Aretinus, after leaving the gymnasium, went to the university.

"He hastens to Athens, arrives there, and almost before he has set his foot within the gate, there meets him that man-stealer, that gallows-bird, and destined to be broken on the wheel Kunz Sawrüssel,‡ a monstrous abortion, who ought to be driven from the earth and from the neighborhood of reasoning creatures.

"This beast, I say, recognized Aretinus, as he had formerly attended the preparatory schools with him; and quickly he overclouds his wolfish visage with gloomy wrinkles, pricks up his ass's ears like Egyptian grave-stones, stretches his heavy chops as many ells wide as an elephant, begins to stare out of his eyes like a lion and to make tiger-claws of his hands, mutters a few words between his dog's teeth, curses angrily. He does not insult nor approach the young man, however, but runs after some of his like, and finds, by great misfortune, a filthy vagabond and lewd talker, the vilest of all two or four footed beasts, the most cursed and stinking boar of the mud. He finds him in a public drinking-house, having crammed his foul paunch, and not only wet himself with beer but bathed himself in it; and

---

* In the letter quoted at p. 46, of Duke Albrecht of Saxony to the University of Jena, in 1624, *Feux* is used as a synonym of Pennal. Is *Feux* our present Fox? Compare an article entitled "How comes *Reineke Fuchs* into the universities?" in the Academical Monthly, for August and September, 1853, especially p. 407.

† On Pennalism and Deposition, see "The Academical Life of the Seventeenth Century," by Dr. A. Tholuck, pp. 200 and 279.

‡ *Sawrüssel*, i. e., Hog-snout.

stirred himself up, not to foolishness, but to raging and raving madness. This fellow Sawrüssel informs that a young gentleman has arrived, and those of the place must consider what is to be done. Sawrüssel has scarcely addressed himself to this traitorous abyss (who ought to be decorated with a rope), when behold, all the caves of hell open, and the devils incarnate pour forth from their throats nothing but fearful blasphemies against God, terrific revilings of His name, shameful curses upon the holy sacraments, so that I doubt whether even Rabshakeh the Assyrian had attained to more than a shadow of their recklessness.

"They hold a consultation, and the resolution is adopted that the young gentleman (those who enact it being very old gentlemen, not having the yellow off their bills yet, or their spittle wiped off) must be bravely stirred up, abused, and subjected to tribulation. What further happens? The time comes when these beasts lie down to rest, and the watchman has proclaimed the tenth hour of the night. But now these fellows get up—Sawrüssel, Vollfrass, Schling-Kühe, Gassen-Eule, Geil-Spatz,*—and put their swords at their sides, in order to be able to enforce their designs, and get themselves to Aretinus' lodging. There they neigh like horses, roar like lions, bleat like calves, bellow like cows, grunt like hogs, baa like sheep, hop about like magpies, woodpeckers, and apes; a worse crew than the desert goblins of the wastes of Babylonia, of which the prophet speaks; more freakish than the Zihim and Ohim, stranger than ostriches, more poisonous than dragons.

"Meanwhile these mud-birds asperse the name of Aretinus, break in his windows, and spit out thousands of shameful lies about his honored parents.

"After this they enter Aretinus' room, uninvited and unwelcomed, sit down, snort and bluster like executioners who come into the torture-chamber and see the prisoners, ask for nothing, order every thing, and make Aretinus have beer and wine brought in, and whatever else they fancy.

"They send off also for a martyr-master and torturer, who comes to the feast, and our pious Aretinus has to let himself be struck, insulted (scolded is too mild a term), pounded, punched, thrown about, and abused.

"He is made to crawl under the seats, make a fool of himself, snuff the candle, carry round the liquor, pour out, rinse the glasses, and do more than a slave's services. Neither is he safe at the lecture-room, church, choir, or even at the altar, when he would receive the beloved pledge of Jesus. For this devil's brood, to keep him faithful to his new obligations, stand close at his side, wink, beckon, laugh, and point with the finger at the good Aretinus, until the sacred services are over."

XI. Emperor Leopold's Charter to the University of Halle, Dated October 19, 1698.†

We, Leopold, by the grace of God elected Emperor of the Romans, always Augustus, and of Germany, Hungary, Bohemia, Dalmatia, Croatia, Sclavonia, &c., King, Archduke of Austria, Duke of Burgundy, Brabant, Styria, Carinthia, Carniola, &c., Margrave of Moravia, Duke of Luxemburg, and of Upper and Lower Silesia, Wirtemberg and Teeka, Prince of Sweden, Count of Hapsburg, Tyrol, La Ferette, Kyburg, and Gortz, Landgrave of Alsace, Marquis of the Holy Roman Empire, of Burgau, and of Upper and Lower Lusatia, Lord of the Marches of Sclavonia, Portus Naonis, Salines, &c., do grant and make known to all persons, by the tenor of these presents. Since we were elevated, by the favor and permission of the all-powerful God, to the high office of the imperial majesty, we have considered that the obligations of our office do in an especial manner require us carefully to follow the example of our ancestors, the Roman emperors and kings (who, among the other cares of their supreme power, have thought it especially worthy of their dignity to establish, found, and strengthen the various academies, gymnasia, and universities in the

* Hog-snout, glutton, cow-eater, street-owl, lust-sparrow. † Koch, i. 458.

Holy Roman Empire); that the study of the liberal arts and sciences, which are appropriate and necessary for the government and preservation of the commonwealth, may be cherished and incited by proper honors and rewards, and may by our means be happily promoted. Whereas, therefore, the Most Serene Frederic, Margrave of Brandenburg, Duke of Magdeburg, Stettin, Pomerania, and of the Cassubii, Burggrave of Nuremburg, Prince of Halberstadt, Minda, and Carmina, Count in Hohenzollern, Arch-Chancellor of the Holy Roman Empire, Prince Elector, and our own most beloved relative, has humbly made known to us, that having long considered in what manner he could confer upon his faithful subjects some singular benefit whose fruits should not be of one age only, nor should redound to the benefit of cotemporaries alone, but might endure, and accrue to posterity, he had judged nothing so likely to conduce to the solid happiness of both governors and governed, as to have opinions so directed that youth, especially those approaching maturity, after having prosperously completed their preparatory studies in the lower schools, shall be carried through a higher course of study, imbued with the best learning of every kind, and formed, as it were beneath the eyes and in the sight of their parents, in such a training as, with the blessing of God, may make them useful to the republic. And whereas, among the means of attaining this felicity, the first place is due to those higher schools, which are, as it were, indispensable institutions for the receiving of youth from the introductory ones to more learned studies, shaping them by a superior course of discipline, and at last taking them, as if from a full treasury, thoroughly fitted for undertaking the employments of the republic. And whereas the aforesaid Most Serene Prince Elector hath desired of us, since he, almost alone, of all the princes of Lower Saxony, is not possessed of such a most useful seminary, we should in our kindness deign to grant him, as far as in us lieth, authority to establish such a high gymnasium or academy, in his city of Halle, in the territory of the dukedom of Magdeburg, and subject to the Holy Roman Empire, which in point of privileges and immunities, shall be upon an equal footing with the other privileged universities of Germany, Italy, and France (saving nevertheless our authority, and saving also the supreme jurisdiction of the said Prince Elector, our petitioner, and of his successors), in which academy to be erected, the professors of each several faculty may have power, after a previous rigorous examination, to grant the titles of Doctor, Licentiate, Master, and Bachelor, to those worthy of and entitled to them; who, having been thus promoted, may use, enjoy, possess, and have the pleasure of (*gaudere*), each and every the favors and privileges had by those of the same degrees in other universities; and moreover, in which academy to be erected, the doctors and scholars, with the consent of the said Prince Elector and his successors, may enact their own statutes, make ordinances, and create and appoint a Pro-Rector and Pro-Chancellor (the dignity of Rector and Chancellor remaining with the Prince Elector as founder, and with his successors), and other university officers; and moreover, that the person holding the rectorate of the same university shall possess the dignity of count palatine, and that the conferring of arms and insignia upon the several faculties to be established in the university may be as a favor permitted to him, the Prince Elector, our petitioner. We, from the singular and benignant affection which we entertain toward the Most Serene Prince Elector of Brandenburg, have thought proper to grant (and do by these presents graciously grant), in reply to his petition, in manner following, for his pleasure, and do graciously concede to him, authority to erect in the aforesaid city, subject to us and to the Holy Roman Empire, a higher gymnasium or academy and university of all such laws, arts, and sciences, as are accustomed to be publicly set forth and taught in any gymnasium, university, or academy throughout all our dominions and those of the Holy Roman Empire, in such manner as we give and grant the aforesaid power and privilege in these presents, with deliberation, from mature consultation

thereon had, and of our certain knowledge; that is to say, so that the said gymnasium, or academy, and university may be founded and erected by the said Most Serene Prince Elector at Halle (without any prejudice, however, to neighboring universities); and when it shall have been erected, with all the professors, doctors, and students contained in it, and shall contain a body of youth cultivating the study of letters in it, and such other persons as pertain to it, it shall possess equal rights and dignities, and all immunities, privileges, liberties, honors, and franchises as are used, enjoyed, possessed, and delighted in by the other universities of Germany and their members. And we desire, and by the same our imperial authority do decree, that professors and fit persons may be appointed by the said Prince or by his delegates, to profess (*profiteri*) in the said university, and to hold public lectures, disputations, and recitations (*repetitiones*), to propose arguments for public discussion, to interpret, comment, and explain, and to do all scholastic acts, in the mode, manner, and order which is accustomed in other universities. And if the course of study shall have been successfully pursued, and shall be carried on further, and if a proper honor or grade of dignity shall be decided upon in acknowledgment of talent or good conduct, and such as may merit at any time the worthy reward of their labor, shall seek the same; we enact and ordain that a tribunal of professors and doctors shall be formed, and that any who shall be judged worthy to receive the prize for their contest (the most fit and excellent being selected), shall first submit to the observances to be conducted by such doctors and professors, according to the usual custom of other universities, and to a rigorous and diligent preparatory examination (the honesty of which we charge upon the consciences of the professors), and that those submitting themselves for examination, and causing themselves to be presented to the university authorities by respectable and honorable persons, according to custom and to the statutes, may then be admitted to the examination itself, and, the blessing of the Holy Spirit having been invoked, may be examined; and if found and judged fit and sufficient, may be created bachelors, or masters, or licentiates, or doctors, according to the science and learning of each; and may receive the dignity thereof, and be invested with the same by the imposition of the hat, the giving of the ring and the kiss, and may receive and have conferred upon them the usual ornaments and insignia of the said dignities; and that bachelors, masters, licentiates, or doctors created and to be created in the said university ought to and may, in all places and territories of the Holy Roman Empire, and in all other countries and places, freely do all acts of professors, reading, teaching, interpreting, and commenting, which other professors, bachelors, masters, licentiates, and doctors created in other privileged universities may and ought to do by right or custom.

Moreover, we receive the same university, to be erected as above by the aforesaid Most Serene Prince Elector in his duchy of Magdeburg, into the peculiar protection, safeguard, and patronage of ourselves and our successors, Roman emperors and kings; and we ordain and decree by these presents, that scholars who shall receive any dignity or degree in the said university may rejoice in and possess, and can and ought to use, enjoy, rejoice in, and possess, all and singular the grants, honors, dignities, pre-eminences, immunities, privileges, franchises, concessions, favors, indulgences, and all other things whatever, which the universities of Heidelberg, Tübingen, Cologne, Ingolstadt, Friburg, Rostock, Julia Helmstadt, Strasburg, and other privileged universities, and doctors, licentiates, masters, bachelors, and scholars in any one of the aforesaid faculties who are created to or honored with any dignity or degree, rejoice in, use, enjoy, and possess, in any manner whatever, by custom or by law. Any privileges, indulgences, prerogatives, grants, statutes, ordinances, exemptions, or other things whatever to the contrary notwithstanding; all and singular of which, of our certain knowledge, deliberate purpose, and proper motion we repeal, and ordain to be repealed by this our char-

ter; provided, nevertheless, that neither professors nor students shall therein teach or write, or permit to be taught, written, maintained in public lectures or disputations, or secretly or openly spread abroad, either by writing or books, any thing scandalous or contrary to good morals, or adverse to the Constitutions of the Holy Roman Empire.

And we moreover do graciously concede and bestow upon the doctors and scholars, for the time being, of the university to be erected, after the manner of other universities, but with the previous consent had of the aforesaid Frederic, Prince Elector of Brandenburg, and his successors, the faculty and power of enacting statutes, making ordinances, and of creating and appointing a Pro-Rector and Pro-Chancellor (we having chosen that it should rest in the free will and good pleasure of the Prince Elector as founder, and of his successors, to reserve to themselves the dignity of Rector and Chancellor, or if, and as often as they shall choose, to grant to the university the free right, usual in other universities, of electing a Rector and Chancellor), and such other officers as their pleasure or necessity may require. And that the aforesaid Most Serene Prince Elector of Brandenburg and his successors may further experience our gracious sentiments toward this erection and foundation, we have, of the motion, knowledge, and authority aforesaid, conferred, given, and bestowed, and do by the tenor of these presents graciously confer, give and bestow, upon the Pro-Rector to be appointed or elected in the manner already prescribed, or who shall, in succession, at whatever time be filling the office of Rector in the same university, the dignity of Count of the Sacred Lateran Palace, and of our Cæsarean Court and of the Imperial Consistory, and do graciously aggregate him to and inscribe him with the number and company of the other counts palatine.

Decreeing and ordering by this imperial edict, that from this time forward successively, as long as and while he shall fill the office of said Pro-Rector, he may and shall use, enjoy, and rejoice in the privileges, grants, rights, immunities, honors, exemptions, customs, and liberties below written, in manner as the other Counts of the Holy Lateran Palace have hitherto used and possessed the same, or do in any way use and possess them, by custom or by right. And first, that he may, throughout the whole Roman Empire, and in all countries and places, create and make notaries public, or scribes and ordinary judges, and to give and grant such office of notary, or scribe and ordinary judge, to all persons worthy, skillful, and fit for the place, and to invest any of them, by pen and pencase, as the custom is; provided, however, that from such notaries public or scribes and ordinary judges created by him and from each of them, in the place and in the name of ourselves and of the Holy Empire, and as a pledge of fidelity to the Roman Empire, he shall take their corporal and proper oath, in this manner: That they will be faithful to us and to the Holy Roman Empire, and to all our successors, Roman emperors and kings, legitimately succeeding, and will not enter into any design contemplating danger to us, but will faithfully defend and promote our good and our safety, and to the extent of their power prevent and avert our damage. That, moreover, they will fairly, correctly, faithfully, and without any pretense, contrivance, falsehood, or fraud, write, read, draft, and dictate all instruments, public and private, last wills, codicils, testaments, all acts of judges, and all and singular such other things as it may be required from them, and any one of them, by obligation of the said offices, to draft or write, not regarding hatred, money, rewards, or other feelings or favors. And that they will faithfully, according to the custom of their locality, read, draft, and write all writings which they may be required to draw for public purposes, upon clean parchment, not upon erased documents or paper. That they will promote, to the best of their ability, the causes of their guests (*hospitalium*), and of those in distress; and bridges and public roads: that they will faithfully retain in secrecy the testimony and words of witnesses until they shall have been regularly published; and shall well, fairly, and honestly do all and singular such things as

shall in any way whatever pertain to the said offices, either by custom or law. And that such notaries public or scribes and ordinary judges to be created by him may, throughout the whole Roman Empire, and in all other places whatever, draw, write, and publish contracts, acts of judges, instruments and last wills; supply attestations (*decreta*), and authorizations in all contracts requiring any such thing, and do, publish, and exercise all other things which pertain and are known to belong to the office of public notary or scribe and ordinary judge. Decreeing that all instruments and writings made by such scribes, notaries public, or ordinary judges shall have full faith in court and elsewhere; all constitutions, statutes, and other things making to the contrary, notwithstanding. In like manner, by our said imperial authority, we grant to the aforesaid Pro-Rector, or person who shall be filling the office of Rector, that he may have power and authority to make, create, and invest as poets laureate, persons fit therefor and excelling in the poetical faculty, by the imposition of the laurel and the giving of a ring; which poets laureate so created and invested by the same, may have power and authority in all cities, communities, universities, colleges, and schools, of all places and countries of the Holy Roman Empire, and everywhere, freely and without any impediment or contradiction, to read, instruct (*repetere*), write, dispute, interpret, and comment in the science of the said poetical art, and to do and exercise all other poetical acts which other poets and persons adorned with the poetical laurel have been accustomed to do and exercise, and to use, enjoy, possess, and rejoice in all and singular the ornaments, insignia, privileges, prerogatives, exemptions, liberties, concessions, honors, pre-eminences, favors, and indulgences, which other poets laureate, appointed in whatever places and academies, rejoice in, enjoy, and use, either by custom or law. And, moreover, we grant and bestow upon the aforesaid Pro-Rector full power to legitimate natural children, bastards, children of prostitutes and concubines, and incestuous children in marriage or without it; and all others, although infants, and whether present or absent, begotten or to be begotten from illicit or damnable intercourse, whether masculine or feminine, by whatever name called, whether other legitimate children exist or not, and without their consent having been sought for (*iis etiam aliter non requisitis*), and whether their parents be living or dead (the children of illustrious princes, counts, and barons being nevertheless excepted), to restore to them and any one of them, all and singular, legitimate rights, entirely to take away all stain from their birth, by restoring and habilitating them in all and singular their rights of succession and inheritance of paternal and maternal possessions, even from intestate relatives by both father and mother, and in all legitimate honors, dignities, and private agreements, either by contract or by last will, or in any other manner whatever, whether in court or without, precisely as if they had been begotten in legitimate matrimony, all objections from illegitimate birth being completely quieted. And that such legitimation of them so made by him as above, shall be had and held to be done with entire right and lawfulness, not otherwise than if it had taken place with all the legal forms, the defect of which we will and intend to be specially supplied by imperial authority (so nevertheless, that such legitimations shall not prejudice legitimate and natural heirs and children); so that those so legitimated, after having been legitimated, shall be, and shall be held to be, and may be named, and can and ought to be named, in all places, as if legitimate and legitimately born of the house, family, and descent of their parents, and have power and authority to bear and carry the arms and insignia of such parents; and, moreover, that they be made noble, if their parents were noble, certain laws notwithstanding, which provide that natural children, bastards, children of prostitutes and concubines, and incestuous children, whether in marriage or without it, and all others begotten or to be begotten of illegal or damnable intercourse, cannot and ought not to be legitimated while natural legitimate children are living, or without the wish and consent of

the natural and legitimate children, or paternal relatives, or of the lords of the fief; and especially the Novels, "*How natural children may be enfranchised*," *passim*;* and *Liber Feudorum*, "*If there be a controversy between the lord and paternal relations about a fief*;"† and Code, title *Jubemus*, 6, "*Of the emancipation of children*;"‡ and other similar provisions, which laws, and each of them, we ordain to be expressly and intentionally repealed; and notwithstanding the provisions of contracts aforesaid, and of the last wills of deceased persons, and other laws, and their enactments and customs, although they are such as require to be recited or of which special mention ought here to be made; which, in abrogation of, and intending to abrogate them, in this present case at least, we do of our certain knowledge and the plenitude of our imperial power, totally repeal and will to be repealed.

And, moreover, we give and grant to the aforesaid Pro-Rector, or person filling the office of the Rectorate, power and authority to appoint guardians and curators, and to remove the same, for legitimate subsisting causes; to restore infamous persons, whether by law or fact, to good fame, and to purify them from every sign of infamy, whether inflicted or to be inflicted, so that thereafter they shall be held fit and proper persons for all and every transaction, and may be promoted to dignities; also to adopt children, young or adult, and to make, constitute, and ordain them such; also to emancipate children, legitimate and to be legitimated, and adoptive; and to consent to the adoption and emancipation of all and singular, both of infants and adults; and to declare those supplicating it to be of full age, and to give their authorization and decree to that effect; also to manumit servants, and in like manner to give their authorization and decree for any manumission, either with or without the use of the official rod; and to alienations by minors, and transactions by those not enfranchised (*alimentorum*); and to restore to their rights minors, churches, and communities injured, the other party having first been summoned for that purpose, and to grant to them or either of them full restitution, the legal order of proceeding being always preserved.

Lastly, we grant and bestow upon the aforementioned Most Serene Prince Elector of Brandenburg free authority and power of conferring peculiar arms and insignia upon each of the faculties to be established in said university, which they shall have power and authority to use whenever necessary, or at their pleasure, in public writings, edicts, ordinances, and other acts, in place of a seal; saving, nevertheless, as to all the foregoing, our Cæsarean authority, the supreme jurisdiction and all the authority of the founder himself and his successors, and the rights of all other persons whatever.

Let no man, therefore, of whatever state, rank, order, dignity, or pre-eminence, infringe upon the grants and powers of our concession, erection, confirmation, indulgence, protection, countship palatine, and other our privileges above inserted, or with rash daring make opposition to them, or violate them in any manner. And if any one shall presume to attempt to do so, be it known to him that he will incur, without power or remission, both the heaviest indignation of ourselves and of the Holy Empire, and a fine of fifty marks of pure gold for each offense; of which we decree that one-half shall go to the imperial fisc—that is, to our treasury—and the remainder to the aforesaid Most Serene Prince Elector of Brandenburg and to his successors. In testimony whereof these letters are subscribed with our hand and attested by the attachment of our Cæsarean seal. Given at our City of Vienna, on the nineteenth day of October, in the year one thousand six hundred and ninety-three, and of our reign over the Roman Empire the thirty-sixth, over Hungary the thirty-ninth, over Bohemia the thirty-eighth. LEOPOLD.

---

* Novels, 89, *passim*; see *Corpus Juris Civilis*, ed. by Kriegel and others, 3 vols. royal 8vo., Leipsic, 1856, vol. iii. p. 897, *et seq.*

† Lib. Feud., 11, 26, § 11; ib., vol. iii. p. 860.

‡ Cod., viii. 49, 5; ib., vol. ii. p. 559.

II. SAMUEL PHILLIPS, JR.

Samuel Phillips, Jr.,* was the son of Samuel Phillips, of North Andover, a merchant in that village, where he lived and died. His mother, Elizabeth, was daughter of Theodore Barnard, and granddaughter of Rev. Thomas Barnard, the well-known minister of Salem.

The family circumstances of Judge Phillips, and the period of his boyhood and youth, were such as in some measure to account for his character and his life; although they were only accessaries to the rare and high endowments of his nature. His parents buried all the others of seven children, of whom Samuel was the youngest but one, and of whom no other reached adult age. His parents were not without a prevailing sadness of demeanor, natural in those who had lost so many dear to them, and were remarkable for strict habits. His home was the scene of a method and frugality, systematic and thorough almost to severity, even in that day. In his childhood occurred the bloody and exciting incidents of the old French War; as he pursued his preparation for college, the stamp act excitement passed before him; and just as he graduated, the greater scenes of the Revolution opened; and, while scarcely more than a boy, he stepped, as it were, from the halls of Harvard into an active participation in the struggle.

He was, therefore, naturally, a grave, sober, industrious and manly boy; and his character as a man, was the just development of the same and many other virtues. He entered Dummer Academy,† at Byfield, in the spring of 1765, at the age of thirteen, and there, under Master Samuel Moody, pursued his studies preparatory for college; while here, in the words of Mr. Abbott, the historian of Andover, "his proficiency, his manliness and sobriety, and regular conduct, secured the esteem and confidence of his in-

* For the ancestry of Judge Phillips, as the subject of this article was commonly called to distinguish him from his father, and his uncle, Dr. John Phillips, of Exeter, N. H., and William Phillips, of Boston, the reader is referred to an article in another place, upon the life of Dr. John Phillips.

† Founded by Lieut. Gov. William Dummer, who bequeathed his estate for that purpose, and opened in 1763; although not incorporated until Oct. 3, 1782, later than Phillips Andover Academy or Phillips Exeter Academy.

structor and fellow-students." His earliest preserved letter is written to his mother from this place, dated June 25, 1765; and its somewhat precise but very clear diction, as well as the careful erasures and interlineations in it, already indicating characteristics which remained peculiarly prominent in his composition through life.

He entered Harvard University, the hereditary place of the college education of his family, at the age of fifteen, in 1767, having among his class-mates James Bowdoin, David Parsons, David Tappan, Zedekiah Sanger, David Osgood, Jonathan French, Winthrop Sargent and John Warren, all afterwards eminent in various pursuits. This class was remarkable for talent and for numbers; as none so large had ever graduated, nor did any subsequently, until that of 1810.

A quaint occurrence soon after his entrance, affords so curious a picture of the aristocratic habits then prevalent, that we give the following account of it, from Rev. John L. Taylor's memoir of him. After remarking that the classes were in those days arranged at exercises and on the catalogue, not alphabetically, but according to family rank, and observing upon the standing of his father, as shown by his son's name having been placed eighth in a class of sixty-three, Mr. Taylor adds, "Evidence, too, of the weight which was then attached to the question of rank, as also of their father's tenacity in maintaining his rights, is given in the circumstance that the Faculty . . . were constrained by his energetic protest and appeal, to modify their decision by a formal vote, and place him one name higher!"

We add, from Mr. Taylor's appendix, the note containing the young man's own journal entry on the occasion, and the vote itself as upon the Records of the Faculty.

"Under date of August 19, 1769, he writes in his Journal, 'I came to Cambridge Wednesday, and found I was put with Osgood, in chamber No. 26, in Hollis' Hall; very good chamber. This afternoon I received a copy of a vote, wherein I was ordered to sit between Vassal and Murray; it occasions considerable talk. Some say I bought it, others, I have tried for it; but promotion always breeds enemies, and envious ones are the most spiteful; let me be interested in the Lord, and no matter who is against me!'"

The vote is—

"At a meeting of the Tutors of Harvard College, August 18, 1769, present, Mr. Eliot, Mr. Scales, Mr. Hillyard, Mr. Willard;

Samuel Phillips, of Andover, Esquire, having some time ago entered a complaint to the President and Tutors, that his son, Samuel Phillips, a student at the College, has not his proper place in the class; particularly, that he did not rank with the sons of those gentlemen who were Justices of the Quorum, when he himself had been in the Commission of the Peace and Quorum unus, a longer time than any of them,—and having had from the late President Holyoke, and others in the government of the college, a promise that the records at the Secretary's office should be consulted, and if it did appear that there was a mistake, it should be rectified.—The Secretary's book having been, accordingly, consulted, it appears that Mr. Phillips was put into the Commission of the Peace in the year 1752, and that he was made Justice of the Quorum, November 19, 1761; that John Murray, Esquire, (whose son is placed at the head of the sons of the Justices,) was put into the Commission of the Peace, January, 1754, and was made Justice of the Quorum in 1762.

Therefore, voted, That Phillips, son to the above mentioned Samuel Phillips, Esquire, do for the future take his place between Vassal and Murray; and ordered, that Mr. Eliot, tutor to the class in which Phillips is thus placed, do deliver a copy of the above vote to him."

This curious affair, probably, had considerable influence in causing the disuse of the custom of ranking students, which was given up shortly after his graduation.

Young Phillips was slow in learning, but indefatigable in industry, and most economical in time, and was also endowed with an exceedingly retentive memory; qualities, which in his case, as in many others, fully made up for any defect in rapidity of study. He soon assumed and maintained a high rank in scholarship, and the demeanor of a Christian gentleman. He exercised much influence in his class, and was much esteemed both by them and by the faculty. He graduated in 1771, delivering the Salutatory in Latin; a copy of nearly all of which is yet extant.

Mr. Phillips had, while at college, formed an acquaintance which became a strong mutual affection, with Phœbe, youngest daughter of the Hon. Francis Foxcroft, a lady of great cultivation, elegance and accomplishments, and of a temperament so sanguine, gay and happy, that although nine years older than himself, she never seemed or was otherwise his senior, than in years. In dutiful obedience to his father's first positive commands to give up the match, it was delayed for two years; and the severe old man only

withdrew his prohibition when his son's physician, while the young man was ill and expected to die, told him how much suffering he had undergone by reason of it. They were married in 1773, and their union was not only one of perfect satisfaction to themselves, but, after a little time, convinced his parents how judicious and fortunate was their son's selection.

While at college, Mr. Phillips had, like his father, and like the whole body of students and instructors at Cambridge, been an ardent Whig. He voted for the students' resolutions, in October, 1768, to use no more tea; watched all the occurrences of the time with constant care, and entered them in his diary; and was so early and well known as a zealous patriot, that less than two years after graduating, when but twenty-one years old, he was chosen town clerk and treasurer of his patriotic and spirited native town of Andover, succeeding his father after fourteen years' service by the latter.

During the Revolution, Mr. Phillips' time and money, as well as those of his father, were freely used in the service of his country. Having served in the manifold committee and other business of Andover, with efficient zeal, he was elected to the Provincial Congress in 1775, aged twenty-five; a fact which sufficiently shows what a reputation he had already gained for maturity of character, prudence, and reliability. Of this Congress he was for four years one of the most active and efficient members, and though no orator, one of the most forcible and impressive speakers.

He was a respected and influential member of the constitutional convention which met at Andover in 1779, and was, beginning with the first election under the constitution, and onwards until his death, with the exception of one year, a senator; and, after 1785, president of the senate. His reputation still rising, he was chosen Lieutenant Governor in 1801, but which office he was holding at his death in 1802.

The next year after he became a senator, he was appointed a judge of the common pleas for Essex County, although not quite thirty years of age. He retained this office until 1798, having never been absent from court but twice during the whole sixteen years, and then by reason of other public duties. Although not having a professional legal experience, his performance of the duties of the office was altogether excellent. In the year 1787, Judge Phillips was one of the commissioners to receive the submission of the insurgents under Shays.

Besides all these official duties, Judge Phillips managed exten-

sive and multifarious business enterprises, with thoroughness, judgment, and success. In 1776, he erected a powder-mill to supply the continental army, and managed it profitably until 1796. Soon after leaving college, he purchased on his own account several parcels of property, and became an extensive farmer. Although operating entirely by agents and hired labor, so remarkable was his skill in selecting employes, and in the management of men as well as in the processes of farming, that his lands constantly improved, and always returned him a good income. He also operated at various periods a saw-mill, a grist-mill, and a paper-mill, from all of which he made money. He owned and superintended two stores, at Andover and Methuen, and from these also he derived a large income. His large property in Maine and New Hampshire lands, and the building and repairing of the various houses on his estates, also required much attention. It follows from these statements, as was actually the fact, that, as a business man, Judge Phillips was in a very remarkable degree judicious, energetic, prompt, far-seeing, and thorough.

We have thus rapidly traced the public career of Judge Phillips; we shall now proceed to discuss his interest in the cause of education, and his efforts in its promotion.

He was a steady and interested friend, and frequent visitor, to the common schools of Andover, and spent much pains in their improvement; and was for twenty years one of the overseers of Harvard University. The principal object of his zeal and his efforts for education was, however, Phillips Academy at Andover, an institution which he himself conceived, founded, and organized; and whose entire endowment his influence secured.

The first conception of the academy arose in Judge Phillips' mind in or before the year 1777; and may not improbably have been caused by his recollections of his own preparatory education, for which he had to resort to Byfield. Among the excitements of the war, and his own numerous and increasing avocations, he found time to draft, consider, and amend, plans of organization, and to secure the necessary lands. He very early consulted his father, and his uncle, Dr. John Phillips, of Exeter, N. H., upon the plan of his school. Indeed, a main point in the undertaking was the enlistment of their interest and contributions. His own share of the endowment of the academy was not large; but it was his influence which secured it $6,000 each, from his father and his uncle William, $31,000 from his uncle John, and $28,000 from his cousin William.

The academy, as at first outlined in the mind of the founder, was to have been a private institution, under his own personal supervision; but this scheme underwent successive modifications from himself, and his consultations with his father and uncle, until it assumed its final form of an investiture in a board of trustees, and of a public school.

The first parcel of land for the uses of the academy, was purchased in 1777, and in the next year the school was actually opened, (April 30, 1778,) under the preceptorship of Mr. Eliphalet Pearson, a trustee, and who had been much consulted respecting its organization. The building first occupied, was an old joiner's shop, a one story framed edifice, removed and refitted for the purpose.

The number of thirty pupils, fixed upon as a limit, was filled within a month from the opening of the school; and the number of applicants for admission was so great, that at the close of the first term, a small fee was charged to each scholar, to meet current expenses.

The school was incorporated October 4th, 1780, by the name of Phillips Academy; being the first incorporated academy in Massachusetts. Its course has been uniformly most prosperous and useful. Not to mention other institutions, which owe more or less to this, an early and most excellent model of its kind, the existence of Exeter Phillips Academy may justly be said to be due to that at Andover; and Andover Theological Seminary not only was in its beginning a legitimate development of the th ological class which was even prepared for within the academy, but owes to the spirit and what it was well-known would be the wish of the founder of th: academy, no small share of its whole endowment. Nearly four thousand pupils have been members of the classical department of the academy, and twenty-seven hundred of the English department.

In addition to this noble monument of beneficence and wisdom, Judge Phillips bequeathed to trustees in and for his native town of Andover, a fund of five thousand dollars, the income to be used for the three purposes of aiding the professional acquirements of female teachers in the town, of extending the annual terms of common schools in it, and for the purchase and gratuitous distribution of certain specified books to "poor and pious Christians," whenever the trustees shall see fit.

The health of Judge Phillips was feeble from childhood, his physical strength never great, and his frame slender. Notwith-

standing these obstacles, he lived a life crowded with action, and most widely though unobtrusively useful. He possessed extraordinary self-command, and attained to as remarkable evenness of temper and demeanor, being always serious, but never, it is believed, having been mirthful.

The traits of his character, and his wise use of his powers, will account for his having been able to do so much in a life not long. He was most remarkably assiduous, carefully patient and methodical; and his manuscripts now remaining, private family letters as well as important public documents, testify most strikingly to this fact, in the endless multitude of the alterations which he added to them. He was also most sensitively alive to the value of time, and very frequently recurred to this topic both in word and writing. And he was incessantly and wonderfully active; not hastily, however, but with a singular effective quietness of manner.

These points in his character as a man of active employment, were admirably sustained by his enthusiastic admiration for virtue, his wise morality of speech and action, his steady and serene, though sedate, happiness of temperament, and unaffected personal modesty. As may be judged from the favorite undertakings of his life, he was always, and most attractively, fond of the young, and was in like manner beloved again by them. And lastly, this estimate of his excellencies would be entirely imperfect, should it not be added that all of them could be visibly seen to be based upon, and supported and symmetrized by a deep and most humble and heart-felt belief, and sincere and consistent practice, of the faith and doctrine of the Christian religion.

Justice to their memory requires us to add the amounts given to Phillips Academy by its four benefactors. These are:

Hon. Samuel Phillips, of North Andover, - -	$8,000
Hon. John Phillips, LL. D., of Exeter, -	31,000
Hon William Phillips, of Boston, - -	6,000
His Honor, William Phillips, of Boston, to the Academy,	28,000
" " " " " " Seminary,	14,000
	$85,000

We subjoin to this sketch, the constitution of Phillips' Academy at Andover, at length, as drafted by Judge Phillips. The singular merits of the provisions of this document, and its excellence as a composition, and especially its importance as the first instrument of its kind drafted in the country, and as therefore a model for the organization of many and influential successors, render it well worthy of careful study.

AN ACT TO INCORPORATE AN ACADEMY IN THE TOWN OF ANDOVER, BY THE NAME OF PHILLIPS ACADEMY, OCTOBER 4TH, 1780.

Preamble.

WHEREAS, the education of youth has ever been considered by the wise and good, as an object of the highest consequence to the safety and happiness of a people; as at that period the mind easily receives and retains impressions, is formed with peculiar advantage to piety and virtue, and directed to the pursuit of the most useful knowledge: and, whereas the Honorable Samuel Phillips of Andover, in the County of Essex, Esq., and the Honorable John Phillips of Exeter, in the County of Rockingham, and State of New Hampshire, Esq., on the first day of April, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and seventy-eight, by a legal Instrument of that date, gave, granted, and assigned to the Honorable William Phillips, Esquire, and others, therein named, and to their heirs, divers lots and parcels of land, in said Instrument described, as well as certain other estate, to the use and upon the trust following, namely, that the rents, profits, and interest thereof, be forever laid out and expended by the Trustees in the said Instrument named, for the support of a Public Free School or Academy, in the town of Andover:—and, whereas the execution of the generous and important design of the grantors aforesaid will be attended with very great embarrassments, unless, by an act of incorporation, the Trustees, mentioned in the said Instrument, and their successors, shall be authorized to commence and prosecute actions at law, and transact such other matters in their corporate capacity, as the interest of the said Academy shall require.

Academy Established.

I. Be it therefore enacted by the Council and House of Representatives in General Court assembled, and by the authority of the same; that there be and hereby is established in the Town of Andover, and County of Essex, an Academy, by the name of *Phillips Academy*, for the purpose of promoting true piety and virtue, and for the education of youth, in the English, Latin, and Greek languages, together with Writing, Arithmetic, Music, and the Art of Speaking; also practical Geometry, Logic, and Geography, and such other of the liberal Arts and Sciences, or Languages, as opportunity may hereafter permit, and as the Trustees, hereinafter provided shall direct.

Trustees Appointed and Incorporated.

II. Be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that the Hon. Samuel Phillips of Andover aforesaid, Esq., the Hon. John Phillips of Exeter aforesaid, Esq., the Hon. William Phillips and Oliver Wendell, Esqs., and John Lowell, Esq., of Boston, in the County of Suffolk, and State of Massachusetts Bay, the Rev. Josiah Stearns of Epping, in the County of Rockingham aforesaid, the Reverend William Symmes of said Andover, the Reverend Elias Smith of Middletown, in the said County of Essex, the Reverend Jonathan French, Samuel Phillips, Jun'r, Esq., Mr. Eliphalet Pearson, gentlemen, and Mr. Nehemiah Abbott, yeoman, all of Andover aforesaid, be, and they hereby are nominated and appointed Trustees of said Academy; and they are hereby incorporated into a body politic, by the name of the *Trustees of Phillips Academy*; and that they, and their successors, shall be and continue a body politic and corporate by the same name forever.

Lands Confirmed to the Trustees.

III. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that all the lands and monies, which, by a legal Instrument, bearing date the first day of April, in the year of our Lord, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-eight, were given, granted, and assigned, by the aforementioned Samuel Phillips and John Phillips, unto the said William Phillips, Oliver Wendell, John Lowell, Josiah Stearns, William Symmes, Elias Smith, Jonathan French, Samuel Phillips, Jun'r, Eliphalet Pearson, and Nehemiah Abbott, and to their heirs, be, and they hereby are confirmed to the said William Phillips and others, last named, and to their successors, as Trustees of Phillips Academy forever, for the uses and purposes, and upon the Trust, which in said Instrument are expressed: and the Trustees aforesaid, their successors, and the officers of the said Academy, are hereby required, in conducting the concerns thereof, and in all matters relating thereto, to regulate themselves conformably to the true design and intention of the said grantors, as expressed in their Instrument above mentioned.

Trustees to have one common Seal.—May Sue and be Sued.

IV. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that the said Trustees and their successors, shall have one common Seal, which they may make use of in any cause or business that relates to the said office of Trustees of the said Academy; and they shall have power and authority to break, change, and renew the said Seal, from time to time, as they shall see fit; and that they may Sue and be Sued in all actions real, personal, and mixed, and prosecute and defend the same unto final judgment and execution, by the name of the *Trustees of Phillips Academy*.

Empowered to Elect their Officers, and Ordain Rules, etc.

V. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that the said Samuel Phillips and others, the Trustees aforesaid, and their successors, the longest livers and survivors of them, be the true and sole Visitors, Trustees, and Governors of the said Phillips Academy, in perpetual succession forever; to be continued in the way and manner hereafter specified, with full power and authority to elect such officers of the said Academy, as to them, the said Trustees, Governors, and Visitors aforesaid, and their successors, shall from time to time, according to the various occasions and circumstances, seem most fit and requisite; all which shall be observed by the officers, scholars, and servants of the said Academy, upon the penalties therein contained: provided, notwithstanding, that the said rules, laws, and orders be noways contrary to the laws of this State.

Number of Trustees not to exceed thirteen.

VI. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that the number of the Trustees aforesaid, and their successors, shall not at any one time be more than *thirteen*, nor less than *seven*; seven of whom shall constitute a quorum for transacting business, and the major part of the members present at any legal meeting, shall decide all questions that shall come before them, except in the instances hereinafter excepted.

The principal Instructor to be one.

That the principal Instructor for the time being, shall ever be one of them; that a major part shall be laymen and respectable freeholders; also, that a major part shall consist of men who are not inhabitants of the town where the Seminary is situate. And to perpetuate the succession of said Trustees.

Vacancies of Trustees, how supplied.

VII. Be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that as often as one or more of the Trustees of said Phillips Academy shall die or resign, or in the judgment of a major part of the other Trustees be rendered, by age or otherwise, incapable of discharging the duties of his office, then, and so often, the Trustees then surviving and remaining, or the major part of them, shall elect one or more persons to supply the vacancy or vacancies.

The Trustees to be deemed capable in the law to take and receive by gift, grant, etc.

VIII. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that the Trustees aforesaid, and their successors, be and they hereby are rendered capable in law to take and receive by gift, grant, devise, bequest, or otherwise, any lands, tenements, or other estate, real and personal; provided that the annual income of the said real estate shall not exceed the sum of five hundred pounds, and the annual income of the said personal estate shall not exceed the sum of two thousand pounds, both sums to be valued in silver, at the rate of six shillings and eight pence by the ounce; to have and to hold the same to them, the said Trustees and their successors, on such terms and under such provisions and limitations, as may be expressed in any deed or instrument of conveyance to them made; provided always, that neither the said Trustees, nor their successors, shall ever hereafter receive any grant or donation, the condition whereof shall require them or any others concerned, to act in any respect counter to the design of the first grantors, or of any prior donation. And all deeds and instruments, which the said Trustees may lawfully make, shall, when made in the name of the said Trustees, and signed and delivered by their Treasurer, and sealed with the common seal, bind the said Trustees and their successors, and be valid in law.

Two-thirds of said Trustees empowered to remove the Seminary.

IX. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that if it shall hereafter be judged, upon mature and impartial consideration of all circumstances, by two-thirds of all the Trustees, that, for good and substantial reasons, which at this time do not exist, the true design of this Institution will be better promoted by removing the Seminary from the place where it is founded, in that case it shall be in the power of the said Trustees, to remove it accordingly, and to establish it in such place within this State, as they shall judge to be best calculated for carrying into effectual execution the intention of the founders.*

* Acts and Laws of Massachusetts, 1780, p. 327—329.

III. JOHN PHILLIPS.

Dr. John Phillips, LL. D., of Exeter, N. H., founder and largest benefactor of Exeter Phillips' Academy, was great grandson of Rev. George Phillips,* and second of three sons of Rev. Samuel Phillips, of Andover. This eminent clergyman was for nearly sixty years pastor of that town; was an able preacher, an exact and careful manager, a man of great force and individuality of character, and whose careful and strict yet liberal training, left upon his sons an impress which went far to shape the high characters and uniform success which distinguished them through life.

The subject of this sketch was born Dec. 12th, 1719. Very little has been recorded of his early life. He graduated with distinction at Harvard, in 1735, taught school for a little while, studying theology at the same time, and entered upon the ministry with acceptance. But a singular diffidence in his own qualifications, induced him to give up his profession, and to enter into business in Exeter. That his friends and neighbors did not share his own low estimate of himself, appears from the fact that while he was for a season teaching a private classical school at Exeter, being also a ruling elder in the church there, he was unanimously invited to assume the office of pastor in it, then vacant. But his distrust of his fitness for the place had become even increased by listening to the preaching of Whitefield, and he declined, and devoted himself definitely to mercantile affairs, in which he was very successful. A graphic sketch of him in a late number of the North American Review, says: "Dr. Phillips was a vigorous old Puritan, a little sombre in his exterior, but genial and warm-hearted with his friends. He was punctilious in his exactions of outward respect. While expending his fortune for the welfare of

* The first American ancestor of that Phillips' family who have long been so eminent and influential in Massachusetts for private virtues, public usefulness, and wise and efficient liberality, was the Rev. George Phillips, (writing his own name, however, with only one l,) the son of Christopher Phillips, of Rainham, St. Martin, Norfolk County, England, a man of moderate station. He graduated bachelor of arts in 1613, and master in 1617, at Gonville and Cain's College, Cambridge; came to America in the Arbella, in 1630; was an influential friend and compeer of Winthrop, Saltonstall, Bradstreet, and the other fathers of the colony; and died, aged fifty-one, in 1644, having been a learned, wise and zealous pastor in Watertown for fourteen years.

the young, he would not give a boy a cherry from his trees unless the favor were asked with a low bow and in the most reverent tone. The failure of a little girl to make her accustomed courtesy on meeting him in the street, would overshadow his face with a frown, which hours of sunlight could not dissipate." At the same time, these stringent demands of respect were only such as a principle of propriety in his opinion required, and not at all the outgrowth of vanity. He was quite plain in all his habits, and moderate in his personal expenses, so that his business talents and profound foresight caused his property to augment rapidly.

His family traditions and personal antecedents and tendencies brought him into close sympathy with the clergy, and disposed him to peculiar liberality towards institutions intended for their education. Few men have for such purposes given so liberally and at the same time with such extended and detailed foresight. He was a trustee of Dartmouth College for twenty years, and endowed a professorship in that institution. He gave liberally, also, to Princeton College; and was a ready and sure friend and benefactor to all undertakings which he considered as calculated to the improvement of the young. His gifts to Phillip's Academy, at Andover, were larger than those of any other person, and his wise counsel in planning and establishing the institution were not less conducive to its good organization and success. He was a trustee of this academy, and one of the most efficient from its incorporation in 1780 to his death in 1795, and president of the board during the last five years of that time; and the total of his gifts to it is not less than $31,000.

Samuel Phillips, Jr., the still more distinguished nephew of Dr. John Phillips, was doubtless the originator of the idea of the Andover Academy, and probably was thus by suggestion the indirect cause of that at Exeter. The nephew is certainly entitled to the praise of having interested his father and his uncle John in the institution. Yet Dr. John Phillips, who was one of the two original signers of the constitution of Andover Academy, was in close and constant consultation with his nephew relative to the plan, details and constitution of it, and his greater experience very materially aided in the undertaking.

But the beneficent enterprise with which Dr. Phillips was most closely identified, and in which, as his own work, he was most interested, was Exeter Phillips' Academy, in his chosen place of residence, which he alone founded, and which, except $1,000 given by Nicholas Gilman for a musical instruction fund, and $100 by Hon. Leverett Saltonstall for the library, he alone en-

dowed, giving it large sums during his life, and two-thirds of his estate at his death, the other third being given to Andover Academy.

When Dr. Phillips first conceived the idea of this institution it is impossible to determine. His nephew, Judge Phillips, had been revolving his scheme of an academy in Andover some time before 1777, and until its completion, as has been said, was in continual communication with his uncle on the subject. The thought of himself founding another and separate institution therefore arose very naturally from his occupations connected with its predecessor and model. The earliest record of his plan is a mere hint given in a letter from the nephew, alluding to it as having been suggested in a previous one from the uncle. After further consultation and preparation, the uncle announced to his nephew the incorporation of Phillips' Exeter Academy, which took place one day less than six months after that of Andover Academy, in the following letter:

EXETER, April 27, 1781.

DEAR SIR:— . . . Your concurring sentiments and warm expressions respecting another academy, are very refreshing and highly animating; and will greatly endear you to my friends here, who were encouraged to expect the help of your advice, and such assistance as might, in a course of time, when you shall have more leisure especially, greatly increase the benefit of such an institution. The motion was exceedingly agreeable to the General Court, who have incorporated the academy, by the name of the Phillips' Exeter Academy, for the purposes mentioned in yours; and the trustees nominated and appointed are Daniel Silton and Thomas Odiorne, Esquires, of this town; John Pickering, Esq., of Portsmouth; David McClure, of Northampton; clerk, the Hon. S. Phillips, Jr., Esq., Andover; and the preceptor, Mr. Benjamin Thurston;—the estate allowed the same with yours—and might have been twice so much (I doubt not) had it been asked; and the Act concludes thus: "And whereas the said institution may be of very great and general advantage to this state, and deserves every encouragement; be it therefore enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that all the lands, tenements, and personal estate, that shall be given to the said trustees for the use of said academy, shall be and hereby are forever exempted from all taxes whatsoever;" which very encouraging clause concludes me,

Most affectionately yours,

HON. S. PHILLIPS, JR. Esq. J. PHILLIPS.

The sum with which Dr. Phillips at first endowed his academy was fifty thousand dollars. In obtaining a location for the institution, some difficulties were encountered in selecting and in purchasing, and in obtaining a suitable instructor, as Mr. Thurston's health was quite feeble. It would seem that on the 20th February, 1783, at which time Rev. David McClure delivered a discourse on the occasion of the opening of the school, Mr. Thurston gave the first instruction administered within it. But it was not fairly under way until May 1st of the same year, when Rev.

William Woodbridge, who was appointed by the founder, commenced his services as preceptor.

Dr. Phillips, who had himself drafted the constitution of the academy at Exeter, was a regular attendant at the meetings of its board, and a careful and judicious watchman over its interests, until age rendered him unable to continue in the presidency. He appointed as his successor Hon. John Taylor Gilman, but continued to attend with care to his favorite institution until his death, April 21, 1795, at the age of seventy-five years and four months. Rev. Benjamin Thurston delivered a eulogy upon him at the next meeting of the trustees, Oct. 14, 1795, which seems not to have been printed nor preserved; and his portrait by Gilbert Stuart hangs in the library of the academy.

The present endowment of the institution may be estimated as follows:

Land and buildings in Exeter, - -	$35,000
Notes and stocks, bearing interest, -	$100,000

All of which, except the two donations already excepted, were from Dr. Phillips.

The broad views and deep ethical and religious basis of opinion which marked Dr. Phillips' character, are well exemplified by clauses in the constitution which he drew up for the academy. In this instrument he states its object to be, "the instruction of youth, not only in the English and Latin grammar, writing, arithmetic, and those sciences wherein they are commonly taught, but more especially to teach them the *great end and real business of living*."

These latter words, identical with a clause in the constitution of Andover academy, were doubtless inserted there also by him. In defining the duties of the instructors, he says: "Above all, it is expected that the attention of instructors to the disposition of the minds and morals of the youth under their charge will exceed every other care; well considering that, though goodness without knowledge is weak and feeble, yet knowledge without goodness is dangerous, and that both united form the noblest character and lay the surest foundation of usefulness to mankind." In another place he says again: "And in order to prevent a perversion of the true intent of this foundation, it is again declared, that the first and principal design of this institution is the promoting of virtue and true piety,—useful knowledge being subordinate thereto."

In accordance with the distinct tendency of these prescriptions, a professorship of divinity was instituted in the academy in 1791, and filled from 1817 to 1838 by Rev. Isaac Hurd, who lectured

regularly on theology, besides giving other instruction in religion and morals. But the office was discontinued in the last mentioned year. It should here be stated that although the character of the academy was from the beginning meant to be distinctly religious, and although the founder was a strict Calvinist, yet that his selection both of trustees and teachers, of religious views differing from his own, if other evidence were wanting, would sufficiently show what was the truth, that the institution was not intended to be of a complexion in any sense sectarian.

The first preceptor, Rev. William Woodbridge, father of William Channing Woodbridge, the well-known geographer, and editor of the American Annals of Education, was obliged by ill-health to resign his office in October, 1788, and Rev. Benjamin Abbot was appointed in his place. Dr. Abbot, after completing a full half century of faithful and successful service, resigned his place in 1838, and was succeeded by Gideon L. Soule, LL. D.

The present constitution and condition of Exeter Phillips' academy present many points of interest and excellence. We do not give the former at length, but it was modeled upon that of Andover Phillips' academy, which is given in another article in this Journal, and which is worth examination as a chief pattern of the organizations of all the institutions of this class in the country.

The extent of the funds of the academy render its trustees entirely independent of any necessity of seeking or propitiating "patrons," or yielding to the ignorant whims of either pupils or the public; a situation whose advantages none can perhaps fully comprehend who has not suffered in its opposite.

The course of study extends through four classes, junior, middle, senior, and advanced, the latter studying the books used in the freshman year at college, and more than half of them graduating in readiness to enter sophomore.

The charitable element in the academy, and its extensive application, is one of its most striking characteristics. No tuition fee is charged to such as cannot afford it. Fifty students can be accommodated rent free, in Abbot Hall, a building erected at an expense of $17,000 for the purpose, and twenty of the best scholars at the end of their first academic term, are annually elected by the trustees to scholarships* worth about $63.00 a year during three years. More than half the whole number of students pay no fee for instruction.

* The scholarship fund amounts to about $21,000. The cost of board in Abbot Hall is about $1.50 per week.

The following notice of the "ABBOT JUBILEE" is taken from the North American Review for July, 1858.

The reluctant acceptance of Dr. Abbot's resignation, August 23rd, 1838, was the signal for such a gathering at Exeter as is seldom seen. During the half-century, there had gone forth from the institution more than two thousand who had sat at his feet, and now they came thronging back to do their old instructor reverence. They came from the senate-chamber, the cabinet, the court-room, the gubernatorial chair, the hall of the university, the pulpit, the fields of literature, and the laboratory of science; and they held a high festival of the heart. The arches of the crowded church reverberated with their glad song:—

"From the highways and byways of manhood we've come,
And gather like children about an old home;
We return from life's weariness, tumult, and pain,
Rejoiced in our hearts to be school-boys again,

. . . .

"O, glad to our eyes are these dear scenes displayed,
The halls where we studied, the fields where we strayed;
There is change, there is change; but we will not deplore;
Enough that we feel ourselves school-boys once more.

"Enough that once more our old master we meet,
The same as of yore when we sat at his feet;
Let us place on his brow every laurel we've won,
And show that each pupil is also a son.

"And when to the harsh scenes of life we return,
Our hearts with the glow of this meeting shall burn;
Its calm light shall cheer till earth's school-time is o'er,
And prepare us in heaven for one meeting more."

Daniel Webster presided on the occasion, assisted by Edward Everett—the Demosthenes and Cicero of the American forum. Eloquent speeches were made by them, and by Judge Thacher, Judge Emery, Judge Merrill, Dr. Palfrey, Dr. Henry Ware, Jr., Leverett Saltonstall, Jonathan Chapman, A. H. Everett, John P. Hale, and many others, whose names will illuminate the page of history. Some of the most distinguished alumni were prevented from being present, among whom was Lewis Cass—a pupil for seven or eight years, and the commander of the first military company formed in the academy, in 1799—from whom Dr. Abbot, to the close of his life, continued to receive delicate and gratifying evidences of affectionate regard. After the dinner was over, Mr. Webster, in behalf of the old pupils present and of many who were absent, presented to their venerable teacher a massive and elegant silver vase, as a token of their profound respect and abiding reverence. His portrait, taken by Chester Harding, had been secured for the occasion, and it now hangs side by side with that of his early patron, and constant friend, the founder. Besides this, some two thousand dollars were subscribed for the establishment of the "Abbot Scholarship" at Cambridge, the annual income of which is now appropriated to the college education of some meritorious student from the academy at Exeter.

Dr. Abbot lived more than ten years after the semi-centennial celebration, in the full possession of his faculties, honored and revered, in the enjoyment of a true fame, and surrounded by troops of friends. His pupils did not forget him; but, in the beautiful language of one who was worthy to be his companion while he lived, "their kindly visits made many a green spot in the wintry scenery of his life." October 25th, 1849, at the age of eighty-seven, he was permitted to rest from his labors; "for so HE giveth his beloved sleep."

IV. SYSTEM OF COMMON SCHOOLS IN OHIO.

BY WILLIAM T. COGGESHALL,

State Librarian.

THE congress of the confederation of the American Colonies was led by men who worked in the present for all the future. We owe them psalms of thanksgiving and praise we can not too often sing with vigorous earnestness; but in no one are we, of the Mississippi valley, required to infuse so much gratitude, as in the one which proclaims, that to them the great North-West is indebted for the basis of the common school system which is established in its states.

When, not in the twinkling of an eye, but by virtue of valor and patriotism, through seven years of destructive war, the congress of revolution had been changed into the congress of the United States, by a liberal treaty (1783,) the whole territory north of the Ohio river, with certain limited reservations, became the property of the general government. On the 20th of March, 1785, a survey was provided for, and it was then decreed that every 16th section of six hundred and forty acres, or one thirty-sixth part of every township, should be reserved "*for the maintenance of public schools within said township.*" Two years later (1787,) the justly famed ordinance, which consecrated the North-West to freedom, and opened the way for its settlement, proclaimed that "*religion, morality, and knowledge, being essential to good government, schools, and the means of education, should forever be encouraged.*" The land then possessed, and that which, by compromise with the United States Government, and with Virginia and Connecticut, holding reservations in Ohio, this state afterward obtained, including three whole townships for state universities, constituted a domain broad enough to have afforded to the common schools a liberal and independent support, with a state university, bearing to the best high school of Ohio's foremost city such a relation as that holds to the best grammar school.

The men who, under the auspices of the Ohio company, encouraged by the wisdom of congress, began the first settlement in the North-West, and who founded the State of Ohio, were men who appreciated education, and were determined that their posterity should enjoy its advantages. In their first colony, a common school was created. The territorial legislature of 1800–1, under a recommenda-

tion of Governor Arthur St. Clair, influenced by the pioneer colony at Marietta, thoughtfully considered and discussed school interests. No executive steps were taken, but the territorial representative in congress, William Henry Harrison, was instructed to secure equal rights in school lands for all the children of the territory.

The State of Ohio was formed in 1802. Its constitutional convention inlaid the forethought of the general government, by proclaiming that, without respect of persons, "schools and the means of instruction should be forever encouraged by legislative provision, not inconsistent with the rights of conscience." This constitutional requirement was practically unheeded, until 1821.

In 1819, Ephraim Cutler, who had been chiefly instrumental in making the common school clause a part of the constitution—then a representative from Washington county—introduced a bill for the establishment of a system, which passed the house but was lost in the senate.

Schools worthy of remembrance, between 1802 and 1820, were known only in the most enterprising towns. The mass of the people had privileges in such "common" institutions of learning as might be expected among communities in which school-teachers were tolerated, but were neither examined for qualification nor encouraged for merit.

But Ohio was not destitute, previous to 1821, of men in high places, who were anxious to see an efficient system of common schools adopted, and they were encouraged by a few far-sighted private citizens, who did not fail to openly condemn abuses by which school lands were alienated. The chief magistrates, without exception, strengthened their messages with emphatic indorsements of the wisdom of the constitutional requirement. Governor Worthington recognized, in his message to the fifteenth general assembly (1817,) the value and purpose of normal schools. He said: "If we expect in our youth 'religion, morality, and knowledge,' suitable teachers must be employed * * * With a view to aid in effecting this desirable object, I recommend to the consideration of the general assembly the propriety of establishing, at the seat of government, a free school; at which shall be taught the different branches of an English education, at the expense of the state, to such number of boys, the children of parents unable to educate them (and no others,) as the legislature may deem proper. That whenever young men, thus educated, shall become qualified for that purpose, they shall, when proper salaries are furnished them, have the preference of employment in the public schools of the state, and shall be obliged to serve as teachers of schools unti

they are twenty-one years of age; and afterward, as long as they conduct themselves well, have the preference of employment."

About the time that the executive offered this liberal suggestion, a circle of active educational friends in Cincinnati, led by Nathan Guilford, held extensive correspondence. "Solomon Thrifty" should be revered in Ohio, as "Poor Richard" is in New England. His almanac, edited by Mr. Guilford, and published for seven years at Cincinnati, contributed in a large degree, by facts, arguments, and appeals, to the awakening and support of a public sentiment, to which the legislature of 1821 responded, when it passed an act for the support and better regulation of public schools; by means of school directors, committees, and clerks, with power to organize districts, build schoolhouses, employ teachers, and assess local taxes. In 1806, a portion of the state had been districted, and, subsequently, funds arising from section sixteen, and from military lands, were ordered to be secured; but the action of the nineteenth general assembly, was the first for the whole state. It was immediately succeeded by more liberal legislation. Early in the winter of 1821–2, a committee on schools and school lands, with Caleb Atwater as chairman, was appointed in the house. That committee made an elaborate report upon the necessity of liberal popular education, recommending the appointment of seven commissioners, to devise and report upon a common school system. This was accepted by the legislature, in January, 1822; and Governor Allen Trimble appointed Caleb Atwater, Rev. John Collins, Rev. James Hoge, Nathan Guilford, Ephraim Cutler, Josiah Barber, and James M. Bell.

Atwater, Collins, and Hoge were the active commissioners. They issued three pamphlets for the purpose of awakening public interest, and decided to report a system of schools based upon the New York system; making no provision for a general fund, other than that which might arise from the sale and lease of lands. Nathan Guilford refused to co-operate with the committee, because he believed their plans to be inadequate to the wants of the state. He published an able letter on free education, in which he appealed for a general county tax, *ad valorem*. This was the first call in Ohio, for a legislative enactment, requiring taxation for school purposes. Mr. Guilford supported it with skill and force. His letter was generally discussed, and met bitter opposition, but found also earnest and influential advocates. It was printed, with the report of the commissioners, by the legislature of 1823–4; but, though schools, internal improvements, and equitable taxation were attentively pressed by a few progressive spirits, in that body, the majority could not be convinced that liberal

statesmanship was required of them. An appeal was made from the general assembly, to the people, and free schools were discussed, with canals and tax laws, in the canvass of 1824. The appeal was triumphantly sustained. The legislature which assembled in December, 1824, was one of the wisest and truest Ohio has ever had. Cincinnati did itself the honor of employing Nathan Guilford as its senator. He was true to his mission. His firmest friend was Ephraim Cutler. They secured a joint committee, of which Mr. Guilford was appointed chairman. He drew up a report, which, while it was an argument for legislators, was an appeal to the people; and with it he presented a bill, "laying the foundation of a general system of common schools, to be built upon and improved." It required a tax, levied by county commissioners, of one-half mill; made township clerks and county auditors school officers; and provided for school examiners.

These were forward steps. They were to be taken in a new state, a large part of which was yet a wilderness. Representatives are proverbially afraid of original legislation. These difficulties both the friends of education and of internal improvement realized. They stood together. With private tact, rather than public display, Mr. Guilford labored; and, without amendment, the senate passed his bill, by a vote of twenty-eight to eight.

A prestige he could not have anticipated, was thus given him, for influence upon the house. He used it skillfully. His friends cherished implicit confidence in him. He was in the hall of representatives when the bill was introduced, and he watched it every hour, until the final vote was called. Then was presented a picture worthy of Ohio's chief artist. There was intense interest among the representatives. The result was not sure. Mr. Guilford stood with Ephraim Cutler on the floor of the house while the ayes and nays were called. The speaker announced forty-six ayes, twenty-four nays—twenty-two majority for the bill as it had been originally reported by the committee.

That was a glorious triumph. Imagine the scene. A man, venerable with the toils and honors of an eventful life, who had secured the adoption of the constitutional requirement on behalf of popular education—and who, during twenty years, had prayed and plead for its executive recognition, witnessing its liberal fulfillment—the reward of self-sacrificing devotion, and legislative ability on the part of a colleague, who, enjoying a vigorous manhood, was competent to secure for his act a favorable reception among the people. Well might his grey head bow with impressive solemnity, while from his

thin lips fell words of significant beauty. Turning to Mr. Guilford, with a thoughtful bow, Mr. Cutler said, in the language of the prophet Simeon: "*Now, oh, Lord! lettest thy servant depart in peace, according to thy word, for mine eyes have seen thy salvation.*"

The school law of 1825 was not well received in even a majority of the principal towns of the state, and eleven years elapsed before adequate steps were taken to render the system it provided for efficient.

Meantime (between 1825 and 1836,) the county tax had been raised to one and a half mills. In 1829, it was three-fourths of a mill; in 1834, one mill; and, in 1836, one and a half mills.

In 1831, however, county commissioners were given power to add one-quarter, and, in 1836, one-half mill; but legislation had also been exercised, which, while it secured immediate revenue from schools lands, was such an exhibit of financial wisdom as a banker would display who should sacrifice the principal of well-secured notes for the sake of premature payment of interest.

In 1831, a College of Teachers was organized at Cincinnati, with Albert Pickett, Alexander Kinmont, Milo G. Williams, W. H. McGuffey, Samuel Lewis, Dr. Jos. Ray, and other men of spirit, at its head. Its annual meetings called together the leading educational men of the Mississippi valley; and their deliberations, which were fully reported and published, contributed largely to the advancement of an educational sentiment, which, as early as 1833, demanded teachers' associations; began to urge the need of a state school department; and, in 1835, obtained a resolution from the general assembly, appropriating $500, to be paid, by order of the governor, to Calvin E. Stowe (then a professor in Lane Seminary, at Cincinnati,) who was about to visit Europe, for the purpose of securing careful examination into, and a judicious report upon, the elementary school systems of Prussia, and other European governments.

At the annual meeting of the College of Teachers, held in Cincinnati, October 5, 1835, it was resolved that it would greatly advance the cause of education to hold conventions at the seats of government in the Western States, during the sittings of general assemblies, for the purpose of calling direct attention to the prominent educational needs.

In pursuance of that resolution, a state convention was called at Columbus, January 13, 1836; the first for educational purposes held in Ohio. Gov. Robert Lucas was appointed president, Reverend James Hoge, vice-president, and Milo G. Williams, secretary. The exercises of the convention were varied and interesting. An address was delivered by Samuel Lewis, upon the value of common schools, and

Calvin E. Stowe read a portion of the report which he had prepared for the legislature on system of elementary education in Prussia.

Resolutions were adopted, requiring the organization of a state educational society; appointing committees to address and petition the legislature, demanding a higher grade of instruction in the common schools; recommending the passage of a bill authorizing school libraries; and declaring the need of a state school department.

Early in the session of the legislature for 1836–7 (thirty-fifth general assembly,) Alfred Kelley, representative from Franklin county, offered a resolution, instructing the standing committee on schools and school lands to report upon the expediency of appointing a state superintendent. Mr. Kelley's resolution was adopted, by a small majority; and W. B. Van Hook, of Butler county, chairman of the committee on schools, presented a bill, anthorizing the appointment. It was stubbornly and persistently opposed, and passed the house by only one majority—35 to 34. The senate, however, accepted it; and Senator Price, of Hamilton county, offered a resolution, appointing Samuel Lewis, of Cincinnati, to the new office. In March, 1837, this resolution was adopted by both houses.

The law authorizing taxation for school purposes, and providing for the local management of schools, had been in operation eleven years. From 1832, a school fund had been accumulating from the sale of section sixteen; it was increased in 1835 by the income of salt lands; and, in 1837, was further increased by the interest on the surplus revenue of the United States; and yet, there were no public schools in Ohio, in 1837. The legislature of 1835–6, in order to gain direct knowledge of the common schools, required county auditors to report to the state auditor the number of school children in each county, with such other information, in reference to schools, as might be useful. Only thirty-three auditors responded to that law; and their returns were so meager and unreliable, as to be altogether unsatisfactory.

In view of these facts, Mr. Lewis hesitated to accept the office of superintendent, but he was pressingly urged, and his reluctance was overcome. He entered upon the discharge of his duties with an earnest and determined purpose to succeed; and spent the spring, summer, and part of the fall, of 1837, sending circulars to county auditors, traveling on horseback from county to county, delivering addresses, talking with school officers, visiting schools, and encouraging teachers. He traveled over twelve hundred miles, and visited three hundred schools. His first report was made to the legislature

in December, 1837. After setting forth the result of his observation on the condition of the schools, he recommended school libraries; a state school fund of $200,000; township high schools; town boards of education; evening schools in towns and cities; county superintendents; a school journal, to be distributed to school officers gratuitously; encouragement for the formation of teachers' associations; authority to districts to borrow money to erect school-houses; the employment of women as teachers; and full reports from teachers and school officers, annually.

His report was favorably received by the people, and its suggestions were commended by leading newspapers. W. B. Van Hook was chairman of the school committee of the house of representatives. Accepting Mr. Lewis' views as those of a wise and well-informed man, he reported to the committee a bill embodying nearly all of his recommendations. That bill was introduced to the house on the 5th of February, 1838. It was discussed with earnestness, and bitterly opposed; but, on the 17th of February, passed by a vote of forty-six yeas to twenty nays. After slight amendment, it passed the senate, on the 3d of March, by a vote of twenty-one yeas to thirteen nays. The house concurred in the senate amendments, and on the 7th of April, 1838, the law was in force.

The salary of the superintendent had been increased to $1,200, and his term extended to five years, for which Mr. Lewis was elected.

In 1838 he published, by legislative authority, six numbers of an official journal, called "*The Ohio School Director;*" visited a majority of the counties of the state; delivered public addresses in nearly every county town, and in most of the cities; and to the general assembly (1838–9,) reported not only upon the condition of the schools of the state, and their needs, but made an elaborate report in answer to resolutions of the previous legislature, asking information upon the propriety, costs, etc., of establishing a state seminary for teachers, at Columbus. These resolutions were offered by Mr. Van Hook, of Butler. They passed, on the 19th of March, 1838.

Arrangements had been made by the directory of the College of Teachers, for a state educational convention at Columbus, in 1837; but the first convention, at which the different sections of the state were represented, was held, under the auspices of the college, in December, 1838. Mr. Lewis, in his addresses, had urged upon teachers and school officers the necessity of attending the convention, and had published earnest appeals for it in the "*School Director.*" Between eighty and ninety delegates were present. Wilson Shannon, then governor, was elected president, and Milo G. Williams first vice-president. Addresses

were delivered by D. Pearce, then president of Western Reserve College (who, in 1836, had memorialized the legislature on behalf of district schools.) W. H. McGuffey (who had accompanied Mr. Lewis, during the autumn of 1838, and delivered lectures in several northern counties,) and Calvin E. Stowe. Discussions were had upon important resolutions, in which leading educational men, from different parts of the state engaged. These resolutions vigorously indorsed Mr. Lewis as state superintendent, recommended normal schools, urged the cultivation of music in the common schools, and appealed to the people for earnest support of the school law.

The convention, conducted as it was by the men of most prominence at that time, in colleges, and in private as well as in public schools, had decided influence; but the election for the general assembly had already taken place, and several men, of known hostility to the school law, had been chosen. Early in the session of 1838–9, efforts were made to destroy, to a considerable degree, the efficiency of the school system.

A semi-monthly paper, entitled the "*Pestalozzian*," by E. L. Sawtell and H. K. Smith, started in April, 1838, at Akron, Summit county, had ably supported Mr. Lewis and the school system. Conventions had been held in a number of counties, which resolved against any decided change, and, under those influences, men had been elected, who did not fear to declare a determination to resist any measure which would retard school progress. Mr. Lewis foresaw a warm contest. He devoted himself night and day to the task of awaking and informing the friends of the law. The tax clause, which required a county levy of two mills, was so altered that county commissioners were authorized to reduce that levy one-half; but evening schools were provided for, equal privileges reserved to all white youth, and taxation for the building of school-houses was ordered. The law of 1838, thus amended in 1839, contained all the important recommendations urged by Mr. Lewis, excepting township libraries and county superintendents.

The superintendent's health had been impaired by severe exposure and arduous labor, and he was obliged to announce that he could not canvass the state in 1839, as he had in 1838. He immediately addressed circulars to county auditors, announcing the change in the school law, and appealed to county commissioners not to reduce the tax. During 1839, he delivered not more than half a dozen public addresses; but he discussed important questions, bearing upon the practical advantages of education, and the means by which they were to be secured, in a series of model circulars, which were widely pub-

lished in the city and county newspapers. His arguments in defense of the school law were clear and cogent; and his appeals to the people, based upon interests which they could see and appreciate, had permanent influence.

A monthly paper, called the "*Common School Advocate*," was published at Cincinnati. More educational conventions were held in the different counties than had been before known, and the number of educational associations was largely increased.

A state convention, called by the College of Teachers, in December, 1839, was more numerously attended than any previous one, and was more interesting than any of its predecessors. Mr. Lewis delivered an address upon "*The History of Common Schools, and their Effects upon Pecuniary Interest;*" William H. McGuffey lectured upon "*The Influence of Private Opinion on Common Schools;*" Warren Jenkins upon "*The School Laws of Ohio;*" and Milo G. Williams upon "*Cabinets of Natural Science in Common Schools.*"

Mr. Lewis made his third report (to the legislature which met in December, 1839,) and resigned his office.* There was active opposition in the general assembly to all the important features of the school law; but the friends of wisdom were strong enough to reject every serious modification, excepting one which abolished the office of state superintendent, by imposing the duties of such an office upon the secretary of state.

When the secretary of state was declared superintendent of schools, on the 23rd of March, 1840, William Trevitt held that office. Between 1840 and 1845 he made one, and John Sloane, his successor, made three reports. They complained of the burden the legislature had imposed upon their department. Mr. Trevitt advocated normal schools; Mr. Sloane asked for $20,000, with which to establish school libraries; and both deplored declining school interest. Immediate legislatures were somewhat responsible for the retrograde complained of, but it was chiefly owing to the want of active superintendency. On an average, only forty-five counties reported to the department, between 1840 and 1845. In 1842, annual instead of biennial enumeration of school youth was required, and a publication of the school laws then in force was ordered; but $50,000 were taken away from the school fund, for the benefit of canals.

In 1844, Samuel Galloway was secretary of state. He entered with zeal into liberal efforts for the improvement of the common schools; he held correspondence with educational men; sent circulars to county officers; visited educational conventions; and delivered

* For a more particular account of the labors of Samuel Lewis, as superintendent, see this Journal, Vol. V., p. 727.

addresses. In 1845, he presented the fullest and ablest report which had appeared for five years. Mr. Galloway made seven reports, and he assisted greatly in producing an educational revival, which, beginning in 1845, has been widening and deepening ever since—a revival which was started by the men who organized the Ohio State Teachers' Association, and who, since 1847, have been leaders in all the principal educational movements of the state. Mr. Galloway was severe upon the delinquency of school officers; advocated teachers' institutes and normal schools; appealed to parents for active interest in the education of their children; discussed ably the general advantages of education; and, to the general assemblies, between 1844 and 1850, made many practical suggestions, which contributed to the formation and passage of liberal acts.

The first teachers' institute ever held in Ohio was conducted, at Sandusky, in September, 1845, by Salem Town, of New York; M. F. Cowdery, and A. D. Lord. It was rather the result of local* than general interest; but that a general interest in such opportunities for teachers was then imperatively demanded, may be inferred from the fact that, in many districts, directors forbade the teaching of any branches but reading, writing, and arithmetic, and that certificates were given to teachers who were pedagogues, only because school keeping was easier for their muscular systems than chopping wood.

Then there was no educational journal in the state, and there had not been a state convention for several years.† In the summer of 1846, Dr. A. D. Lord started a "*School Journal*," at Kirtland. He advocated teachers' institutes, and suggested a state common school society.

An institute was held at Chardon, Geauga county, in the autumn of 1845, making two for that year—the year of their origin. In 1846, nine were held, in the northern part of the state.

Henry Barnard, well known as editor, for twenty years, of an educational periodical—first, of the "*Connecticut Common School Journal*," then of the "*Journal of the Rhode Island Institute of Instruction*," and, last, of the "*American Journal of Education*"—and as state superintendent for Connecticut and Rhode Island, visited Ohio, in 1842–43, and again in 1846. He made addresses before the Western College of Teachers, in Columbus, in January, 1843, and in several towns and cities in the northern and southern portions, and assisted the zealous friends of progress materially, by his practical

* The Institute, at Sandusky, was held mainly through the efforts and liberality of Hon. Judge Lane, who acted in this direction through the advice of Mr. Barnard, and who also adopted his suggestions in the reorganization of the public schools of Sandusky.

† The College of Teachers failed in 1845.

suggestions, and by showing the people, whom he met, what had been done in other states, and what there was need of, and opportunity for, in Ohio. The removal of Dr. Lord to Columbus, the organization of the first union schools, and the holding of the first teachers' institute at Sandusky, were among the results to which his visits and labors contributed.

The first institute held in the southern part of the state, was at Cincinnati, in February, 1847; the first in the central, at Newark, Licking county, in March, 1848. Since that time, their purposes and advantages becoming more and more widely known, institutes have been regarded as indispensable by the teachers, in a majority of the counties.

A paper, called the "*Free School Clarion*," was started by W. Bowen, at Massillon, in November, 1846. "*The School Friend*" was issued by W. B. Smith & Co., in December of the same year, at Cincinnati, and other influences conspired to awaken and cultivate public sentiment; but, in a passion of retrenchment, the legislature reduced the school tax to two-fifths of a mill.

The impolicy of the reduction was clearly exposed in educational journals, and at conventions, during 1847. By the general assembly of 1847–48, county commissioners were authorized to levy a tax of one mill. In eleven counties, which had petitioned for that purpose, means were furnished to sustain teachers' institutes and school libraries; and, in twenty-four counties, local superintendents were provided for. A law was also passed, allowing the town of Akron a board of education, for the control of six schools.

These were steps of decided advancement, and leading men were not slow to take advantage of the improved legislation. "*The Western School Journal*" had been added to the educational journals of the state, by W. H. Moore & Co., at Cincinnati, in January, 1847, and Dr. Lord's journal had been removed to Columbus. A general demand for a state normal school was pressed by forward educationists, in 1847, and at institutes, held in Ashland, Chardon, and Akron, in the fall of that year, M. F. Cowdery, Lorin Andrews, William Bowen, J. Hurty, A. D. Lord, and M. D. Leggett, were appointed a committee to make arrangements for the organization of a state educational society.

They called a convention at Akron, on the 31st of December, 1847, and a state teachers' association was there formed, with Samuel Galloway as president; T. W. Harvey, of Geauga county, recording secretary; M. D. Leggett, of Summit, as corresponding secretary; and William Bowen, of Stark, as treasurer.

An executive committee, consisting of M. F. Cowdery, of Lake; Lorin Andrews, of Ashland; M. D. Leggett, of Summit; J. Nichols, of Lake; J. Hurty, of Richland; F. W. Tappan, of Portage; and H. K. Smith, of Summit, was instructed to prepare a plan for the awakening of educational interest, and the elevation of the profession of teaching.

Eleven counties had been represented in the convention, and the executive committee was encouraged to take energetic measures. An address to teachers and the friends of education was agreed upon, inviting co-operation, and urging interest in a meeting of the association, to be holden in June, 1848. The committee announced its intention to hold institutes in forty counties of the state; and issued a circular, appealing for aid, and explaining the object to be attained.

These movements of the executive committee, and the objects generally of the state teachers' association, were approved by the newspapers of the state; and, in all the educational journals, earnest appeals were made in their behalf.

The year 1848 is distinguished in the school history of Ohio. The secretary of state reported encouragingly to the general assembly, and the legislation of the winter of 1848–49 was liberal.

It was a part of the duty of the executive committee of the state teachers' association to report to the state school department. From the report of M. F. Cowdery, made in December, 1848, we quote:—

In assuming the responsibility of conducting the business affairs of the association, twelve months since, the committee selected the following objects, as most worthy of their immediate attention. First, the elevation of the teachers of the state, through the agency of teachers' institutes, courses of lectures to teachers, educational conventions and associations, and a more conscientious adherence to the law relating to the qualifications of teachers on the part of county examiners. The second object of the committee was to encourage a reorganization of the schools in the cities and incorporated towns of the state. This was proposed to be accomplished by addressing citizens publicly, and stating the importance, practicability, and *economy* of such a change in the common school organization as would give to every child of a town or city an education fitting him for his duties as a citizen; and, lastly, it was the wish of the committee, as far and as fast as practicable, to prepare the public mind for a school system for our state; unparalleled for the liberality of its provisions, the wisdom of its measures, and the harmony and efficiency of its operations.

During the past year these objects have been kept steadily in view. Early in January last, the committee made conditional arrangements for holding teachers' institutes, in one-half the counties of the state, in the spring following, and matured plans for holding others in the remaining counties of the state, during the succeeding autumn.

Teachers of ability and experience were secured to visit these counties, and give a course of instruction, for one week, to the teachers of the county, provided the county examiners, teachers themselves, and friends of education, should co-operate in the measures proposed. Several hundred letters were written by the committee, to public men and private citizens, in the counties designated, asking their influence and effort in behalf of the plans of the committee. The following counties accepted the propositions of the committee, and institutes were held during the months of March and April last: Ashland, Richland, Huron, Licking,

Seneca, Stark, Columbiana, Wayne, and Washington. The number of teachers attending the institutes in the above counties, was between six and seven hundred.

During the summer, proposals were issued by the committee for holding an institute, during the succeeding autumn, in any county of the state where teachers and friends would co-operate with the committee. The following counties accepted the proposals of the committee, and institutes were held, during the past autumn, in Montgomery, Medina, Portage, Huron, Seneca, Miami, Sandusky, Champaign, Ashtabula, and Washington.

The number of teachers instructed at the institutes during the fall, in the above counties, was above eight hundred; making in all about fifteen hundred who have attended institutes, during the past year, in connection with the state association.

In January last, the committee issued proposals for a course of lectures to teachers, on subjects immediately connected with their qualifications and duties, and the improvement of schools, to continue nine weeks, and be given in any county of the state where the friends of education would offer the most liberal inducements to the committee for the course. From all the propositions received, the offer from Huron county, pledging to the committee nearly five hundred dollars, with a suitable building, was deemed best, and the course was accordingly given in that county. About one hundred and twenty persons attended the course.

During the summer, proposals were issued by the committee for another course, similar to the one in Huron county, to be given where the best offer should be made. The offer from Summit county, was deemed best, and the course was given in that county during the months of September and October. The class numbered about sixty.

The lectures were by Professor St. John, on *Geology;* by H. Benton, on the *English Language;* by Lorin Andrews, on *Arithmetic;* by M. F. Cowdery, on *Geography and Vegetable Physiology;* by J. B. Howard, on *Linear Drawing;* by J. Hurty, on *Civil Government;* by T. W. Harvey, on *American History;* by Professor Mandeville, on *Elocution;* by G. W. Winchester, on *Book-keeping;* by I. J. Allen, on *Natural Philosophy;* by M. D. Leggett, on *Human Physiology;* and on *Music*, by Mr. Andrews and Mr. Howard.

Active interest for normal schools was manifested in 1848. The educational journals pressed their value, and Mr. Galloway urged the legislature to encourage the establishment of one or more. Another feature of the movement of that year, under the auspices of the State Teachers' Association, was union schools.

A committee of the association, consisting of A. D. Lord, S. S. Rickey, and H. H. Barney, made the encouragement of union schools a speciality, and reported, to the state school department, lively encouragement.

There were then not more than twenty union schools in Ohio. Cincinnati had led the movement by good example, and her schools were of wider range and higher sphere than any others in the state; but Cleveland, Columbus, Dayton, Zanesville, Sandusky, Portsmouth, Mansfield, Massillon, and a few other towns, were then, as they are now, forward competitors for common school distinction.

The State Teachers' Association, at the period which we are now considering, as it did for at least five years after 1848, and as it does

in some degree yet, discharged important duties which properly belong to a state department of public schools. There had been, from 1840, growing demand for a state school department. Despairing of success in petitioning the legislature, without an active increase of public interest, a few leading teachers had determined to show in how far the interests of schools might be advanced by co-operation, independent of state patronage. They succeeded better than they had reason to anticipate, but did not at any time lose sight of what they believed to be the obligations of government. They resolved, at the semi-annual meeting of the association in Dayton, June 1848, that a state superintendent of schools ought to be appointed, and, as we have seen, reported to the secretary of state, at the end of the first year of their endeavors.

The first annual meeting of the State Teachers' Association was held in Columbus, December 27, 1848. Samuel Galloway delivered an address, and was re-elected president. Asa D. Lord was chosen chairman of the executive committee. The convention discussed the necessity of a state normal school, and of state and county superintendents, and the best plans for schools in incorporated towns and cities.

In 1849, the cholera visited Ohio. On account of it, the semi-annual meeting of the Teachers' Association, which was to have been held at Springfield in June, was postponed. There was very general depression throughout the state in the summer of that year, and educational enterprise was consequently retarded; but very decided measures were taken, in a large number of towns, to secure union schools, and in the second annual meeting of the State Teachers' Association, at Columbus, December, 1849, a majority of the counties of the state had representatives. Samuel Galloway was again elected president, and Asa D. Lord was continued as chairman of the executive committee.

Addresses were delivered by the president on the *Importance of Universal Education*, and by S. Hanbury Smith, on the *Animal Kingdom*. Reports were presented upon a variety of topics, affecting practically the prosperity and efficiency of the public schools. Resolutions, presented by Lorin Andrews, demanding a board of school commissioners, and an educational paper, under state authority, were discussed and adopted.

Mr. Galloway included these resolutions in his report for 1849, to the general assembly—his last report as secretary of state. The plan for the state superintendence of schools they provided, was diligently urged upon the legislature.

A committee to memoralize the general assembly, consisting of A. D. Lord, H. H. Barney, and Milo G. Williams, had been appointed

by the State Teachers' Association, and that committee did not fail to discharge its duty. Educational journals supported the resolutions, and, from several counties, influential petitions were sent in, praying for the commission.

W. B. Fairchild, representative from Green county, presented a bill, embodying the plan recommended by the Teachers' Association, in its main features, and that bill became a law; but so late in the session that no appointments were made under it, and consequently it failed to go into operation.

Two features of the legislature of 1848–9 are entitled to special remembrance. It was then that English grammar and geography were first required to be taught in the common schools of Ohio, and then was the first practical legislative recognition of a need on the part of colored children for common school instruction. Let it be borne in mind that the legislature for 1848—that year during which Europe trembled with agitation for democratic equality—grammar and geography were first ordered for Ohio white children, and the privilege of learning to "read, write, and cipher," was first bestowed upon Ohio colored children. The first school law made "no distinctions on account of color." In 1825, "white youth" were specified as the proper recipients of school privileges; but the property of colored citizens was taxed. They remonstrated under the banner of "no taxation without representation"—(if not in the general assembly, in the schools.) Their property was relieved, but they were without the practical advantages of the common school system, until 1849.

The meridian of the nineteenth century will be remembered in Ohio, as the period when the chief topics of public discussion were the necessity for a new constitution, and the advantages of a convention for the formation of such an instrument.

A convention had been authorized by the legislature of 1849–50, and the election for members having been held in the spring of 1850, educational men, expecting from it a revision of the school system of the state, circulated petitions and made zealous efforts to keep up the interest in public schools which had been productive of so much good in 1848 and 1849.

A. D. Lord's "*Journal of Education*" had been united, at the commencement of the year 1850, with Smith's "*Western School Friend*," at Cincinnati. M. Hazen White, who had edited the "*Friend*" for several years, retired, and A. D. Lord, H. H. Barney, C. Knowlton, and Joseph Ray, were employed to conduct it. It was an interesting and efficient organ of school reform.

Samuel Galloway had been succeeded, in the secretary of state's

office, by Henry W. King, an active friend of the common school cause.

During 1850, educational societies and teachers' institutes were maintained in a larger number of counties than had received the benefits of them during any previous year; and to the legislature for 1850–1 Mr. King, as school superintendent, reported favorably. He gave a clear revision of the school laws of the state, and recommended such legislation as would embrace, in one act, the good features of those in force.

In 1849, the auditor of state, John Woods, in obedience to frequent inquiries, whether the state school fund might not be increased, suggested that the state could, without inconvenience, make the fund $300,000. Mr. King pressed this suggestion upon the legislature, and the fund was increased to the sum named.

The State Teachers' Association held both its semi-annual and its annual meetings in 1850. The summer meeting was at Springfield, and that in winter at Columbus.

At Springfield, the number of members of the association was one hundred and sixty. Addresses were delivered by Rev. D. Shepardson, and J. C. Zachos, of Cincinnati. Reports upon important subjects were presented by experienced teachers, and the association resolved that the constitution of the state ought to provide for a normal school, and for a state superintendent.

The annual meeting of the teachers was the most important one held, up to that period, by the association. Samuel Galloway again delivered the opening address. Ira Mayhew, superintendent of schools in Michigan, gave a public lecture upon Popular Education, and very important discussions were had upon a variety of resolutions. The most important of the resolutions adopted were, that the school laws should be revised; that the law authorizing a board of school commissioners should be put in force; and that the new constitution should recognize public education for all the youth of the state.

The resolution on the board of commissioners was discussed at greater length than any other resolution had ever been in the association, and was adopted by a vote of sixty-one to thirty-one. On motion of H. H. Barney, it was then recommended that none but enlightened educators ought to be appointed to office in the board.

Isaac Sams, of Highland county, was elected president of the association, and Lorin Andrews was chosen chairman of the executive committee.

Mr. Andrews was then principal of the Massillon High School. He

resigned his post, and voluntarily became a common school missionary, without assurance of any reward but that which springs from the consciousness of well doing. He issued circulars, appealing for the interest and support of teachers' institutes, and immediately began a thorough canvass of the state.

The constitutional convention assembled in Columbus, May 16th, 1850, and closed its deliberations, after an adjournment to Cincinnati, on the 10th of March, 1851.

Early in its session, the subject of education was intrusted to a standing committee, composed of the following delegates: Harmon Stidger, of Stark; Otway Curry, of Union; Samuel Quigley, of Columbiana; James W. Taylor, of Erie; Jacob J. Greene, of Defiance; A. G. Brown, of Athens; and John A. Smith, of Highland.

On the 5th day of July (the fiftieth of the Columbus session,) the majority of the committee made a report, which provided for a state superintendent; for the promotion of moral, intellectual, scientific, and agricultural improvement; for an irreducible fund; and for a law to secure an efficient system of schools, free to all the children of the state.

Otway Curry presented a minority report, differing from that of the majority, chiefly, in three points. It authorized not only a superintendent, but assistant superintendents of schools; excluded black and mulatto children from the schools, unless by common consent; and required a law for the support of normal institutes.

As reported by James W. Taylor, these reports were fully discussed at the Cincinnati session.

Upon the various amendments offered, the following points were elicited, indicative of the temper of the body:—

1. That it was inexpedient to limit the educational bounty of the state to white children, by any terms of direct exclusion; but, how far colored children should he entitled to public instruction, was made a subject of unrestricted legislative cognizance.

2. Propositions to augment the state school fund to a sum which would produce a revenue of about a million of dollars, and to enjoin a minimum of six months' instruction, were not adopted—some apprehending that the people would not sustain such forward movements, while others believed that the Ohio school system would be even more progressive than its most sanguine advocates in the convention anticipated. The experience of a few years has fully vindicated the latter view.

3. An amendment, directing the organization of normal institutes, was lost, by twenty to fifty-seven.

4. Even the clause establishing, in express terms, the office of

superintendent of common schools, was not retained in the final action of the convention—the precise methods of superintendence being left to legislative discretion.

A bill was presented to the last general assembly, under the first constitution (1850–1,) which proposed to print and distribute books for the common schools at public expense—to be furnished at the lowest possible price to those who could purchase them, and gratuitous to those who could not. The bill was referred to a select committee, which, in an elaborate report, recommended that the pupils in the deaf and dumb asylum be taught the art of printing—that the state provide types and presses, and that an uniform system of school-books be published, under the supervision of the governor and the trustees of the asylum, for those children, in the public schools, whose parents were unable to purchase them. These recommendations were candidly discussed, but the general assembly refused to embody them in a law.

The semi-annual meeting of the association at Cleveland, in 1851, was interesting and important. The labors of the general agent (Lorin Andrews,) were most cordially approved, and a resolution to sustain him pecuniarily, unanimously adopted. At the same meeting, resolutions were adopted, declaring that boys and girls ought to sit in the same room; that phonotypy was to be encouraged, as a means of teaching children to read; and that the legislature ought to establish one or more houses of reformation for juvenile offenders.

Supported by the action of the Teachers' Association, and encouraged by the favorable manner in which the people had received his labors, Mr. Andrews devoted himself, with renewed vigor, during the fall of 1851. The annual meeting of the association at Columbus, in December of that year, exhibited the value of his efforts, in the number of its members, and the character of their action. It was determined to continue Mr. Andrews as state agent; to establish a monthly educational journal; and to petition the legislature for district school libraries, and for a state superintendent.

Rev. W. C. Anderson, president of Miami College, was elected president of the association. Addresses were delivered by Joseph Ray, of Cincinnati, principal of Woodward School, on "*Qualifications of Teachers;*" George Willey, of Cleveland, president of the Board of Education, on "*Education, its Relations to the Individual and to Society;*" and W. D. Snow, of Boston, on "*Teacher's Profession.*" The convention adjourned, to meet at Sandusky, in July, 1852.

In his report to the legislature for 1851, the secretary of state acknowledged, in handsome terms, the good influence of the State Teach-

ers' Association, by its semi-annual meetings, through the labors of its agent, and by means of county institutes and associations.

Lorin Andrews made an elaborate report, which the secretary of state published, giving an account of his labors, and discussing the educational needs with which he had been impressed. More than two hundred addresses had been delivered under the auspices of the executive committee of the association, and three thousand teachers had been assembled in institutes. Mr. Andrews said :—

About seventy of the towns and cities of the state have established free graded schools, and of these more than fifty have been organized within the past three years, and by the adoption of the law of 1849, "for the better regulation of public schools in cities, towns, etc." Although the unparalleled success which has attended the establishment of union schools in Ohio is very encouraging to the friends of education, yet it should be remembered that there are at least one hundred and fifty remaining towns in the state, whose educational interest imperatively demand the immediate organization of free graded schools.

During the past year, thirty towns have been visited, and their citizens have been publicly addressed upon the advantages and economy of the union school system.

Some of these towns have already organized union schools; and several others, it is believed, will soon follow their good example.

There is a wide-spread, hopeful anticipation, extensively prevalent in our state at this time, of efficient action in favor of education by the next general assembly—the first to convene under the new constitution. Should the legislature fail to satisfy these just expectations, a strong public sentiment will be grievously outraged.

In a large number of institutes, resolutions were unanimously passed in favor of a more thorough supervision of educational interests, by the appointment of a state superintendent, and four or more district superintendents. It is the undoubted opinion of the great mass of teachers and friends of education in our state, that one superintendent can not do the great work which ought to be done.

An *absolutely necessary prerequisite* to the permanent and proper improvement of the country schools, is *an enlargement of the school districts*.

The educational questions before the people of Ohio, at the beginning of the year 1852, were, the importance of union schools; the necessity of normal schools; the need of a state superintendent; the advantage of school libraries; and the full recognition, by statute, of the doctrine that the property of the state should educate the children of the state.

In his report for 1851, the secretary of state had argued with spirit the justice of the claims made by the friends of universal education for these measures.

In his views the secretary was supported by the governor, and both these officers were sustained by the agent of the State Teachers' Association, and by the leading newspapers throughout the state.

The need of a state educational journal, under the auspices of the association, as well as the necessity of a normal school, had been regular topics of private and public discourse, before the association was two years old. The association did not feel strong enough, however, to undertake even the desired journal, until 1852.

A monthly journal, called the "*Ohio Teacher*," was started by Thomas Rainey, in 1851, which was encouraged by many leading educators; but it did not represent generally the sentiment of the State Teachers' Association, and was inefficient and short-lived.

At a teachers' institute in Greene county, it had been resolved that the Teachers' Association ought to establish a periodical. At the annual meeting for 1851, this recommendation was urged with force, and a monthly organ was determined upon.

Asa D. Lord was elected resident editor, with H. H. Barney, of Cincinnati; M. F. Cowdery, of Sandusky; I. W. Andrews, of Marietta; J. C. Zachos, of Dayton; and Andrew Freese, of Cleveland, associate editors. Members of the association pledged a list of twelve hundred subscribers, and the "*Journal*," in January, 1852, was commenced with spirit. It supported with vigor the action of the association, and had weighty influence in the educational movements of 1852 and 1853.

Those movements secured a new school law. The first general assembly, elected under the new constitution, met at Columbus, on the first Monday of January, 1852.

The standing committee of the upper legislative branch, to which the subject of "common schools and school lands" was committed, consisted of Harvey Rice, of Cuyahoga; George Rex, of Wayne; and Alonzo Cushing, of Gallia. On the 29th of March, 1852, they reported the senate bill, No. 94, "to provide for the reorganization, supervision, and maintenance of common schools." It reached its second reading April 1st, after which it was committed to the committee of the whole, and made the order for the same day; but it was not taken up in committee until the 13th of April. Its discussion continued until the 15th, when the committee rose, and the bill, with various amendments, was tabled.

It was not again called up during the session. The legislature adjourned, to meet in November, 1852; and, on the 18th day of that month, the school bill was called up. It was discussed with interest and ability, and, on the 24th day of January, 1853, passed the senate by a vote of twenty-two yeas to two nays.

The house committee on common schools and school lands, to whom the senate bill was committed, after a brief consideration in committee of the whole, consisted of S. Plumb, of Ashtabula; C. K. Ward, of Crawford; B. H. Alexander, of Preble; John McClahanan, of Brown; and A. C. Ramage, of Belmont. They reported on the 28th of February, and on the 7th of March the discussion of the various amendments proposed commenced with great earnestness.

The prominent features of the law introduced by the house amend-

ments were, the provision for the establishment of central or high schools, as it now stands in sections 20 and 21; several provisions for joint and special districts; that portion of section 54 which authorizes the commissioner to re-distribute laws; together with modifications for the collection and disbursement of funds, and many verbal amendments.

Among the rejected propositions for amendment were the following: imposing a fine on parents or guardians for not sending children to school, at least three months in the year; to strike out the provisions for school commissioner, for school libraries, and for high schools; and to submit the bill to a popular vote.

A third reading of the bill was in order on the 5th of March, and it passed by a vote of fifty-six yeas to twenty nays.

The house amendments, with a few modifications, were accepted by the senate; but the house had stricken out a provision, authorizing Webster's Unabridged Dictionary for the schools, and, on motion of Mr. Rice, the senate insisted upon its restoration. A committee of conference was appointed, and the senate receded. The concurrence of both branches of the general assembly was thus secured, and the bill became a law on the 14th of March, 1853.

As remarked by James W. Taylor, in a book for the school libraries, entitled "*The Ohio School System.*"

Its consideration had been marked by all the requisites of full deliberation. The interval between the regular and adjourned sessions of the general assembly had been improved by Mr. Rice, the author of the bill, for a thorough canvass of public opinion; the most experienced teachers and careful legislators of the state had been furnished with copies, and their suggestions invited; and probably no similar measure ever engrossed more anxious attention then did the well-known senate bill, No. 94, from the beginning to the close of the session of 1852-3. The repealing clause displaced a bulk of enactments ten times greater than the provisions of the bill, although the latter reached sixty-nine sections.

The new law was, in the main, a consolidation of statutes in force; and, in its new features, no great educational needs were recognized which had not been discussed and plead for by Ohio educators, during twenty years.

As described by H. H. Barney, the prominent provisions which were new—improvements in the estimation of those who advocated and enacted the law—may be stated as follows:—

1. A state school tax was substituted for the county tax.

2. A township board of education, consisting of a representative from each district (or sub-district in the language of the act,) succeed to the power previously vested in the township trustees.

3. "Free education to all the youth in the state," and the abolition of rate bills.

4. A fund of one-tenth of a mill yearly, "for the purpose of furnish-

ing school libraries and apparatus to all the common schools in the state."

5. The supervision of the system by a state commissioner of common schools.

William Trevitt, elected secretary of state under the new constitution, succeeded Henry W. King in 1852. In his report on the condition of common schools for that year, to an adjourned session of the legislature, Mr. Trevitt confined himself mainly to a presentation of statistics, but repeated with zeal the argument of his predecessor, in favor of a revision of the school system.

At the semi-annual meeting of the Teacher's Association in Sandusky, the school bill reported by the senate committee the winter previous was indorsed by three hundred teachers, representing the interests of education in forty three counties of the state.

At the time of this semi-annual meeting in Sandusky, an association was formed to promote the education of girls. There had been, from time to time for ten years, active interest in different localities for that purpose, but the movement of July, 1852 was the first one general in its scope. P. B. Wilber, of Cincinnati, was elected president, and A. D. Lord, secretary; J. C. Zachos, of Dayton, was chosen chairman of the executive committee. Questions of importance were discussed, and gentlemen of experience were appointed to report upon them, at Columbus, in December following.

The annual meeting of the Teachers' Association in 1852, was large and spirited. The friends of popular education were much encouraged. Joseph Ray was elected president, and Lorin Andrews was guaranteed a salary of $1,500, as state agent for another year. He had reported that, during 1852, thirty-one institutes were held; and that the "*Journal of Education*," with an edition of three thousand copies, had proved self-sustaining. Union schools had been liberally encouraged. There were then eighty in the state.

The association expressed sympathy with the movement for the education of young women, inaugurated at Sandusky. Mr. Wilber was re-elected president, and Dr. A. D. Lord, secretary, of that society.

M. F. Cowdery delivered the annual address to the association; and, speaking of what he knew from observation, said:—

Those who are acquainted with the recent history of our state are aware that, five years since, the cities and larger towns of Ohio, with two or three exceptions, perhaps, were entirely destitute of a system of classified public schools; generally nearly or quite destitute of school buildings of any value; and, as might well be expected, destitute of proper discipline, as well as properly-digested systematic courses of instruction.

We have the rich and rare pleasure, now, of witnessing important changes in the educational condition of our state. Great interests, that seemed in imminent

peril, through the neglect or indifference of their proper guardians, have received some attention, some thought, some sympathy. In three-fourths of the towns of Ohio, with a population of one thousand inhabitants and upward, substantial school buildings have been erected by the free contributions of the people; the schools themselves have been more or less accurately classified, thus preparing the way in the best possible manner for all other practicable improvements; and, lastly, the confidence of the public in the capacity of the common school system to afford a suitable education to all, has been almost immeasurably increased.

These were words of earnest encouragement, and the teachers were all impressed that the year 1853 was to be regarded as the birth-time of events as important as any in the history of common school progress in Ohio.

To be Continued.

V. SETH J. NORTH.

SETH J. NORTH, of New Britain, Conn., to whose active influence, and liberal subscription is due the location and establishment of the State Normal School of Connecticut, when and where it was established, is deserving of a record in our pages, as one of the principal benefactors of education.

Mr. North was the second son of James North. He was born, in that part of the town of Berlin which is within the present limits of the village of New Britain, August 13, 1779. His father was a highly intelligent and respectable mechanic, and was repeatedly called by his townsmen to represent them in the state legislature. He was by trade a blacksmith, and the subject of our sketch was trained to the same occupation. At an early age he manifested an extraordinary degree of skill and tact in mechanical pursuits, which betokened his future success. His mind was active and enterprising, and his judgment clear and sound. With only the ordinary advantages of education of boys in country villages, of that day, he managed to become a well-informed man, on most subjects of general interest. Soon after he was twenty years of age, he opened a blacksmith shop on his own account, about half a mile from his father's, and soon commenced building a house, for which he provided an additional occupant in the person of Miss Stanley, a daughter of Col. Gad Stanley, of revolutionary memory, whom he married, when the house was finished. Such was his activity and energy, in his business, that he told a friend afterward, that "he made enough money in his shop, while his house was building, to pay for it." He had, while in his father's shop, given some attention to working in brass, and, after his marriage, he made up a quantity of brass harness-buckles, packed them in saddle-bags, and rode to Albany, and sold them. Encouraged by his success, he soon after commenced manufacturing brass andirons, shovel and tongs, sleigh-bells, and other articles of brass. Possessing much business shrewdness and tact, whatever he put his hands to, prospered. While prosecuting this business successfully, he also took an interest in the business of making iron buckles, hooks and eyes, in the manufacture of jewelry, in a large knitting factory, and

S. I. North

indeed in all those numerous manufactures which have since made New Britain so famous, for the variety and beauty of its wares.

When Mr. North commenced business, New Britain was a small rural hamlet, with no manufactories, and very little enterprise. As his own business increased, he saw clearly, what many men of enterprise do not, that, in promoting the interests of his neighbors, he was promoting his own, also; and hence, whenever it was in his power, he made his own undertakings subserve to the growth and prosperity of the place, and was ever ready to lend a helping hand to any enterprise, by whomsoever planned, which would promote the public good. If this motive of action be called selfish, it is a kind of selfishness which might well be more abundant than it is; but it is not selfishness, it is rather an emotion akin to patriotism, a desire for the promotion and improvement of the community with which the man is connected, and a disposition to make the well-being of that community commensurate with his own. The development of this sentiment in the mind of Mr. North was progressive; he began by the construction of a road at his own expense across a marsh, which, while it facilitated the conveyance of his own goods, was also a benefit to the whole village; then the erection of new school-houses, new churches, of all denominations, the construction of other roads, of railroads, the founding of libraries, the establishment of schools of a higher grade; and, among his last acts of public beneficence, the subscription of $6000 to the State Normal School, being about one-half the sum necessary to secure its location, and the earnest zeal with which he advocated its establishment, crowned a career of extraordinary usefulness. It was a matter of honest pride with him that he could, in his last years, look over the beautiful village of 4000 or 5000 inhabitants, with its immense manufactories, its broad and pleasant streets, where so many cheerful and comfortable homes were clustered, its noble churches, its high school and normal school, and could mark what that village was, at the beginning of his business career, and feel that its growth was, in no inconsiderable degree, the result of his enterprise, his foresight, energy, and skill; and, more than all else, of his helping hand, whenever and wherever help was needed.

The community have confidence in such a man. For years, when any new measure or enterprise was proposed, the first question asked was, "what does Major North think of it?" If he approved, it was well; for all knew that his approval was no idle matter, it meant his co-operation also. The sentiments of his fellow-citizens toward him were well expressed by Professor Andrews, in his

eloquent address at the Burritt Festival, where he alludes to him as "one who, first in means—gained by his own enlightened enterprise—is ever first in generous impulses and in liberal beneficence to his fellow-citizens. The magnetic needle," Professor Andrews continued, "seldom indicates the true meridian, and even the polar star wheels in its daily course, and circles around the earth's true pole; but, though the needle has its variations, and the mariner on the ocean, and the traveler on the trackless desert, may often hesitate in regard to their proper course, we are never at a loss when seeking to find the true *North*." "Those of us," says an eminent business man of the village, who is walking in Major North's footsteps, "who were in active business, had the most implicit faith in his judgment, and were ready at all times to follow where he led. He made the village; he was the first manufacturer; he assisted, directly and indirectly, nearly all others, for twenty-five years; he was the largest benefactor of schools, churches, libraries, railroads, &c. He has left his impress on all things here; his monument is before us in all we see."

He took a great interest in the establishment of railroad communication between the village and the cities of the state; did not forget the "Water Works," but projected the purchase and daming up of Shuttle Meadow as a *business enterprise*, which was afterward made available in bringing a constant supply of pure water to every household; and every where exhibited those wide, comprehensive, and liberal views, which make his memory blessed.

It need not be said that such a man was a religious man. For such a broad, generous, comprehensive nature as his, religion was a necessity. He was not a bigot, not perhaps as outwardly zealous a professor as some; but his religious principles pervaded his whole life and conduct, and elevated, refined, and liberalized his entire character; and when he came, after a well-spent life, to lie down upon the bed of death, it was with calmness and peaceful trust,

> "Like one who wraps the drapery of his couch
> About him, and lies down to pleasant dreams."

Major North died on the 10th of March, 1851, aged seventy-one years. An excellent portrait, by Mr. James L. Sawyer, who was engaged for this purpose by a vote of the Directors of the New Britain Educational Fund Company, hangs in the principal room of the Normal School, called after its most liberal benefactor, NORTH HALL.

Thos. H. Burrows

the 16th of November,
f Strasburg, Lancaster

native of the County
amily, long resident
the ministry, in the
of mind, and not
to the State of
Soon afterward
Though liber-
ts, chiefly as a
pplication of
ts, and was
ose difficul-
men are
s various
nd useful

nty of
her pa-
7, being
band to
f whom
cision of

ly went to
; but they
ll were not
seven years'
wer Canada,
reland, and
ed to Lan-
cnanges, the education of the subject of this

Thos. H. Burrows

VI. THOMAS H. BURROWES.

WITH A SKETCH OF THE HISTORY OF COMMON SCHOOLS IN PENNSYLVANIA.

THOMAS HENRY BURROWES was born on the 16th of November, 1805, in the village (now the borough,) of Strasburg, Lancaster county, Pennsylvania.

His father, Thomas Bredin Burrowes, was a native of the County of Cavan, Ireland, and was of a respectable family, long resident there. He had been intended and prepared for the ministry, in the Episcopal church; but being of an active turn of mind, and not feeling an especial call to the pulpit, he emigrated to the State of Delaware, in 1784, being then twenty years of age. Soon afterward he removed to Pennsylvania, and settled at Strasburg. Though liberally educated, he devoted himself to mechanical pursuits, chiefly as a clock and watchmaker; but he always delighted in the application of his scientific knowledge to the practical and useful arts, and was widely known for his skill and readiness in overcoming those difficulties in the various manual occupations, by which unlearned men are so often embarrassed. He never accumulated wealth by his various pursuits, but was much respected as an honest, learned, and useful man and citizen.

His mother, Ann Henrietta Smith, was born in the county of Monaghan, Ireland, in 1771, and, in 1774, was brought, by her parents, to New Castle, Delaware. On her marriage in 1787, being then only sixteen years of age, she accompanied her husband to Pennsylvania. She was the mother of thirteen children, of whom seven reached maturity; and was as remarkable for decision of character as for kindness of heart.

On the death of the elder brother of his father, the family went to Ireland, in 1810, to take possession of the family property; but they soon found that the customs and society of the old world were not congenial to their American feelings and habits. After seven years' residence there, they, in 1817, removed to Quebec, in Lower Canada, where they remained till 1822. They then returned to Ireland, and having disposed of their property, in 1825, finally returned to Lancaster county, Pennsylvania, where they have since chiefly remained.

Through all these changes, the education of the subject of this

memoir was by no means neglected, though it could not well take that regular form which more settled residence promotes.

From his ninth till his twelfth year, he was chiefly, as a private pupil, under the instruction of the Rev. William Craven, a kinsman of his mother, and a clergyman of the church of England. During the five years spent in Quebec, he attended the classical and English school of Mr. Collier, and subsequently that of Mr. Cornelius Doyle, both good scholars and teachers of the old class. One of the next three years, in Ireland, was devoted to study under the Rev. James Thompson, a presbyterian divine, who, at Fort Henry, in the County of Cavan, took a limited number of pupils, as boarders; and the greater part of the other two were spent, as an irregular student, in Trinity College, Dublin. Owing to the unsettled state of his family, who always designed returning to the United States, he did not enter the college as a regular student; but, by means of the ability, kindness, and constant attention of his tutor, John McEffer, A. M., who was also a Scholar on the foundation of that well known institution, he profited as much, probably, as if he had been matriculated.

In addition to the ordinary branches of a liberal English education, and those sciences usually considered part of it, he thus acquired a sound knowledge of the Latin and French languages, considerable acquaintance with the Greek, and the rudiments of German. But the wandering life he had been made to lead, though it prevented that finished regularity of training, so essential to the acquisition of degrees and of high collegiate standing, conferred qualities of perhaps equal value:—an enlarged view of the world, and those habits of self-reliance, which are greatly promoted by independence from local feelings and attachments, became, in fact, a portion of his education. In most cases, the opportunity to cultivate these traits does not occur till after the turn of thought, and the habits which constitute character, have become fixed; and thus, it may be, that it fails to make its due impression. This may be a fortunate circumstance for those who are of an excitable and easily impressible disposition. In his case, however, the course of culture directed by providence seems not to have been in discord with the character of its subject. For, though undoubtedly much more might have been acquired, even in the irregular course described, yet little that is now perceived to be injurious was thus impressed. Be this as it may, the graduate of this broken and varying course of culture has often been heard to say, that, whatever of self-reliance, of directness of purpose, and of power to foresee distant results cleared from the mists of the present, he may possess, has been mainly conferred by the accidents and peculiarities

of his whole education, modified, restrained, and improved, as it was, by a constant moral and religious home training.

Thus prepared for the battle of life, less by contact with books and schools than with life and scholars, it became necessary, on returning to Pennsylvania, in 1825, to select the branch of service in which to engage. The profession of law was chosen; and here, the same chequered, but broadly educatory, course that marked his preparatory studies, again awaited him. His legal preceptor was Amos Ellmaker, Esq., of Lancaster, whose office he entered in January, 1826. This gentleman, himself a liberal scholar and of the highest standing at the bar, soon took a liking to his new student, and paid even greater attention to his general reading than to his legal studies. Having weak eyes, his students were necessarily much employed in reading to him, and most of this profitable duty soon devolved on the subject of this notice. This led to an enlarged acquaintance, not only with the more advanced works on law, but on history, science, and general literature, and particularly on the political history of the country. In return for the labor of reading to him, Mr. Ellmaker was in the habit of explaining every word, allusion, or passage, which was not supposed to be clear to the reader. The rich stories of his own well-disciplined mind enabled him to do this, in a way at once pleasing and satisfactory.

After profiting for two years and a half by this liberal course of study, Mr. Burrowes entered Yale College Law School, at New Haven, in the summer of 1828. Judge David Daggett, of the superior court of Connecticut, and Samuel J. Hitchcock, Esq., of the New Haven bar, were then the law professors,—the former delivering lectures, and the latter hearing the recitations. Here, in company with about forty other students, he diligently pursued his professional studies till the spring of 1829. He also attended the course of lectures of Professor Silliman, on chemistry, mineralogy, and geology; and that of Professor Olmsted, on natural philosophy, in Yale College; and of Dr. Knight, in the medical school, on anatomy and physiology.

In the autumn of 1829, he was examined and admitted to the bar of Lancaster county, at Lancaster, where he soon after commenced the practice of law.

Not being then dependent on his own exertions for support, he did not adopt the measures usually resorted to, to secure employment. He at once, however, took an active part in the prevailing political questions of the day; more, however, as a writer and shaper of party movements, than as an electioneerer or speaker at public meetings.

Thus, before he had acquired either much practice or standing at

the bar, he became somewhat prominent in politics, and was elected, in October, 1831, one of the six members from Lancaster county, in the house of representatives of the state, and was re-elected in 1832. While in the legislature, he was mainly remarkable for regular attendance and attention to the business of the house, and for unswerving adherence to the principles and measures he approved. Though he did not often take part in debate, or speak at great length, he had as much influence as probably belonged to his years and qualifications; but, being of a party far in the minority, and very unpalatable to the ruling powers, he did not figure on any important committee, or obtain any other chance of distinction. When the party to which he belonged became successful, however, by the election of Joseph Ritner to the office of governor, in 1835, Mr. Burrowes was honored with the appointment of secretary of the commonwealth, the chief office in the gift of the executive. He was then in his thirtieth year, and entered upon the discharge of the duties of the station in December, 1835. At this point began his first connection with the educational interests of the state, and, as he has often been heard frankly to say, his first knowledge of the subject.

At that time, the governor, under the existing constitution, appointed all the executive officers of the state, except county sheriffs, coroners, commissioners, and auditors, and township constables, supervisors, and assessors. All the rest,—from a judge of the supreme court to a justice of the peace and notary public, from the secretary of the commonwealth to a clerk of the lowest county court,—were at his disposal. He also had the control of the immense system of public works in which the state was then engaged, and the responsibility, to a certain extent, of the equally immense debt growing up to pay for it. All this rendered the office very different from what it now is,—when every public officer, except that of secretary of state, attorney-general, a few notaries public and inspectors of articles of produce, are elected by the people, and when the care and control of the public works is otherwise disposed of.

As confidential friend and official adviser of the governor, a portion of the burthen of this large power and patronage devolved, of course, upon the secretary; while, as executive agent of the chief magistrate, all the details, and a great part of the labor also, fell upon him. Mr. Burrowes has been heard to say, that, in the confidence of youth and the ardor of an active politician, he felt little hesitation as to his own ability to acquit himself creditably of this duty; but that when, for the first time, he realized the vast importance of the educational portion of his responsibility, he was almost deterred from

assuming it. Sustained, however, as he was, by the noble determination of Governor Ritner, to uphold the newly-created system of common schools, at every risk, and by a knowledge of the fact, that there was, within the reach of selection, no one who possessed the requisite information and experience, he determined to remain at the post as one of duty, and to prepare himself, to the utmost of his powers, for its proper administration.

The field of this new and unexpected labor requires a brief description.

The constitution of Pennsylvania enjoined, that "the legislature shall, as soon as conveniently may be, provide by law for the establishment of schools throughout the state, in such manner that the poor may be taught *gratis*."

The law in force, previous to 1834, for carrying this provision into effect, was that of 1809, which, in two short sections, provided for an enumeration, by the assessors, of all children in their respective townships, between the ages of five and twelve years, "whose parents are unable to pay for their schooling;" and for the payment, by the county, to the teachers of such private schools as received them, of the expense of teaching such poor children. The number of poor children thus taught in forty-nine of the fifty-two counties, in 1832, was 17,467; and the cost of their instruction was $48,466.25.

This was the only general law in force and operation; there was, it is true, an act, passed in 1824, providing for a more general and liberal system of education; but, as its acceptance was left to the discretion of each district, and as no organized efforts were made, or inducements offered, by the state, in the way of appropriation, it went into very limited operation.

Frequent attempts to establish a general common school system had been made, from 1790 to 1834, but they all failed. It was found that one chief cause was the difficulty of inducing the friends of the project to agree on the form and details of the contemplated system. In the session of 1833–4, the unusual but effectual policy was adopted, of resolving to pass whatever bill might be reported by the committee of education, leaving the perfection of its details to amendment, by succeeding legislatures. Unfortunately the chairman of the senate committee (Mr. Samuel Breck, of Philadelphia,) had little experience in educational matters, and less in the draughting of laws; and thus the act of 1834, though it founded the common school system, can not be said to have put it into operation.

This first common school law was approved, on the 1st of April, 1834, by Gov. George Wolf, to whose broad-minded sagacity, steadfast perseverance, and great influence with the dominant political par

ty, it may be said to owe its existence. It was so defective, however, as to require amendment by the legislature, at the very next session; and even then it was found to be almost inoperative.

With all its defects, it nevertheless contained and permanently established, the three great elements of strength of the Pennsylvania system. These are, 1. The entire support of the schools by public means (taxation and state appropriation,) without any charge to parents for tuition, in proportion to the children sent; 2. Large districts,—each township in the county, or ward of a city or town, constituting one, and each containing an average of about seven schools; 3. The exercise of all the powers of local administration by *one* board of six directors in each district, elected by the people and responsible to them.

The defects of the first laws were chiefly in administrative details; and, being long since remedied, they need not now be specified. It may be remarked, in this connection, that though the amendment of the system has been slow, yet that no step in advance has ever yet been retrograded; and thus the same caution, which prevented hasty action, has also avoided essential errors.

James Findlay, of Westmoreland county, a son of Ex-Governor Findlay, was secretary of the commonwealth, and ex-officio superintendent of common schools, from the enactment of the first law till the accession of Governor Ritner, a period of about eighteen months. He was a gentleman of fine talents, high standing in the legal profession, and well qualified for the general duties of the office of secretary. But he was neither of that ardent temperament nor those laborious habits, which were indispensable to the successful organization of a new, complicated, and, withal, unpopular system. Hence, what with the imperfection of the law itself, a lack of interest on the part of its chief executive officer, and the opposition of the people, the common school enterprise had little of progress to report, previous to 1836.

Mr. Findlay's first annual report to the legislature, dated March 2d, 1835, was a mere announcement, in two pages of print, that certain formal acts under the law had been performed, and certain returns from the counties received.

His second annual report (which was really in anticipation of the regular period, and should not have been made up till the following spring,) was dated on the 5th of December, in the same year, and is little more full or satisfactory than the first. It comprised, in three and a half pages, but one suggestion of important change in the law,—that of providing for a more effectual official visitation of the schools.

Its statistics show that ninety-three of the nine hundred and seven districts (townships, wards, or boroughs,) in the state then had the common school in operation, with 451 schools, 471 teachers, and 19,864 scholars; that these schools had been kept open three and a half months in the year; and that the aggregate sum paid to teachers was $25,007.

Such was the law, and such the narrow foundation, of the present common school system of Pennsylvania.

Mr. Burrowes at once set himself at work to comprehend the system, so far as developed, in its weakness as well as its strength. This labor, together with that of the correspondence and other writing connected with the system, was mostly performed at his own residence, and chiefly late at night,—the hours of daylight being all occupied by the ordinary duties of the secretary's office.

The result of this investigation was given to the legislature in a report, supplementary to the last report of his predecessor, and dated February 19th, 1836.

Assuming that the existing school laws would be "revised and rendered more intelligible during the present session," he very explicitly recommended several amendments,—after giving the statistical results since the date of the last report.

The first was: That the people of each district be afforded the opportunity of discontinuing the common school system, if they desire to do so, after a fair trial of its merits; which was thus advocated:—

> In devising "plans for the improvement of the common school system," the superintendent is guided by a very simple rule, viz., to adapt the system, as nearly as possible, to the *wishes* as well as the *wants* of the people. No project, however beneficial may be its anticipated operation, should be forced upon the community by other inducements than those arising from its own merits; nor, when once accepted by them, should it be out of their power to free themselves from it, if found unproductive of the desired advantages. While the truth of these republican principles is admitted, it is also certain that, inasmuch as any system perfectly fitted to the wants of society can not long remain unpopular, there can be no danger in giving to the people interested an opportunity, at stated periods, of rejecting or retaining it. The contrary practice can only produce evil, as it may be the means of preventing the general spread and adoption of a system, intrinsically beneficial. The human mind is, happily for free government, so constituted, as to view with jealousy even a good project, when seconded by force of any kind.
>
> No means of correcting this evil have occurred to the superintendent so efficient, so just, or simple, as that of making it the duty of the proper officers to submit the question, once in three years, to the citizens of each district, whether the system shall be continued in operation or not. No system really good need fear this test. In view of the possibility of its periodical defeat, the friends of the system would be more active in its behalf; and even its enemies, and those neutral on the question, would not object to a mere *experiment* of its utility. From such a test no system really bad should be shielded.

In accordance with these suggestions, this feature was incorporated into the revised school act of 1836, and was continued till 1849. In

the interval, its soothing and practical operation had been so successful, that, in the last named year, the common school system was, by the legislature, enacted into absolute operation in every district in the state, with scarcely a murmur of complaint from any quarter.

The second amendment recommended was: The restriction of the benefits of the schools to the *children* of the state, and of its instructions to the rudimental and indispensable branches; in support of which the following views were presented:—

The system should not only be adapted to the well-informed wishes, but to the real wants, of the people. That is, it should be confined to its legitimate object. All admit that the true end to be accomplished by a common school system of education, is the instruction, in the same schools and in the elements of a sound business education (which are reading, writing, and arithmetic,) of *all* the *children* of the commonwealth, of every class. This is a great, a noble object; but to accomplish it, the system should be rigorously restrained to that object. The laws now in force are deficient in this respect. No restriction is to be found in them as to the branches to be taught; nor, according to the construction of the former superintendent, is there any limit to the age of the children admissable into the schools. Agreeably to that construction (which, whether it be correct or not, the present superintendent has not thought proper to disturb,) all persons under twenty-one years of age must be received.

Both these defects of the present laws, viz., as to the age of the pupil and the branches to be taught, have produced much evil to the system, and must continue to injure it. An instance, which occurred under the superintendent's own observation, will better illustrate the evil alluded to than a long argument. A young man, nearly but *not quite twenty-one* years of age, in *good circumstances*, attended a common school for the purpose of learning the science of *surveying*, and actually occupied much of the time of the teacher in pursuing that study, at a time that there was scarcely *standing-room* in the school, owing to the great number of *children* who applied for instruction, but who, of course, to accommodate *him*, were to a certain extent neglected. Cases of a similar character are known not to be of rare occurrence.

To meet this defect, it is suggested that the legislature provide, that no child shall be admissable into a public school until the age, say of five years, nor shall continue longer than the age, say of fifteen. Cases may arise in which this restriction might produce hardship; to obviate this, power should be given to the directors to suspend this restriction, when they deem it necessary. In ordinary cases, however, the restriction could produce no evil. There is sufficient time between the age of five and fifteen for the acquisition of the rudiments of a common business education. At the latter age young persons, intended for the pursuit of laborious occupations, are generally taken from school, while those destined for professions or commerce should then be transferred to schools of a more advanced grade.

To complete the remedy, it is recommended that the legislature designate, or cause to be designated, the branches which shall be taught in the primary common schools, and that no schools of a higher grade be established, at the public expense, by the directors of any district, unless surplus funds shall remain in their hands, after providing for the establishment of a sufficient number of primary schools for the education of all children in their district.

In these days of graded schools and of the admitted sufficiency of the common school to afford instruction in the higher branches, these opinions may appear strange. But, reviewed in the light of those early times, and under the cloud of opposition then lowering, the wisdom of neither overtasking the energies of the new system, nor the patience of the people, is still apparent. These provisions were

not incorporated into the act of 1836, except to the extent of excluding children under four years of age from the schools. But, after a long interval, the duty of first providing for instruction in the rudimental branches, was recognized by the act of 1854, which enjoins the establishment of schools for the teaching of "orthography, reading, writing, English grammar, geography, and arithmetic," in every district, as indispensable; and then that of such other branches as the "directors or controllers may require." And perhaps to this day more departure from the true object of the common system is made, and more injury inflicted on the rising generation, by neglect of thorough training in the primary branches, and by forcing unprepared pupils into the higher studies, than by any other error in the schools.

The professional improvement of the teachers of the state was the last important subject urged upon the attention of the legislature, in this report. The full importance of the point seems to have been felt, though the means indicated are not such as more matured judgment has finally adopted. The idea, however, discoverable in all his official writings,—that the existing generation of teachers were to be improved, and were to form the chief reliance of the system,—is plainly expressed. This branch of the report is as follows:—

Many persons, it is known, believe it impossible so to organize the common school system, that the children of all classes shall receive the rudiments of their education in its schools. But, if fairly examined, this belief will be found to be based in error. The low reputation of common schools, which is the only reason why they are not resorted to by those who can afford better, is not owing to the *system*, but to the *teachers*, employed to carry it into effect. These are generally, to a certain extent, ill-qualified, worse paid, and not at all held in that estimation which those to whom is intrusted the formation of the minds of youth so eminently deserve. While such a state of things exists, the common school system, without producing any real good to the community, will prove a battle-ground for conflicting feelings and interests, and will sink into a mere pauper system. It will be neglected by those whose duty it should be to give it efficiency, despised by those at whose expense it is chiefly sustained, and hated by those whose hopes it has disappointed.

Teachers then,—well-qualified, well-paid, respected, *professional* teachers,—are the chief want of the system,—that want its main defect.

At first view, it might seem as if the supplying of this defect must be the work of time,—long time. But, in reality, such is not the case. In three years from the passage of a proper act on the subject, the whole business of common school teaching might be regenerated in Pennsylvania.

The great error on this point has, heretofore, been this: no one was supposed to be a proper teacher of the rudiments of learning, unless he possessed a great store of it himself. The *quantity* of his knowledge was looked to, without any reference to its *quality*, or to the much more essential question of his knowledge of the art of *imparting it*. Hence, it has happened, that under-graduates, pursuing their collegiate education,—graduates, and others, studying for professions,—and, in fact, most persons endeavoring to rise in the world by their mental exertions, have made the common school their means of support, till something better presented. By these remarks, it is not intended to cast any reproach upon persons who have thus took up the business of teaching. It is admitted, that the common school is the step by which many a distinguished man has raised himself to fame; but

it is also asserted, that such men are not generally remembered as the most useful schoolmasters.

Teaching should be a profession,—the business of a life,—and should be prepared for, and paid for, accordingly. The preparation for it is not a matter of much difficulty. The *amount* of information necessary is not great. A large proportion of those men, now drudging in the lowest walks of the profession, have, or soon might have, sufficient learning. Thousands of others, around us, possessing a common education, and who would be willing to embark in the business of teaching, if properly remunerated, and if their services were duly appreciated, are, in this point of view, qualified. All that these persons require, to become most able and useful instructors, is, *themselves to be taught the art of teaching.*

This art consists in the selection of proper school-books, the methodical classification of scholars, the adoption of plain and efficient school-room rules of discipline, and the knowledge and adoption of the numerous helps to instruction which the last few years have brought to the teacher's assistance.

The acquisition of the art of teaching, it was said, is not a matter of much difficulty. One year, or six months, or even three months, spent by a person of common acquirements, in an *institution for the preparation of common school teachers*, under well-qualified professors, would work wonders.

Ten thousand dollars a year, appropriated to the establishment of two such institutions, one in each end of the state, under the care of two of the colleges now in operation, would soon produce a complete revolution in the art of teaching. A new, most useful, most respectable and permanent profession, would be created, and the common school system be put on a footing which nothing could shake. Such an appropriation is most respectfully and earnestly recommended.

Nothing was done by the legislature at that session, nor till the year 1857, for the professional training of the teachers of the system; and Mr. Burrowes has of late years said, that the delay may have been less injurious than the probable errors in the foundation and management of state normal schools,—had such institutions been resorted to,—would have been.

The suggestion, as to the necessity of revising the school law, was promptly complied with, by the legislature. Dr. George Smith, of Delaware county, was then chairman of the committee on education, in the senate. This intelligent and true friend of popular education, draughted the act of June 13th, 1836, and carried it through both houses. In the details of that act, which, with slight modification on several occasions, continued to be the school law of the state till 1849, Mr. Burrowes was, of course, consulted. Several of its main features he suggested, and most of them he approved.

This law was, at least, intelligible in its phraseology, and simple and systematic in its details. Though deficient in several of the essentials for the effective working of a perfect system, yet it was a large and important step in advance;—perhaps fully as great as could be expected, at the time and under existing circumstances. Armed with its powers, and aided by its provisions, the chief officer of the system at once began to render it efficient.

He published the law, in a pamphlet of thirty-two pages, with explanations and instructions for its operation, and forms for all the official acts and documents of directors. These were forwarded to

every director in the state; and they have, ever since, continued to be the basis of a similar publication, periodically issued, by the school department.

The correspondence of the department with district directors, teachers, and others interested in the schools, was enlarged and sedulously attended to, and every means taken to invite that kind of intercourse. Members of the legislature, and other intelligent persons, were consulted with, as to the state of education and of popular feeling in regard to it, in the different counties; and as many schools were visited as the pressure of other affairs would permit.

The result was, that his second report, which was the third in the annual series, showed a marked advance in the system. Of the 987 districts in the state, 742 had accepted the system, and 573 reported to the school department; showing 3,384 schools in operation, with 3,394 teachers, during a term of four months and nine days in the year; of the 320,000 children in the state, between the ages of five and fifteen years, 150,838 had been in the schools; and $309,906 had been received by the districts, from all sources, applicable to the support of the system.

This may be called the first regular report on education, presented to the legislature. It was comprised in twenty-six printed pages, with numerous tables; and was systematic in its form, and as exact in statistical detail, as the means then at command allowed, and very clear and decided in its suggestions. Large extracts would be desirable, but room can only be made for a few, on the more important points.

The following review not only shows the minute attention which had been given to the local feelings and condition of every part of the state, but exhibits difficulties to be met and overcome that do not exist in states with a more homogeneous population.

Upon a close examination of the progress of common schools in Pennsylvania, with a view to the improvement of the system, the inquirer is met, and in a great measure discouraged, in the outset, by results directly opposed to those which the same facts, under ordinary circumstances, would produce. Counties among the most intelligent, enterprising, and devoted to the general interests of education, are found to be among the most hostile to the system. Others which, from their wealth, density of population, and moral character, might be supposed peculiarly adapted to its beneficial action, are scarcely less averse than the class just named. On the other hand, as he advances from the older counties, with a population somewhat of a homogeneous character, he finds the system increase in favor among the new and mixed people of the west and south-west; while it is unanimously accepted by the recent and thinly inhabited settlements of the whole north.

Until the causes of these singular anomalies are fully ascertained, and their agency either corrected or made to promote the common object, all further attempt to amend the system will be vain. In view of them, one general remark, or rather principle, presents itself, which should never be lost sight of It is, that, in adapting a system to the wants and feelings of a community possessing such various conflicting interests and prejudices as ours, little if any aid can be derived

from abroad. In other states, having one language, one people, one origin, and one soil, a system suited to *one* district satisfies the whole. Not so here. No project, however wisely planned or systematically adapted, can be pronounced sufficient till approved by the test of experience. Hence it becomes the policy,—nay it is the duty of the legislature, neither, on the one hand, unduly to press any part of the design, no matter how theoretically beautiful it may appear, if it have been condemned in practice; nor, on the other, ever to relinquish a point once gained in favor of the system, however far it may fall short of previous calculation. It is only by resting on and starting from such mutually admitted points, that success can at all be achieved in any great enterprise.

Commencing at Philadelphia, the place from which the settlement of the state was begun, a small belt of counties, consisting of Delaware, Chester, Montgomery, and Bucks, is met, originally peopled by the followers of the great founder of our commonwealth. Though the population of these counties has become mixed with other classes and sects, still their feelings, habits, and institutions are essentially those of the society of Friends. From them they derive mainly a degree of intelligence, love of order, and opposition to innovation, which characterizes that people. From the same source also is, in a great measure, inherited an unwillingness to receive the common school system, which at first view is so unexpected and disheartening. This singular result, however, flows from operating causes as highly creditable to the people in question, as they have been injurious to the system. It is known that the establishment of schools for the education of all their members, both wealthy and indigent, is only a part of that benevolent regulation which compels Friends to provide for and support their own poor. Hence, in every one of these counties the common school system has not proved acceptable, for the plain reason that a system of *society* schools is already in active operation. For this reason also, and in the abstract it is difficult to gainsay it, their citizens say that no new system is required by a community, who are already in possession of one sufficient for all their wants. This disposition is participated in by their immediate fellow-citizens, not members of the society, because they, to a certain extent, also receive the benefits of the society schools.

This state of things has been, within the sphere of its influence, the chief obstacle to the spread and improvement of the system. We are now at the end of the third year of the experiment, and yet, of the one hundred and twenty-seven districts in the four counties under consideration, of which one-third adopted the system in 1834, little more than one-half are now accepting districts;—a smaller proportion of the whole number, and a smaller increase, than in any of the other great divisions of the state. It can not be that this will continue. It can not be that counties, so proverbial for love of learning, will remain cold toward a plan, which, though it may not be actually needed by them, is vitally necessary to the character and prosperity of the state, but can only be made generally useful by its uniform adoption.

Happily, much of the difficulty arising from the causes just mentioned may be removed, by the operation of the section of the act of last June, which relates to "endowed schools." Institutions of this description, which it is believed embrace nearly all the society schools alluded to, are entitled to receive their due proportion of the common school funds, and to remain "under the direction of the regularly appointed trustees," who of course retain the right of selecting the teacher. It is hoped that this wise provision will hereafter be fully carried into practice, and will obviate all remaining difficulty.

In this light, the example of the Moravian society, at Bethlehem, is worthy of all praise and imitation. The common school system has not been sacrificed to, but ingrafted upon, the admirable schools of that place. Directors under the school law have been elected to manage the funds of the system, and the society schools have been opened to all the youth of the district. Thus, while they are literally converted into common schools, the efficient control and instruction of the society are retained.

There is a general, but very erroneous, idea entertained that the common school is at war with, and must in its establishment prostrate, every other system. Nothing could be further from the truth. The great object of the system is, to impart the rudiments of learning to all the children of the state, in the same schools, on

equal terms, and at the least possible expense. In the prosecution of this glorious project, it does not follow that the details of the system are unbending, or that every other system, however good, must disappear before it. This would be oppression, and not benefaction. On the contrary, great discretionary power is given to directors, to adapt the system to the circumstances of the district, always keeping the *common* principle in view. In its effects the system should be made, 1. To supply *common* schools, where no system was before in operation; 2. To improve and make *common* the defective primary schools that preceded it; and, 3. To aid with its funds and render *common* the good schools which it encounters. In a word, its duty is to build *common* schools where there are none, and to open the doors of the schools already built.

Next in order, both of settlement and locality, though not more advanced in acceptance of the system, is the German range of counties, consisting of Northampton, Berks, Schuylkill, Lehigh, Lebanon, Lancaster, Dauphin, Northumberland, Union, Cumberland, York, Bedford, Somerset, and the new county of Monroe, which is included in the counties of Pike and Northampton. Here every thing is adapted to its easy and useful operation. The population is dense and equally spread. The mass of citizens are in comfortable circumstances. No previously established system materially interferes. Here other difficulties are met. They are, however, neither insuperable, nor numerous, or of great magnitude, and are rapidly disappearing. The chief of them is to be found in the cautious habits of the people, who never engage in any undertaking until fully convinced of its propriety. Their consequent slowness to accept the system, though a hindrance during the first and second year, is now wearing away, and, in its place, that steadfastness of purpose, which is ever the companion of caution, is coming into action, and will hereafter be the main stay of the schools. Another difficulty arises from the difference of language. The use of the German language produces a proportionate want of knowledge of the English, and a disregard for education by its means. It also begets jealousy of a system wrongly supposed to be solely intended to promote the diffusion of the latter tongue. Care has been taken, during the past year, to correct the impression that a German school can not be a common school. The result has been the removal of much injurious prejudice against the system.

Though cautious, at the commencement, in receiving the common school method of instruction, the German counties give promise of soon becoming unanimous in its favor. Of the two hundred and fifty-five districts, which make up this great division of the state, seventy-six accepted the law in 1834, fifty in 1835, and one hundred and thirty-five in 1836, showing a proportion of only about three-tenths, the first two years, but exhibiting a gratifying increase to about four-sevenths, the last year.

The third division of counties, in the order of favor toward the system, is composed of Adams, Alleghany, Armstrong, Beaver, Butler, Cambria, Center, Clearfield, Columbia, Crawford, Erie, Fayette, Franklin, Green, Huntingdon, Indiana, Juniata, Lycoming, Mercer, Mifflin, Perry, Venango, Washington, and Westmoreland, stretching generally from the middle northern to the western and south-western portions of the state. They are occupied by a mixed population, made up of English, Germans, Irish, New Englanders, and Friends. Their proportion of accepting districts, instead of being decreased by the action of these apparently conflicting feelings, is much greater than in either of the classes of counties just described. It forms about a medium between those which are most hostile and those which are most favorable to the system, and seems to be a kind of tacit compromise among all the combined feelings that exert a separate agency elsewhere. In this range of counties, the whole number of districts is four hundred and thirty-one, of which two hundred and forty-nine accepted in 1834, two hundred and forty-six in 1835, and three hundred and seventy-seven in 1836; showing a smaller annual increase than in any other quarter of the state, but the large proportion of about seven-eighths as accepting districts at the present time.

The last class of counties, as respects the acceptablity of the system, extends along nearly the whole northern boundary of the state. There, where, from the sparseness of population, recent settlement of the land, and other obstacles, it might be expected that the system would be most unfitted to the wants of the people, we find the genial soil of common schools. No force of present disadvantages,

no combination of untoward circumstances, can cause them to forget the benefits which their fathers received from the common schools of New England, or compel them to forego like blessing for their children. Of the one hundred and seventy-four districts which compose the counties of Pike, Wayne, Susquehanna, Bradford, Tioga, Luzerne, Potter, McKean, Warren, and Jefferson, one hundred and forty-four received the law in 1834, ninety-four in 1835, and one hundred and fifty-six in 1836. It appears that there is not a rejecting district in these counties; and, of the eighteen that were not represented in joint meeting, it is believed that not one would have refused to accept had they all been present to vote. This is the best argument for the adoption of common schools, which can be addressed to other parts of the state. That system must be beneficial which is accepted with full knowledge of its nature and effects, and under such disadvantages as clouded the first two years of its existence among us.

The results of the system are thus briefly set forth:—

A careful examination of the present condition of the schools, or rather of the condition of education in the state, as connected with the rudiments of learning, proves that many important points have been thus far obtained by the operation of the common school law. These, though in themselves, and apart from the consequences to be derived from them, of apparent little present benefit, when compared with the labor and expense of their attainment, become, when viewed in connection with the future welfare of the system, of the utmost consequence. Like the toil of clearing away rubbish from the rock-foundation of the future edifice, the labor of the friends of common schools in Pennsylvania, has heretofore produced for it little else than a firm basis. Such a basis has, however, been gained; and, when the superstructure once lifts its head above surrounding and opposing obstacles, its permanent security and increasing usefulness will amply repay their care.

We have now a system,—an admitted permanent and well-understood starting point. To have attained this, is a great advance to success. A system may be defective, it may even be one whose continuance in its present state will be impracticable; yet if by general assent its necessity be admitted, and its continuance demanded, it can soon be amended and adapted to the circumstances of the case, so as to secure its permanence and utility.

We have now a class of men set apart to watch over the cause of education in every neighborhood. They may not yet be qualified for the trust, but they will be. The eye of public attention is open upon them; their reputation is at stake; the dearest interests of themselves, their families, and of society, are involved. No temptation exists to lead them aside from the path of duty. It is the equal interest of all to sustain, inform, and improve them for their noble task. A very few years suffice to qualify men for their ordinary avocations of life; it will require no longer time to raise up a body of common school directors, who will be the strength of the system.

Public scrutiny is fixed upon the qualifications of teachers. Heretofore it frequently happened, that the master who offered the largest rent to the owner of the village school-house, became the molder of the character of its next generation, without reference to his qualifications. Now, though unqualified teachers are by no means excluded, a general determination to obtain better is aroused.

Former carelessness with regard to the branches of learning taught, the books used, and the method of instruction employed, in primary schools, is much dissipated. Inquiry is excited on these questions, and the result must be most salutary. Education being the preparation of a human being to perform his duty to himself, his family, his country, and his Creator,—the kind, the manner, and the degree of it necessary for each individual, should be determined with the utmost care by those to whom the trust is delegated. The parent or director who abandons the decision of these momentous questions to chance or caprice, is deeply reprehensible.

The inconvenient location and whimsical construction of school-houses, have been in a great measure remedied, and will hereafter be prevented. This arises from the principles of common convenience, justice, and equality, that lie at the bottom of the common school system. Its object is not merely the education of all, but their education with the greatest possible benefit and convenience.

These are some of the first fruits of common schools. The production of the spirit which accomplished them, is well worth the half million of dollars thus far expended in the attempt. Could the system now be stricken out of existence, with all its other benefits and bright promises, if only these results be left, society is immensely the gainer.

The portion of the report devoted to "Plans for the Improvement of the System," contains a reiteration of the suggestions made the preceding year. None of them were effectual, except that which asked an addition to the state appropriation of money to the support of the system—the amount being increased over one-third (from $200,000 to over $300,000,) per annum, with a school-house appropriation of $500,000. The favorite idea of institutions for the improvement of the present teachers of the schools is again presented, and that of a regular graduation of the schools is evidently taking a more definite form in the writer's mind. But the document had better speak for itself:—

The superintendent would remark, that a chief cause of the slow spread of the system heretofore, has been the annual alteration of its features. Many persons have become disheartened with the continual changes that have taken place. As soon as one law was published and understood, another superseded it, and rendered useless much of the labor bestowed on its predecessor. The evil effects of this course have fallen heavily on the system. On this account, the rule which will be observed in recommending improvements will be, to avoid all material changes of the system, and to remove or alter none of its parts, except such as can be effected without derangement of the rest. If this be judiciously done, and if it be invigorated by a liberal increase of means, including funds and teachers, its friends have nothing more to wish for.

The chief defect of the system is undoubtedly the want of good teachers. This, though not severely felt during the first years of the system, is now daily becoming more obvious. It must be provided for, if the common school method of instruction is to be continued. Two means present themselves:—

The first is such an increase of the instruction fund, as will enable directors to induce properly qualified persons to take charge of the schools. It is now a lamentable fact that the scantiness of the means at their disposal, frequently compels directors to give a preference to teachers not well-qualified, over those whose fitness is acknowledged; or, which has the same ill effect, prevents the latter from applying for appointments. This arises from the situation in which directors are placed. Their first duty is to provide school-houses. This for the first year, or longer perhaps, exhausts the funds at their command. In the mean time the old system for the education of the poor gratis is suspended. The people become impatient. Due allowance is not made for the difficulties of the board. As soon, therefore, as the replenished treasury of the district will authorize it, the schools are opened. The first teachers who present themselves are employed; or, if more than the number needed offer, the wish to continue the schools as long as possible in operation, induces the employment of such as are willing to take the lowest compensation. Hence it will be perceived, that want of sufficient funds not only prevents well-qualified persons from seeking the office of common school teachers, but really often gives the preference to persons not at all competent.

The other and the chief remedy, is the establishment of institutions for the preparation of common school teachers. By this is not meant *colleges*, for the instruction of persons, intended for that profession, in all the arts and sciences which ought to be possessed by a teacher, but simply for instruction in the one art of teaching. Thousands of citizens are to be found engaged in the business in this state, professing all the knowledge necessary to the profession, except the knowledge of the best manner of imparting it. Six months' attendance of such persons at an institution of the kind alluded to, would go far to prepare them for the

creditable and useful government of primary common schools. The knowledge of the proper classification of pupils, of the best kind of school-books, of the method of teaching by question and answer, and of the other aids to instruction which modern times have discovered, could readily be acquired in that time, and would be invaluable both to the teacher and to society.

The business of common school teaching must become a permanent profession,—one as respectable and as well compensated in its sphere as that of the clergyman, the lawyer, or the doctor,—before full justice is done to the rising generation, or to their best friends, the teachers. It must be raised to its proper standard by raising its present professors. They form the only hope of the system. It will not do for it to depend on the occasional condescensions of aspirants to what are called the higher professions, though their services are admitted to be as valuable as those of any other class of temporary assistants. The system must possess and rely on its own class of teachers *for life;* and, fortunately, they can easily be obtained.

All that is necessary to the improvement of the present common school teachers, so as fully to fit them for their duties, is the establishment of two institutions for their instruction in the art of teaching,—one in each end of the state. After the necessary buildings are completed, which would not cost, it is presumed, more than $30,000, ten thousand dollars a year would support them. They should not be attached to any of the colleges of the state, as was recommended to the last legislature, but be placed under competent and disinterested supervision, and kept apart from every other object and profession. In three years they would produce a complete revolution in the business of teaching; and this result could be accomplished, without withdrawing any of the persons now in the business from their present engagements. Teachers might attend these institutions during the summer, when most country schools are closed, and return, even in the short space of three months, so much improved, that the completion of their full course would be a matter of public interest to the district. After the institutions had thus improved the present generation of teachers, and as the means of the state increased and the utility of the project became more apparent, they could be enlarged and adapted to a more thorough and liberal course of instruction. They might even be made the means of rewarding and stimulating merit, by permitting each district of the state periodically to have its most promising scholar educated at the public expense.

This subject is most earnestly recommended to the serious attention of the legislature. If it be found inconvenient to make the necessary appropriation at the present session, authority might be given to cause information to be collected, and a plan and estimate submitted to the next legislature.

A most serious defect of the present law, is the admissibility of all ages, without exception, into the schools. During the first years of the system, when the schools were few and not well regulated, this evil was scarcely perceived; but it is now and will annually be more felt, till the proper remedy be applied.

It is therefore suggested that absolute admissibility be limited to persons between five and sixteen years of age, with discretionary power in directors to admit persons over that age, when circumstances demand it. The object of the system is not the education of ignorant adults, but of the rising generation. As a general rule, ten dollars expended in teaching children between the ages of eight and fourteen years, will accomplish more improvement than fifty dollars spent upon persons over eighteen. The case of the grown person who is ignorant of the rudiments of learning is, in four cases out of five, hopeless. In the exceptions occasionally met, the same spirit which leads to desire an education will achieve it, under every difficulty. To aid such, it will be sufficient to confer on directors the discretionary power just recommended; but, in justice to *them*, and the *children* of the state, admission should be refused to all whose presence can only embarrass the schools, without benefit to themselves. If some restraint of this kind be not adopted, increased aid from the state, instead of lengthening the duration of teaching in each year, will only crowd the schools with an ill-assorted multitude of scholars. The result will be the instruction, during three months of the year, of those whose education, after nine months' absence from school, must be recommenced where it was begun in the first instance.

Similar to the want of limitation of age, in its effect upon the schools, is the

absence of restriction in the branches of study. The higher branches, even the dead languages, are daily taught in some schools. If this practice be not forbidden, it will prove highly injurious. The directors who permit it, while there is one child in their district unsupplied with the means of instruction in the common branches, though they violate no law, betray the best interests of the system. The object of the system is to bestow the elements of a common business education on all. A general complaint prevails, that its means, even for this purpose, are insufficient. It would therefore seem that the application of those means to any other object, is an evil which requires legislative prohibition.

It is not intended to say that the higher branches of learning are useless, or that they shall never be taught in common schools. Far from it. Their value is fully appreciated, and the time is surely expected to arrive, when they shall be generally embraced in the course of common school education. But it is contended that, for the present, and until not a single child remains unsupplied with the means of instruction in the essential rudiments of learning, the non-essential branches should not burthen the system.

The time *will* soon come when the higher branches shall be taught in every district in the state, but not in the primary common schools. When that period arrives, it will be found impracticable to impart the rudiments and the more advanced branches of learning in the same schools. It will then be necessary to establish a *secondary* grade of schools for the latter. One or two such schools, with proper teachers, in each district, will have a most salutary effect upon the primary schools. Admission into them, from each of the latter, annually, of a limited number of pupils, whose general good conduct and progress in learning excel their schoolmates, will act as a most admirable stimulant upon all. Such an arrangement would be the carrying out to its fullest extent of the common principle, by placing the higher attainments of learning within the reach of all, without distinction, except of merit.

With these views, it is recommended that instruction in primary schools be limited to reading, writing, grammar, composition, geography, history, arithmetic, and book-keeping. And that, if the means of any district, after supplying a sufficient number of primary schools, enable the directors to provide instruction in the more advanced branches, such branches shall be taught in one or more *secondary schools*, into which no pupils shall be admitted, who have not acquired all the branches taught in the primary schools.

The report concludes with a statement of the condition of the academies and colleges that had received aid from the state; with respect to which the following remarks were made:—

A reference to the table will show that the county academies of Pennsylvania, have received, in money and real estate, from the commonwealth, to the amount of $241,900. It will be for a future legislature to inquire whether this large outlay may not be made more beneficial to the state, by increasing their means, and methodizing, concentrating, and encouraging their efforts. To the present, whose desire is supposed to be the perfection of common schools, it will be only necessary to report such facts and relations as connect them with the system.

There is little doubt but that county academies are capable of being made more productive of common school teachers, than the present class of colleges. The latter from their nature are more apt to raise the plans and expectations of the student above the retired but useful labor of the schoolmaster. Few also, if any of them, possess a department exclusively set apart for the professional teacher. Hence, scarcely any persons who pass through, or even attach themselves for a short time to, a college ever settle down as permanent teachers. This is most probably not the case with regard to academies. All the elements of knowledge necessary to a common school teacher may be gained at a well-regulated academy, except the indispensable professional art of teaching, which can only be required at an institution expressly established for the purpose.

Of the academies that have reported, only five contain students preparing themselves for the profession of instruction, the whole number of whom is forty-three. That they are not more numerous, is presumed to be caused by inability to incur the expense of boarding in the towns, where these institutions are generally situated. This it is feared will ever remain an insuperable obstacle.

A most interesting part of the table is the column showing the number who are preparing themselves in the colleges, for the profession of common school teachers. The whole reported by three of the colleges is forty-eight. Three state that the number is not ascertained, and two that they possess no such students. It is a fair estimate to suppose that, in the eight colleges, there are not more than seventy persons of this description—a small number truly, when the wants of the system are remembered, and a fact which clearly shows that aid must be sought from some other quarter. A liberal education is supposed to be the road to the most honorable and profitable employments of the country. While the clergy receive on an average six hundred dollars, physicians in practice one thousand dollars, lawyers one thousand five hundred dollars, and engineers as much annually, for their services, it is in vain to expect that students, who behold the highest rewards and honors of these professions within their reach, will stop in mid-course and settle down in the country as schoolmasters, at fifteen or twenty dollars per month. Many perhaps do go to college for this purpose, but few return to accomplish it; and, of the small number who do, nearly all turn their backs on the ill-paid and thankless drudgery, the first moment that an opportunity offers. Hope from this source is vain. The common school system must possess institutions for the preparation of its own professional teachers, independent of, and apart from, all other objects and professions, or it will never obtain them.

The column of debts, and of the sums necessary to complete college improvements, fairly brings up the question of aid by the state.

The superintendent is clear in the opinion, that occasional and irregular donations will never produce an adequate amount of support to these institutions, or benefit to the public. The table shows that the large sum of $243,666 has, up to the present time, been bestowed by Pennsylvania upon her collegiate institutions. No one will contend that the good effected has been at all in proportion to the expenditure; nor will it be asserted that the same aid, given in the same manner, to the same kind of institutions, will not produce similar results *now* as heretofore. And yet the claims of the colleges are very strong. It is the desire of every friend of his country, and lover of letters, to see them sustained and made to flourish. This can only be accomplished by ascertaining the real cause of their want of success heretofore, and then applying none but the proper remedy.

The chief defect of our collegiate system is not the want of funds, it is not the want of talent or learning on the part of the faculty, it is not the absence of a desire for liberal education in our people; it is the too great number of the institutions. In other states, noted for their colleges, we find only one or two in each. Pennsylvania has fourteen, and yet many of her youth resort to the *one* college of a distant state. Why is this? It is because our proportion of means, both pecuniary and intellectual, for the support of colleges, is frittered away among fourteen institutions, many of them almost within sight of each other. Thus the talents which should command success, are forced to stoop to ask patronage; and the means, that could with ease sustain three or four flourishing institutions, are rendered unproductive by sub-division.

It is difficult to say what would be the proper cure for this evil. The most effectual, in all probability, will be the creation of a state literary fund, separate from the common school fund, to be applied to the promotion of education in the higher classes of institutions, in a regular and disinterested manner, by persons competent to the task. If such a fund were established, and its proceeds annually distributed amongst the colleges and academies of the state, *not* according to their *weakness*, but in exact proportion to their *wants*, created by their increasing *success*, they would soon be reduced to the necessary number, and those which remained become successful and permanent.

There will, however, be time enough to discover and mature the best plan for their relief; as it is presumed that, for the present, little of the means of the state, applicable to the purposes of education, will be diverted from the support of common schools. After all, it is *there* that the regeneration and complete success of academies and colleges must commence. The attempt to force the spirit of learning to descend and diffuse itself among the people, by fostering it in colleges and the higher institutions, is as vain as to expect heat to descend. When the lower stratum of air is warm, the upper can not be cold. So of education. When its spirit is once thoroughly infused into the mass of the people, colleges will require no aid but the power of that spirit.

To be continued.

VII. EDUCATIONAL SERVICES OF MRS. EMMA WILLARD.

By Prof. HENRY FOWLER, Rochester University, N. Y.

MRS. WILLARD was born Feb. 23d, 1787, in the Worthington parish of Berlin, Connecticut. She is of pure English blood, of the good old Puritan stock. Her father, SAMUEL HART, was descended from Thomas Hooker, one of the founders of Connecticut. Her mother was Lydia Hinsdale, of a family of marked ability and excellence.

Samuel Hart, Mrs. Willard's father, being an only son, was designed for a liberal profession, and was nearly fitted for college when his father died, and left the care of his mother, sisters, and the farm upon his young shoulders. He bravely undertook the burden and bore it manfully; indeed, with such success that its weight seemed to his strong nature to bear too lightly, and to need at the age of nineteen the addition of a wife.

At the age of thirty-three, he was left a widower with six children, and he had lost one in its infancy. He had already become a light in the church and a pillar in the State. In a little more than a year he was married to the mother of Mrs. Willard, ten years younger than himself, who bore him ten children. Of the seventeen, thirteen reached mature life.

The father and mother resembled each other in their puritan piety, honesty and sincerity, which knew no guile,—and in their Christian benevolence, which seemed to discern no difference among the needy creatures of the one Father; and thus they passed their many days in an unbroken harmony, which the stern pressure of incessant labors could not chafe, nor increasing cares, nor sickness, nor bending years, do aught but strengthen. Yet they were in leading characteristics strikingly different, and theirs was the happy union of opposites, which round out the complete ONE. She was practical, quietly executive, severely but unwaveringly industrious; and although well educated for her day, and tenderly reared, and excelling in all the delicate fabrics of the needle, she had in full perfection the New-England trait of making much out of little, and a little out of nothing. She had the true economy, not of selfish hoarding, but of industriously producing, carefully preserving and wisely distributing. As an instance, on sorting the wool, as was the women's part, after the shearing in

the spring—when the best portion had been laid aside as material for the father's clothes, the second best selected for other "men's wear," the third best for the "women's wear," then family flannel and blanketing were to be provided for, and afterwards coarse remnants laid aside for mops. There yet remained scattered tags and burred clippings;—to be burnt? No, not so. They were gathered by themselves, and her little girls, "Nancy and Emma," were quietly told by their mother that they might take their baskets, when their work was done, and carry it to the pasture field (where they loved to go), and scatter it upon the bushes which grew around the pond, so that the birds might find it to build their nests with. Thoughtful loving woman!—sublime in that charity which embraces all the creatures of God. "Gather up the fragments that nothing be lost," she had read as the words of her loved Master, and in imitation of Him, she "considered the fowls of the air which your Heavenly Father feedeth." And it is this same wise bestowal of the fragments, in imitation of the mother by the daughter, which has made the Troy Seminary a source of daily support and comfort, through many years, to outside poor, numbering at times many families.*

And it was this true economy which enabled the mother, in spite of the smallness of an income whose limits were inversely proportioned to the size of her family, always to exercise with cordial welcome and in unrestricted measure, the sacred rites of a New-England hospitality; and besides, always to have one or more old persons in the home to be cared for, nursed and cheered, and sometimes to be supported; at one time her husband's mother, then her own parents, afterwards a brother, poor and diseased, and once a disabled soldier. Hospitality is a pleasant luxury when one's bell-call is answered by trained servants, when the house purse is never lean, and the keys always turn upon a bounteous larder; but when the mistress of the home (assisted perhaps indeed by her daughters), is not only the entertainer, but also her own cook, baker, dairy-maid, and laundress; nay more, the carder of the wool for her husband's clothes, the hatcheler of the flax for the table linen, the motive power of the wheel which spins, and of the loom which weaves—then hospitality rises out of a pleasant luxury into a Christian virtue, almost sublime.

The father's tastes were always literary and scientific. The brief life in boyhood had quickened in him an earnest love of

* "That Seminary will never burn," said once a faithful Irish domestic. "Too much good has been done from it to the poor."

knowledge, and his inquiring spirit was ever seeking its appropriate life in the midst of books and writing. In the winter's evening he was in the habit of gathering with wife and daughters around the ample fire-place, and reading to them—history, travels, metaphysics—even Locke and Berkley; poetry—Milton, Thompson, Young; some fiction of the best—their pleasure only surpassed by his; reading, interspersed with curious questions, anecdotes, lively discussions, and happy repartee; for independent opinions, and their brave maintenance, was the order of the household.

It was well for the father that he and his family were happy at home, for he had cut himself and them from sources of wealth and honor, which his talents might have obtained. Soon after his second marriage, Captain Hart had been compelled to sacrifice influence and worldly prospects to his honest defence, against what he esteemed bigotry and persecution. Two of his neighbors, Gideon Williams and Nathaniel Cole, could not conscientiously pay for the preaching of the place, and became "separatists." At that time the tax for the support of the minister was assessed and collected like the tax for the support of the officers of the state, and the refusal of those men to pay resulted in their imprisonment in the Hartford jail. Captain Hart was troubled at this severe exercise of power, especially as he was the church treasurer, and the warrants for arrest were issued in his name.

He therefore called a society meeting, advocated toleration, but was sustained in his views by only one vote besides his own. He immediately resigned his office, withdrew from the church, paid the taxes and charges against Williams and Cole, although he could ill afford to do it, and released them from prison. Manifold were the dealings, private and public, to restore the protesting offender to the bosom of the church. Pathetic appeals alternated with threats. One of the prominent men in one of these conversations with Captain Hart, said, "You must not leave us. We cannot spare you. Without your abilities to direct us, what can we do?" "Mr. Webster," replied he, "there are two things in religion which I despise; the one is force, and the other flattery."

Desirable offices were forthwith resigned, or barred. He had represented the town; and perhaps there was no man of his age in the State, more in the high road to preferment.

It was the independence of character thus acquired, the love of knowledge thus imparted by the father, united to this energetic economy, thus enforced by the mother, which has given the daughter a capacity to establish and perfect an institution, whose success depended equally upon self-reliance, intellectual inspiration, and

executive ability. To these should be added another element of success—physical health, and a firm constitution, which Mrs. Willard and her sister, Mrs. Phelps, inherited from their parents as the best of legacies.

EARLY EDUCATION.

An account of Mrs. Willard's early education, we are able to present from a sketch by herself:—

"In my childhood I attended the district school, but mostly from causes already related, none of my teachers so understood me as to awaken my powers or gain much influence over me. My father, happily for his children, left to his own family, used to teach us of evenings, and read aloud to us; and in this way I became interested in books and a voracious reader. A village library supplied me with such books as Plutarch's Lives, Rollins' Ancient History, Gibbon's Rome, many books of travels, and the most celebrated of the British poets and essayists.

Near the close of my fifteenth year, a new academy was opened about three-quarters of a mile from my father's house, of which Thomas Miner, a graduate, and once a tutor of Yale College, was the Principal, afterwards well known as an eminent physician president of the State Medical Society, and one of the most learned men of our country. Before the opening of the Academy, my mother's children had each received a small dividend from the estate of a deceased brother. My sister Nancy* determined, as our parents approved, to spend this in being taught at the new school; but having at that time a special desire to make a visit among my married brothers and sisters in Kensington, (whose children were of my own age), I stood one evening, candle in hand, and made to my parents, who had retired for the night, what they considered a most sensible oration, on the folly of people's seeking to be educated above their means and prescribed duties in life. So Nancy went to school, and I to Kensington. A fortnight after, one Friday evening, I returned. Nancy showed

‡ Mrs. Almira Lincoln Phelps is the younger sister of Mrs. Willard, the seventeenth and last child of Samuel Hart. She is widely known as the author of Mrs. Lincoln's Botany, and of Mrs. Phelp's Chemistry, and she was also the Principal of the Patapsco Female Institute, of Maryland, which, under her presidency, was a younger relative and harmonious competitor of the Troy Seminary; the system modified, however, by the commanding talents of the Principal, as times and circumstances required. Mrs. Phelps is a woman of remarkable energies and accomplishments, and has been greatly successful both as an author and teacher.

* The late Mrs. Nancy Simmons, of New Philadelphia, Ohio.

me her books and told me of her lessons. 'Mother,' said I, 'I am going to school to-morrow.' 'Why, I thought you had made up your mind not to be educated, and besides, your clothes are not in order, and it will appear odd for you to enter school Saturday.' But Saturday morning I went, and received my lessons in Webster's Grammar and Morse's Geography. Mr. Miner was to hear me recite by myself until I overtook the class, in which were a dozen fine girls, including my elder sister. Monday, Mr. Miner called on me to recite. He began with Webster's Grammar, went on and on, and still as he questioned received from me a ready answer, until he said, 'I will hear the remainder of your lesson to-morrow.' The same thing occurred with the Geography lesson. I was pleased, and thought, 'you never shall get to the end of my lesson.' That hard chapter on the planets, with their diameters, distances, and periodic revolutions, was among the first of Morse's Geography. The evening I wished to learn it, my sister Lydia* had a party. The house was full of bustle, and above all rose the song-singing, which always fascinated me. The moon was at the full, and snow was on the ground. I wrapt my cloak around me, and out of doors of a cold winter evening, seated on a horse-block, I learned that lesson. Lessons so learnt are not easily forgotten. The third day Mr. Miner admitted me to my sister's class. He used to require daily compositions. I never failed, the only one of my class who did not; but I also improved the opportunities which these afforded, to pay him off for any criticism by which he had (intentionaally though indirectly) hit me,—with some parody or rhyme, at which, though sometimes pointed enough, Mr. Miner would heartily laugh,—never forgetting, however, at some time or other, to retort with interest. Thus my mind was stimulated, and my progress rapid. For two successive years, 1802–3, I enjoyed the advantages of Dr. Miner's school, and I believe that no better instruction was given to girls in any school, at that time, in our country.

My life at this time was much influenced by an attachment I formed with Mrs. Peck, a lady of forty, although I was only fifteen. When we were first thrown together, it was for several days, and she treated me not as a child, but an equal—confiding to me much of that secret history which every heart sacredly cherishes; and I, on my part, opened to her my whole inner life, my secret feelings, anxieties and aspirations. Early in the spring of 1804, when I had just passed seventeen, Mrs. Peck proposed

*Afterwards Mrs. Elisha Treat.

that a children's school in the village, should be put into my hands.

The school-house was situated in Worthington street, on the great Hartford and New Haven turnpike; and was surrounded on the other three sides by a mulberry grove, towards which the windows were in summer kept open.

At nine o'clock, on that first morning, I seated myself among the children to begin a profession which I little thought was to last with slight interruption for forty years. That morning was the longest of my life. I began my work by trying to discover the several capacities and degrees of advancement of the children, so as to arrange them in classes; but they having been, under my predecessor, accustomed to the greatest license, would, at their option, go to the street door to look at a passing carriage, or stepping on to a bench in the rear, dash out of a window, and take a lively turn in the mulberry grove. Talking did no good. Reasoning and pathetic appeals were alike unavailing. Thus the morning slowly wore away. At noon I explained this first great perplexity of my teacher-life to my friend Mrs. Peck, who decidedly advised sound and summary chastisement. 'I cannot,' I replied; 'I never struck a child in my life.' 'It is,' she said, 'the only way, and you must.' I left her for the afternoon school with a heavy heart, still hoping I might find some way of avoiding what I could not deliberately resolve to do. I found the school a scene of uproar and confusion, which I vainly endeavored to quell. Just then, Jesse Peck, my friend's little son, entered with a bundle of five nice rods. As he laid them on the table before me, my courage rose; and, in the temporary silence which ensued, I laid down a few laws, the breaking of which would be followed with immediate chastisement. For a few moments the children were silent; but they had been used to threatening, and soon a boy rose from his seat, and, as he was stepping to the door, I took one of the sticks and gave him a moderate flogging; then with a grip upon his arm which made him feel that I was in earnest, put him into his seat. Hoping to make this chastisement answer for the whole school, I then told them in the most endearing manner I could command, that I was there to do them good—to make them such fine boys and girls that their parents and friends would be delighted with them, and they be growing up happy and useful; but in order to this I must and would have their obedience. If I had occasion to punish again it would be more and more severely, until they yielded, and were trying to be

good. But the children still lacked faith in my words, and if my recollection serves me, I spent most of the afternoon in alternate whippings and exhortations, the former always increasing in intensity, until at last, finding the difference between capricious anger and steadfast determination, they submitted. This was the first and last of corporeal punishment in that school. The next morning, and ever after, I had docile and orderly scholars. I was careful duly to send them out for recreation, to make their studies pleasant and interesting, and to praise them when they did well, and mention to their parents their good behavior.

Our school was soon the admiration of the neighborhood. Some of the literati of the region heard of the marvelous progress the children made, and of classes formed* and instruction given in higher branches; and coming to visit us, they encouraged me in my school, and gave me valuable commendation.

At the close of this summer school, I determined to seek abroad advantages, especially in drawing and painting, with reference to future teaching. The two only remaining sons of my mother had become merchants in Petersburg, Virginia, and were able and willing to furnish assistance to their younger sisters, and also to relieve our parents from the dread of indebtedness, which at one time their utmost exertions could scarcely keep from crossing the domestic threshold."

The way was thus opened for Miss Hart's attendance upon a school at Hartford. The few following years of alternate teaching and attending the schools of Mrs. Royce and the Misses Pattens of Hartford, we have not now time to note minutely. They were characterized by unforeseen difficulties overcome, unsuspected energies developed, and highly prized friendships created; Providence as usual helping the self-helpful.

The solicitation to take charge of the Berlin school, where school days had been enjoyed under Dr. Miner, was a gratifying circumstance, and the successful management of that school for a year and a half, no less so. It was while in charge of this school, in the spring of 1807, just after she had passed her twentieth birthday, that Miss Hart was invited to teach in three other states. Westfield, Massachusetts; Middlebury, Vermont, and Hudson, New York. Each proposal was a good one. The proximity of Westfield to home was the deciding attraction.

Here Miss Hart found herself very pleasantly situated, as female assistant in the academy which has so long sustained so good a

* In one of these was Mrs. Willard's youngest sister, now Mrs. Phelps.

reputation,—and soon won the esteem and affection of her pupils and the excellent inhabitants of Westfield. But her labors were hardly equal to her capacity or ambition, and therefore she accepted a second call to Middlebury, to take the entire charge of its female school. The trustees of Westfield academy reluctantly gave their consent to her leaving.* In the summer of 1807, Miss Hart commenced her labors at Middlebury. For one year the school was a brilliant success, when some denominational jealousy, spiced perhaps by some personal envy, bore fruit in a combination to break down the school. The effort marred for a while without permanently injuring; while it caused a good deal of personal suffering, it insured the vigorous support of strong friends,—and especially rallied to her defense a gentleman of leading position, hitherto unknown to her, who not many months after persuaded the successful schoolmistress, at the age of twenty-two, to become the presiding genius of his home and heart. Dr. John Willard was at that time a prominent politician of the Republican party, being marshall of the state of Vermont, under Jefferson's administration, and supervisor of the direct tax at that time laid by the general government. Not only his personal character but also his profession and his politics attracted, for she had always a taste for the study of physiology, and had improved by the society of eminent physicians of Connecticut; † and she was from a child noted for interesting herself in the politics of the day, being strongly allied by sympathy and association with the Republican party, who were opposed to her father's persecutors and opponents. The connection proved a happy one. She was ever the devoted and honoring wife, and he the considerate, faithful, and proud husband. He was always thoroughly interested in his wife's educational enterprises, and also in her scientific investigations, and materially aided her by his practical good sense and wide experience. Nothing was undertaken by her without his approbation, and while he lived he was the entire manager of the financial concerns of the family and school.

* The ensuing spring the trustees requested her to return to Westfield, saying she might as to salary make her own terms.

† Besides her teacher, Dr. Miner, with whom she corresponded, and who felt great pride in her school at Troy, which he visited, (telling on one occasion most facetiously what the old sexton said when the dean's sermon was praised, "but you must remember 'twas I that rung the bell,") — Dr. Sylvester Wells, of Hartford, her first cousin, the firm friend of her youth,—Dr. Wadsworth, of Southington, the father of Nancy Wadsworth, her most intimate school friend; and Dr. Todd,—between whom and herself there existed a friendship which lasted until his death.

THE EDUCATIONAL LIFE OF MRS. WILLARD.

Soon after the marriage, Dr. Willard met with unexpected but severe financial reverses, which determined Mrs. Willard, with his consent, to undertake again the teacher's profession; and in 1814 she opened a boarding school. And now we come to what constitutes distinctively the educational life of Mrs. Willard.

Previous experiences, experiments, efforts, trials, and successes, had been but the training for this life, not the life itself. Her teaching at Berlin, Westfield, Middlebury, were like the society debates of the student, only preparation to the real debates in the Court House or the Capitol. She had tested her powers; she had determined and remedied some of her deficiencies; she had made choice of principles and methods, and modes, which seemed best adapted to develop, control, discipline, encourage. She had entered upon spheres of acquisition; she had originated some new schemes for instruction, and had, to some extent, experimented and experimented with success; and she had felt the first glow of that enthusiasm in education, which has now to pervade her being and mould her life. The creative genius had already been at work, but it was only fitful and tentative; now it has to labor steadily, undeviatingly, successfully. The day of experiments and of training, gives place to the day of results and of triumphs;—a great cause inspires effort, and consecration is the forming power of her life—consecration to the great cause of female education.

It is a pleasure to be able to present a sketch of the development of Mrs. Willard's educational life in her own words, taken from a record made for a friend, in 1841.

"When I began my boarding school in Middlebury, in 1814, my leading motive was to relieve my husband from financial difficulties. I had also the further object of keeping a better school than those about me; but it was not until a year or two after, that I formed the design of effecting an important change in education, by the introduction of a grade of schools for women, higher than any heretofore known. My neighborhood to Middlebury College, made me bitterly feel the disparity in educational facilities between the two sexes; and I hoped that if the matter was once set before the men as legislators, they would be ready to correct the error. The idea that such a thing might possibly be effected by my means, seemed so presumptuous that I hesitated to entertain it, and for a short time concealed it even from my husband, although I knew that he sympathized in my general views. I began to write (be-

cause I could thus best arrange my ideas.) 'an address to the—— Legislature, proposing a plan for improving Female Education.' It was not till two years after that I filled up the blank. No one knew of my writing it, except my husband, until a year after it was completed, (1816) for I knew that I should be regarded as visionary, almost to insanity, should I utter the expectations which I secretly entertained in connection with it. But it was not merely on the strength of my arguments that I relied. I determined to inform myself, and increase my personal influence and fame as a teacher; calculating that in this way I might be sought for in other places, where influential men would carry my project before some legislature, for the sake of obtaining a good school.

My exertions meanwhile, became unremitted and intense. My school grew to seventy pupils. I spent from ten to twelve hours a day in teaching, and on extraordinary occasions, as preparing for examination, fifteen; besides, always having under investigation some one new subject which, as I studied, I simultaneously taught to a class of my ablest pupils. Hence every new term some new study was introduced; and in all their studies, my pupils were very thoroughly trained. In classing my school for the term of study, which was then about three months, I gave to each her course, (being careful not to give too much) with the certain expectation, that she must be examined on it at the close of the term. Then I was wont to consider that my first duty as a teacher, required of me that I should labor to make my pupils by explanation and illustration *understand* their subject, and get them warmed into it, by making them see its beauties and its advantages. During this first part of the process, I talked much more than the pupils were required to do, keeping their attention awake by frequent questions, requiring short answers from the whole class,—for it was ever my maxim, if attention fails, the teacher fails. Then in the *second* stage of my teaching, I made each scholar recite, in order that she might *remember*—paying special attention to the meaning of words, and to discern whether the subject was indeed understood without mistake. Then the *third* process was to make the pupil capable of *communicating*.* And doing this in

* This threefold process, in some studies, as the Philosophy of the Mind, of which an entire view should be taken, requires the whole term; in others, as in geography and history, parts may be taken, and the pupils made thorough in each as they go along. In mathematics the three steps of the process are to be gone through with, as the teacher proceeds with every distinct proposition. But still, there will, in every well-instructed class, be this three-fold order prevailing, and

a right manner, was to prepare her for examination. At this time I personally examined all my classes.

This thorough teaching added rapidly to my reputation. Another important feature of a system, thus requiring careful drill and correct enunciation, was manifested by the examinations. The pupils, there acquired character and confidence. Scholars thus instructed were soon capable of teaching; and here were now forming my future teachers; and some were soon capable of aiding me in arranging the new studies, which I was constantly engaged in introducing.

Here I began a series of improvements in geography—separating and first teaching what could be learned from maps—then treating the various subjects of population, extent, length of rivers, &c., by comparing country with country, river with river, and city with city,—making out with the assistance of my pupils, those tables which afterwards appeared in Woodbridge and Willard's Geographies. Here also began improvements in educational history. Moral Philosophy came next, with Paley for the author, and Miss Hemingway for the first scholar; and then the Philosophy of the Mind—Locke the author, and the first scholars, Eliza Henshaw, Katharine Battey, and Minerva Shipherd.

The professors of the college attended my examinations; although I was by the President advised, that it would not be becoming in me, nor be a safe precedent, if I should attend theirs. So, as I had no teacher in learning my new studies, I had no model in teaching, or examining them. But I had full faith in the clear conclusions of my own mind. I knew that nothing could be truer than truth; and hence I fearlessly brought to examination, before the learned, the classes, to which had been taught the studies I had just acquired.

I soon began to have invitations to go from Middlebury. Gov. VanNess, wishing me to go to Burlington, I opened my views to him. The college buildings were then nearly vacant, and some steps were taken towards using them for a Female Seminary, of which I was to be Principal, but the negotiations failed. In the spring of 1818, I had five pupils from Waterford, of the best families. On looking over the map of the United States, to see where would be the best geographical location for the projected institu-

during the term, requiring a beginning, a middle, and an end; the first of the term being mostly devoted to teaching, and the middle to reciting, and the last to acquiring a correct manner of communicating.

tion, I had fixed my mind on the State of New York, and thought, that the best place would be somewhere in the vicinity of the head of navigation on the Hudson. Hence, the coming of the Waterford pupils I regarded as an important event. I presented my views to Gen. Van Schornhoven, the father (by adoption,) of one of my pupils,—who was interested, and proposed to show my manuscript to the Hon. J. Cramer, of Waterford, and to De Witt Clinton, then Governor of New York; and if they approved it, then the "Plan" might go before the legislature with some chance of success. Thereupon I copied the manuscript with due regard to manner and chirography; having already rewritten it some seven times, and thrown out about three quarters of what it first contained—then sent it to Gov. Clinton with the following letter:*

To his Excellency, De Witt Clinton,—

SIR,—Mr. Southwick will present to you a manuscript, containing a plan for improving the education of females, by instituting public seminaries for their use. Its authoress has presumed to offer it to your Excellency, because she believed you would consider the subject as worthy of your attention, and because she wished to submit her scheme to those exalted characters, whose guide is reason, and whose objects are the happiness and improvement of mankind; and among these characters where can plans to promote those objects hope for countenance, if not from Mr. Clinton.

The manuscript is addressed to a legislature, although not intended for present publication. The authoress believed she could communicate her ideas with less circumlocution in this than in any other manner; and besides, should the approbation of distinguished citizens, in any of the larger and wealthier states, give hopes that such an application would be attended with success, a publication might then be proper, and the manuscript would need less alteration.

Possibly your Excellency may consider this plan as better deserving your attention, to know that its authoress is not a visionary enthusiast, who has speculated in solitude without practical knowledge of her subject. For ten years she has been intimately conversant with female schools, and nearly all of that time she has herself been a preceptress. Nor has she written for the sake of writing, but merely to communicate a plan of which she fully believes that it is practicable; that, if realized, it would form a new and happy era in the history of her sex, and if of her sex, why not of her country, and of mankind? Nor would she shrink from any trial of this faith; for such is her conviction of the utility of her scheme, that could its execution be forwarded, by any exertion or any sacrifice of her own, neither the love of domestic ease, or the dread of responsibility, would prevent her embarking her reputation on its success.

If Mr. Clinton should not view this plan as its authoress hopes he may, but should think the time devoted to its perusal was sacrificed, let him not consider its presentation to him as the intrusion of an individual ignorant of the worth of his time, and the importance of his high avocations, but as the enthusiasm of a projector, misjudging of her project, and overrating its value.

With sentiments of the deepest respect, I am, Sir,

Your Obedient Servant,

MIDDLEBURY, VT., February 5, 1818. EMMA WILLARD.

* We would observe, at this point, that the chirography of Mrs. Willard's letter, a copy of which now lies before us, is exquisitely neat, and boldly distinct. One element in her success, has been, no doubt, her beautiful penmanship, inherited from her father and carefully cultivated, as important to her educational objects.

"This treatise," says Mrs. Willard, "is in reality the foundation of the Troy seminary. It will not be thought surprising that I awaited with intense feeling Gov. Clinton's reply. It came before I expected it, expressing his accordance with my views in his happiest manner. His message to the legislature soon followed, in which, referring to my "Plan," (though not by its title or author's name,) he recommended legislative action in behalf of a cause heretofore wholly neglected. The Waterford gentlemen had made Gov. Clinton's opinion their guiding light. They were to present my "Plan" to the legislature; and advised that Dr. Willard and myself should spend a few weeks in Albany during the session, which we did. The Governor and many of his friends called on us; and I read my manuscript several times by special request to different influential members; and once to a considerable assemblage. The affair would have gone off by acclamation, could immediate action have been had. As it was, an act was passed incorporating the institution at Waterford; and another, to give to female academies a share of the literature fund. This law, the first whose sole object was to improve female education, is in force, and is the same by which female academies in the state now receive public money.

In the spring of 1819, the removal of the school to Waterford was effected, with all the teachers and part of the boarding pupils; thus preserving the identity of the school, which had only an ordinary vacation between its close at Middlebury and its commencement at Waterford. The "Plan," meanwhile, was published under the title of "An Address to the Public, particularly to the Legislature of New York, proposing a Plan for Improving Female Education."

THE PLAN.

This address is introduced by a compact statement of the importance of a thorough education of women, and an appeal to the legislature to found and endow a seminary for their use, since this cannot be effected by individual exertion. Then comes the declaration of what have ever been Mrs. Willard's views on the different duties and destination of the two sexes; and consequently that each should have their different and distinct systems of education; as follows:

> The idea of a college for males, will naturally be associated with that of a seminary, instituted and endowed by the public; and the absurdity of sending ladies to college, may, at first thought, strike every one, to whom this subject shall be proposed. I therefore hasten to observe, that the sem-

inary here recommended, will be as different from those appropriated to the other sex, as the female character and duties are from the male. The business of the husbandman is not to waste his endeavors in seeking to make his orchard attain the strength and majesty of his forest, but to rear each to the perfection of its nature.

That the improvement of female education will be considered by our enlightened citizens as a subject of importance, the liberality with which they part with their property to educate their daughters, is a sufficient evidence; and why should they not, when assembled in the legislature, act in concert to effect a noble object, which, though dear to them individually, cannot be accomplished by their unconnected exertions.

If the improvement of the American female character, and that alone, could be effected by public liberality, employed in giving better means of instruction; such improvement of one half of society, and that half which barbarous and despotic nations have ever degraded, would of itself be an object, worthy of the most liberal government on earth; but if the female character be raised, it must inevitably raise that of the other sex; and thus does the plan proposed, offer, as the object of legislative bounty, to elevate the whole character of the community.

As evidence that this statement does not exaggerate the female influence in society, our sex need but be considered in the single relation of mothers. In this character, we have the charge of the whole mass of individuals, who are to compose the succeeding generation; during that period of youth, when the pliant mind takes any direction, to which it is steadily guided by a forming hand. How important a power is given by this charge! yet, little do too many of my sex know how, either to appreciate or improve it. Unprovided with the means of acquiring that knowledge which flows liberally to the other sex,—having our time of education devoted to frivolous acquirements, how should we understand the nature of the mind, so as to be aware of the importance of those early impressions which we make upon the minds of our children? or how should we be able to form enlarged and correct views, either of the character to which we ought to mould them, or of the means most proper to form them aright?

Considered in this point of view, were the interests of male education alone to be consulted, that of females becomes of sufficient importance to engage the public attention. Would we rear the human plant to its perfection, we must first fertilize the soil which produces it. If it acquire its first bent and texture upon a barren plain, it will avail comparatively little should it be afterwards transplanted to a garden.

Four topics are next thoroughly discussed—

1. The defects of the present mode of female education.

2. The principles by which education should be regulated.

3. The plan of a female seminary.

4. The benefits which society would receive from such seminaries.

Under the first head the defects of existing schools for women are stated to be—

1. They are temporary institutions formed by individuals, whose object is present emolument.

2. These individuals cannot afford suitable accommodations, nor sufficient apparatus and libraries, &c.

3. Neither do they, or can they, provide a sufficiency of instructors either in number or capacity.

4. In such schools a system of classification is not, and cannot be carried out.

5. It is for the interest of such schools to teach showy accomplishments, instead of solid and useful learning.

6. The teachers are accountable to no particular persons or board of trustees, and hence the public are sometimes imposed upon by incompetent, unworthy or dishonest individuals.

7. In these schools, thus independent of supervision, absurd regulations, improper exactions, and unfaithful negligence, pass unquestioned.

Under the second head, Mrs. Willard remarks that,—

Studies and employments should, therefore, be selected from one or both of the following considerations; either because they are peculiarly fitted to improve the faculties; or, because they are such as the pupil will most probably have occasion to practise in future life.

These are the principles on which systems of male education are founded, but female education has not yet been systematized. Chance and confusion reign here.

Education should seek to bring its subjects to the perfection of their moral, intellectual and physical nature; in order that they may be of the greatest possible use to themselves and others: or, to use a different expression, that they may be the means of the greatest possible happiness of which they are capable, both as to what they enjoy, and what they communicate.

Those youth have the surest chance of enjoying and communicating happiness, who are best qualified, both by internal dispositions and external habits, to perform with readiness those duties which their future life will most probably give them occasion to practise.

Not only has there been a want of system concerning female education, but much of what has been done has proceeded upon mistaken principles.

One of these is, that without a regard to the different periods of life proportionate to their importance, the education of females has been too exclusively directed to fit them for displaying to advantage the charms of youth and beauty. Though it may be proper to adorn this period of life, yet it is incomparably more important to prepare for the serious duties of maturer years. Though well to decorate the blossom, it is far better to prepare for the harvest. In the vegetable creation nature seems but to sport when she embellishes the flower, while all her serious cares are directed to perfect the fruit.

Another error is, that it has been made the first object in educating our sex, to prepare them to please the other. But reason and religion teach that we too are primary existencies, that it is for us to move in the orbit of our duty around the Holy Center of perfection, the companions, not the satellites of men; else, instead of shedding around us an influence, that may help to keep them in their proper course, we must accompany them in their wildest deviations.

I would not be understood to insinuate that we are not in particular situations to yield obedience to the other sex. Submission and obedience belong to every being in the universe, except the great Master of the whole. Nor is it a degrading peculiarity to our sex to be under human authority. Whenever one class of human beings derive from another the benefits of support and protection, they must pay its equivalent, obedience. Thus, while we receive these benefits from our parents, we are all, without distinction of sex, under their authority; when we receive them from the government of our country, we must obey our rulers; and when our sex take the obligations of marriage, and receive protection and support from the other, it is reasonable that we too should yield obedience. Yet is neither the child, nor the subject, nor the wife, under human authority, but in subservience to the divine. Our highest responsibility is to God, and our highest interest is to please him; therefore, to secure this interest, should our education be directed.

Neither would I be understood to mean, that our sex should not seek to make themselves agreeable to the other. The error complained of is, that the taste of men, whatever it might happen to be, has been made a standard for the formation of the female character. In whatever we do, it is of the utmost importance that the rule by which we work be perfect. For if otherwise, what is it but to err upon principle? A system of education which leads one class of human beings to consider the approbation of another as their highest object, teaches that the rule of their conduct should be the will of beings imperfect and erring like themselves, rather than the will of God, which is the only standard of perfection.

The essentials of a female seminary are stated to be—

1. A building, with commodious rooms for lodging and recitation, apartments for the reception of apparatus, and for the accommodation of the domestic department.

2. A library, containing books on the various subjects in which the pupils were to receive instruction, musical instruments, some good paintings to form the taste and serve as models for the execution of those who were to be instructed in that art, maps, globes, and a small collection of philosophical apparatus.

3. A judicious board of trust.

4. Suitable instruction; first, moral and religious; second, literary; third, domestic; and fourth, ornamental.

In this part of the address the importance of education in natural, mental, and moral philosophy, is forcibly put.—Of systematic instruction in housewifery, Mrs. Willard says;—

It is believed that housewifery might be greatly improved by being taught, not only in practice, but in theory. Why may it not be reduced to a system as well as other arts? There are right ways of performing its various operations, and there are reasons why those ways are right; and why may not rules be formed, their reasons collected, and the whole be digested into a system to guide the learner's practice?

It is obvious that theory alone can never make a good artist; and it is equally obvious that practice, unaided by theory, can never correct errors, but must establish them. If I should perform anything in a wrong manner all my life, and teach my children to perform it in the same manner, still, through my life and theirs, it would be wrong. Without alteration there can be no improvement; but how are we to alter so as to improve, if we are ignorant of the principles of our art, with which we should compare our practice, and by which we should regulate it?

4. The ORNAMENTAL branches, which I should recommend for a female seminary, are drawing and painting, elegant penmanship, music, and the grace of motion. Needle-work is not here mentioned. The best style of useful needle-work should either be taught in the domestic department, or made a qualification for entrance.

Under this head we call the attention of parents to the following admirable statement in regard to the fine arts:—

"It has been doubted, whether painting and music should be taught to young ladies, because much time is requisite to bring them to any considerable degree of perfection, and they are not immediately useful. Though these objections have weight, yet they are founded on too limited a view of the objects of education. They leave out the important consideration of forming

the character. I should not consider it an essential point, that the music of a lady's piano should rival that of her master's; or that her drawing room should be decorated with her own paintings, rather than those of others; but it is the intrinsic advantage, which she might derive from the refinement of herself, that would induce me to recommend to her, an attention to these elegant pursuits. The harmony of sound, has a tendency to produce a correspondent harmony of soul; and that art, which obliges us to study nature, in order to imitate her, often enkindles the latent spark of taste—of sensibility for her beauties, till it glows to adoration for their author, and a refined love of all his works.

5. There would be needed, for a female, as well as for a male seminary, a system of laws and regulations, so arranged, that both the instructors and pupils would know their duty; and thus, the whole business, move with regularity and uniformity.

The direct rewards or honors, used to stimulate the ambition of students in colleges, are first, the certificate or diploma, which each receives, who passes successfully through the term allotted to his collegiate studies; and secondly, the appointments to perform certain parts in public exhibitions, which are bestowed by the faculty, as rewards for superior scholarship. The first of these modes is admissible into a female seminary; the second is not; as public speaking forms no part of female education. The want of this mode, might, however, be supplied by examinations judiciously conducted. The leisure and inclination of both instructors and scholars, would combine to produce a thorough preparation for these; for neither would have any other public test of the success of their labors. Persons of both sexes would attend. The less entertaining parts, might be enlivened by interludes, where the pupils in painting and music, would display their several improvements. Such examinations, would stimulate the instructors to give their scholars more attention, by which the leading facts and principles of their studies, would be more clearly understood, and better remembered. The ambition excited among the pupils, would operate, without placing the instructors under the necessity of making distinctions among them, which are so apt to be considered as invidious; and which are, in our male seminaries, such fruitful sources of disaffection.

When Mrs. Willard introduced the following views on woman s mission as teacher, we are told that they were regarded with no small surprize. Now, that they have been so far wrought out, they may seem common place,—but always just.

Such seminaries would constitute a grade of public education, superior to any yet known in the history of our sex; and through them the lower grades of female instruction might be controlled. The influence of public seminaries, over these, would operate in two ways; first, by requiring certain qualifications for entrance; and secondly, by furnishing instructresses, initiated in their modes of teaching, and imbued with their maxims.

Female seminaries might be expected to have important and happy effects, on common schools in general; and in the manner of operating on these, would probably place the business of teaching children, in hands now nearly useless to society; and take it from those, whose services the state wants in many other ways.

That nature designed for our sex the care of children, she has made manifest, by mental as well as physical indications. She has given us, in a greater degree than men, the gentle arts of insinuation, to soften their minds, and fit them to receive impressions; a greater quickness of invention to vary modes of teaching to different dispositions; and more patience to make repeated efforts. There are many females of ability, to whom the business of instructing children is highly acceptable; and who would devote all their faculties to their occupation. They would have no higher pecuniary object to engage their attention, and their reputation as instructors they would consider as important; whereas, when able and enterprizing men, engage in this business,

they too often consider it, merely as a temporary employment, to further some other object, to the attainment of which, their best thoughts and calculations are all directed. If then women were properly fitted by instruction, they would be likely to teach children better than the other sex; they could afford to do it cheaper; and those men who would otherwise be engaged in this employment, might be at liberty to add to the wealth of the nation, by any of those thousand occupations, from which women are necessarily debarred.

Any one, who has turned his attention to this subject, must be aware, that there is great room for impro ement in the common schools,—both as to the mode of teaching, and the things taught; and what method could be devised so likely to effect this improvement, as to prepare by instruction, a class of individuals, whose interest, leisure, and natural talents, would combine to make them pursue it with ardor."

This passage shows the wide scope of Mrs. Willard's desires, to promote improvement by education; and it foreshadows the part she afterwards took in working out her favorite problem, that children's education is the business of women.

Our design, is next to show by what means she established a Female Seminary according to "The Plan."

LEGISLATIVE EXPERIENCES.—REMOVAL TO TROY.

In the winter of 1819, as we have seen, that the "Plan," of which an abstract has just been given, was presented to the members of the Legislature of New York.

They manifested their approbation by an act of incorporation of the school at Waterford, placing it on the list of academies, and granting it a share of the literature fund; and on a petition, further to encourage the projected improvement, the committee to whom it was referred, reported in its favor the sum of $5,000. But this was so near the close of the session, that the bill failed to pass. Yet so strong were the hopes of the petitioners, from the favorable indications of the past year, that the removal from Middlebury was made in the spring. A large house was rented for two years, and the school was enlarged—in its number of teachers, in its scope and expense. That venerable divine, the Rev. Samuel Blachford, was president of the trustees.

In May, 1821, Dr. and Mrs. Willard (the lease of their buildings at Waterford having expired,) accepted a proposal to remove the school to Troy; the corporation stipulating to provide for its accommodation, the building, which was the beginning of the one it now occupies. The expense of this part of the building, and the ground on which it stands, was $5,865; of this sum the common-council contributed $4,000, and the balance was loaned by individuals. They also appropriated to the use of the school, a plat of ground valued at over $2,000; on all which an annual rent of $400

was paid. This rent, as it accrued, was expended under the direction of the able men who became the trustees of the seminary—and to whom it is much indebted—in the payment of the loan, and in repairs of the building. This was the line of policy afterwards pursued.* As fast as rent became due, it was taken, and sometimes it was anticipated, to add to the convenience, and value of the premises occupied, and when they were thus enlarged, the rent was increased. The fathers of Troy were men of high business capacity, and they gave Mrs. Willard great credit for that element of her character; but generally, they did not much sympathize with her enthusiasm in the cause of her sex. Perhaps they did not believe in it, but erroneously thought if her school gave her fame, and brought her money, she would be satisfied; which the business prosperity of the place, and the cordial good will which always existed between them and her, induced them to wish she might be; and inclined them to do from time to time as much as might be necessary to that object. Some generous spirits there were, however, who appreciated her motives, believed in her work, and aided her in the spirit of her calling. On no occasion was she ever backward to declare her true objects, and to say, that not for wealth or fame, or any selfish advantage, would she thus enslave herself. Indeed her powers could not, for such objects, be brought into such intense action. If the people of Troy would aid her in forming a permanent institution, she could labor among them, and with faith,—but not otherwise.

In 1820, the second year of Mrs. Willard's residence in Waterford, Gov. Clinton, ever true to his pledges and his convictions, recommended, in his message to the legislature, the infant institution in the following language: "While on this important subject of instruction, I cannot omit to call your attention to the Academy for Female Education, which was incorporated last session, at Waterford, and which, under the superintendence of distinguished teachers, has already attained great usefulness and prosperity. As this is the only attempt, ever made in this country, to promote the education of the female sex by the patronage of government; as our first and our best impressions are derived from maternal affec-

* A rage now prevails, of making for education, great and expensive buildings, without much regard to convenience. Mrs. Willard was moderate. She told the trustees, on her arrival at Troy, "I want you to make me a building which will suit my trade; and then I will not complain provided you finish it so that we do not get slivers into our fingers, from rough boards. I expect the life of the school will be in the inside, and not on the out; and when the school wants to grow, you must enlarge its shell."

tion; and as the elevation of the female character is inseparably connected with happiness at home, and respectability abroad, I trust that you will not be deterred by common-place ridicule, from extending your munificence to this meritorious institution."

A bill passed the Senate, granting $2,000, but failed in the House. More than this, the Regents of the University decided that no part of the literature fund could go to the school. This was the more trying, because its expenses, at its outset, were exceeding its income to an alarming degree. Dr. and Mrs. Willard were disappointed, but not discouraged. The "Plan" circulated in different parts of the Union, and every where met the approbation of the wise and the good.* It was also widely circulated in Europe. George Combe, at the height of his fame, published it entire in his Phrenological Journal, and Dr. Dick and others, approved and quoted it. The elder John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, and other distinguished men, expressed their interest in kind and flattering letters to Mrs. Willard; while among those who advocated the claims of the institution before the legislature, appear the names of Livingston, Plummer, Van Buren, Spencer, Sharpe, Ullshoeffer, Powell, Irving and Williams.

In 1821, the trustees of the Academy at Waterford, again petitioned for funds, but in vain; in consequence perhaps of the fact that Gov. Clinton's name was approvingly put forward in the petition, which led some members, in their political animosity, to oppose it.

Therefore, in January, 1823, Dr. and Mrs. Willard presented a second earnest memorial to the legislature for endowment, giving a brief history of the rise and progress of the institution, from its birth at Middlebury, to its maturity at Troy. This memorial again brought the seminary before the public,—its statements aid in understanding its history;—otherwise it was of no avail. Its final rejection was one of the severest trials of Mrs. Willard's life. Her sense of the moral importance of the subject, her fear of financial disaster and personal disgrace in case of failure, her

* The present Judge Campbell, of the U. S. Supreme Court, remembers, says Mrs. Willard, that when his father, the eminent Duncan Campbell, of Georgia, was a member of the State Legislature, he accidentally found a copy of the "Plan" in his office, left there by his clerk, Elijah Burritt, of Connecticut. He was so struck by its justice, and his mind so enkindled by its enthusiasm, that he forthwith presented, and successfully advocated its principles in the legislature of Georgia; in which state a female college has been made. It was, however, placed solely under male superintendence, which greatly marred its usefulness.

sanguine hopes of success, and her zeal in the cause—all served to render rejection an evil almost too heavy to be borne.

Mrs. Willard once wrote about her experience in the following words:—

To have had it decently rejected, would have given me comparatively little pain, but its consideration was delayed and delayed, till finally the session passed away. The malice of open enemies, the advice of false friends, and the neglect of others, placed me in a situation, mortifying in the extreme. I felt it almost to phrenzy,—and even now, though the dream is long past, I cannot recall it without agitation. Could I have died a martyr in the cause, and thus ensured its success, I could have blessed the faggot and hugged the stake. Once I had almost determined to seek permission to go in person before the legislature, and plead at their bar with the living voice, believing that I could throw forth my whole soul in the effort for my sex, and then sink down and die; and thus my death might effect what my life had failed to accomplish. Had the legislature been composed of such men as filled my fancy when I wrote my "Plan," I could have thus hoped in pleading publicly for woman. Yet had such been its character, I should have had no necessity.

It was by the loss of respect for others, that I gained tranquility for myself. Once I was fond of speaking of the legislature as the 'fathers of the state.' Perhaps a vision of a Roman Senate played about my fancy, and mingled with the enthusiastic respect in which I hold the institutions of my country. I knew nothing of the maneuvres of politicians. That winter served to disenchant me. My present impression is that my cause is better rested with the people than with their rulers. I do not regret bringing it before the legislature, because in no other way could it have come so fairly before the public. But when the people shall have become convinced of the justice and expediency of placing the sexes more nearly on an equality, with respect to privileges of education, then legislators will find it their interest to make the proper provision.

THE TROY SEMINARY.

Mrs. Willard, by common consent, now receives the title of "the Founder of the Troy Seminary." But even with her hopeful temperament, she did not believe when she wrote the "Plan," that such a school as she there contemplated, could (as expressed in the first paragraph,) by any possibility, be made by individual exertion. And for its benefits becoming extended, she relied mainly on its excellencies being observed by those who became acquainted with its character and its happy effects upon its pupils. Whoever will take the pains to examine the "Plan" in comparison with the Troy seminary as it exists at this day, will see that it presents advantages for a complete education for women, far superior to those therein contemplated;* and the educational history of the times will show that by means then unthought of, its

* The present condition of the Troy seminary comprises the many improvements made by the present principals, Mr. and Mrs. John H. Willard, as well as those inaugurated by Mrs. Willard, who thinks they should be regarded as joint founders of the institution.

modes of teaching and principles of action, took a spread,* rapid beyond any conception which she at that time formed. These things show the agency of a favorable Providence working with her to accomplish its own designs.

When in the spring of 1821, Mrs. Willard left her incorporated academy at Waterford, and removed to Troy, disappointed in one effort to obtain legislative patronage, but fondly clinging to the hope of what another might produce, what were the wants, which, in founding an institution, were there to be met? They were, first, a suitable building. The means to begin this were now, as we have seen, provided by the corporation of Troy,†—a corps of efficient teachers, which were already partly prepared by the previous training of Mrs. Willard at Middlebury and at Waterford, and imbued with her peculiar methods and maxims. And her first teachers at Troy, except for music, painting, and the languages, and for several years after her residence there, were taught personally by herself, and afterwards by those she instructed. It would have cost thousands to have provided an equal number of educated men to teach the branches taught in the seminary; nor would they have reached minds so little prepared for these studies, as could these teachers who had learned the methods by which Mrs. Willard had reached their own when they also were in the same measure unprepared. After removal to Troy, the process for the first years went on, of new studies learned and taught at the same time.

And here we advert to what Mrs. Willard regards as a leading epoch in female education,—the introduction of the study of the higher mathematics. She regards it as having more than any one thing been the cause of that stronger intellectual power by which the American women have now shown themselves capable of teaching, not only high subjects in the schools, but of investigating new ones, and of managing high schools, as well as those for children. And it may be remarked here, that all Mrs. Wil-

* Others were working in the field; let their biographies be written, that they also have credit for what they did.

† Mrs. Willard, during her connection with the Troy seminary, never received a cent of public money. In 1837, a portion of the literature fund was first paid to the seminary. By her repeated solicitations, the corporation of Troy then gave to the trustees sufficient of the seminary property to entitle it to go under the authority of the regents. But she gave the money to the trustees. She could then do without it. Like Columbus, she could wear the chains to the end of the journey.

lard had foreseen and expressed in her "Plan" of the advantages of a superior education given to women, as putting the business of teaching common schools into their hands, is already either accomplished or going on to its full completion—a justice to them and a blessing to the community.

What others may have done, Mrs. Willard knows not. She knows that in an enthusiasm for drawing she sought to learn perspective, and finding she could not without geometry, she commenced that study, then being in Middlebury. She said one evening to her husband's nephew, a senior of high standing in college, "John, I am studying geometry. I have gone through twenty-nine propositions of the first book of Euclid. I am delighted with the study, and I see no insurmountable difficulties; but I wish you would take the book and see whether I understand it as you do." The book was looked over, some of the more difficult points discussed, and the learner pronounced correct. And afterwards, while at Waterford, she received some three or four lessons in algebra; but on her teacher confessing that he never could understand why minus into minus produced plus, she encountered that knotty point by herself, and proceeded in the study without further assistance. She does not recollect that otherwise she had any outside help in her course of mathematics. In this independent manner she learned and afterwards taught (one class at a time,) through Euclid, including trigonometry,—Day's Algebra, conic sections, and Enfield's Institutes of Natural Philosophy.*

In teaching these studies, which she commenced by geometry at Waterford,† she considered it fair to take every measure possible to make the pupil understand.‡ In plain geometry, she cut paper triangles with her scissors; and in solids, made havoc with her

* When these acquirements are considered, and how they were made, it would not be strange if they bore some remarkable fruits. Such is Mrs. Willard's astronomy, or astronography, written when past her sixtieth year, containing an original scheme of educational astronomy, and a new theory of the tides.

† Miss Cramer, the daughter of Hon. John Cramer, was the first pupil. Her examination in geometry caused a wonderful excitement. Some said it was all a work of memory, for no woman ever did, or could, understand geometry.

‡ When, in 1854, Mrs. Willard was in London, attending the world's educational convention, Dr. Whewell, in the opening lecture, gave her much pleasure by upholding the principles upon which, regardless of sneers, she had practiced. The Dr. maintained that whatever produced in the mind conviction, was to be regarded as just proof of truth, illustrating by laying over an inclined plane an iron chain, which showed that as much shorter as the perpendicular side is than the inclined, so much may the power be less than the weight.

penknife, of the family stores of potatoes and turnips. Observing that the natural rapidity of thought should not at first, in the comparison of triangles, be retarded to recognize the three letters of each angle, she drew in each answering angle of the two correspondent triangles, three different marks, as a large dot, a cross, and a little circle. This enabled the learner to understand by a glance of the eye, what equalities she was to prove, and this aided her memory, that her mind might, unembarrassed, make the first steps in developing the logical faculty. And then in explaining the figure, she taught an intelligent movement of the pointer, with only the accompanying words, "this equals this," &c., instead of mentioning a great array of letters. When the proposition was understood, the letters of the author were used; or any other letters or figures taken, without confusing the mind of the learner. Thus she went through with her first duty to her pupils, to make them understand; in this part of the process talking much herself, but telling her pupils it would soon be their turn. After this, they were by repetition to have the study fixed in the mind, and then to learn a correct and elegant manner of communicating, and that constituted the special preparation for examination.

This mathematical course of learning and teaching, was not interrupted by the removal to Troy, but went on until all the mathematical studies enumerated were introduced in the manner already stated, Mrs. Willard first studying them one after another, arranging the mode of teaching, and then giving that portion over to some of her pupils to teach, while she went on with others. She thus began studying algebra at Waterford, and continued the study at Troy, taking with her a fine class of young ladies from wealthy and fashionable families, some of whom so sympathised with her enthusiasm, that four young ladies, by consent of their parents, aided her during one season, by performing the duty of regular teachers of classes.* But as they passed away, their places were filled by those who were pleased to remain as permanent teachers. Mrs. Willard's first mathematical teachers have proved themselves women of great ability. One is her successor.

* For this important service they would accept no reward, except each a copy of Mrs. Willard's miniature. The time of her studying her daily algebraic lesson, was, while she was getting air and exercise walking the streets of Troy in the dawn of the morning, before the people of business were astir. She recollects of this fine class, that one or two of them having more time, occasionally got ahead of her in the solution of a problem.

When Mrs. Willard had taught through Enfield's Institutes of Natural Philosophy, which she found for herself a harder task than she made it for her pupils, having introduced steps of reasoning which the author had left out, and figures of illustration which he had not put in,—she thought she had gone far enough for women in the direction of mathematics; though strongly tempted to add to the course, descriptive geometry.*

While thus settling and introducing into the seminary her course of mathematics, Mrs. Willard was at the same time equally earnest in prosecuting other improvements.

In the two kindred departments of geography and history, she thus in the preface of her "Guide to the Temple of Time," explains her progress:

"When, in 1814, I commenced in Middlebury, Vermont, the school which by enlargement and removal became, in 1821, the Troy Female Seminary, the subjects of Geography and History were difficult of instruction; the books of Geography being closely confined to the order of place, and those of History, as closely to that of time; by which much repetition was made necessary, and comprehensive views of topics, by comparison and classification, were debarred. In Geography, the eye was not made the sole, or the chief medium of teaching the signs of external things, as the forms, proportion, and situation of countries, rivers, &c., for though maps existed, yet they were not required to be used; but the boundary was learned by the words of the book, and the latitude by numbers there set down—as historical dates are now commonly learned. Numbers thus presented, are hard to acquire, difficult to remember, and, standing by themselves, of little value when remembered.

Of the two subjects, although connected, yet Geography lay most directly in my way; as this, all my pupils studied; and it was less difficult to manage; for maps already existed. (The Temple of Time, I regard as a Map of History.) Geography, then, I dissected, and remodeled, according to those laws of mind concerned in acquiring and retaining knowledge. I divided it into two parts: first, that which could be acquired from maps; and second, that which could not;—and for the first, giving my pupils to study nothing but maps and questions on maps. In the remaining part of the science, being no longer bound to any order of place, for no confusion of mind could arise concerning locations after these had been first learned from maps, I was free to expatiate by topics, and give general comparative views, of population, altitude of mountains, length of rivers, &c.; and philosophic or general views could now be given of government, religion, commerce, manufactures, and productions.† Thus, since teaching Time by my Map, The Temple of Time, I have

* After becoming acquainted with the teaching and discipline at West Point, she was presented by Capt. Douglass with the original work of "Monge on Descriptive Geometry," and she received some teaching from a distinguished graduate, now Dr. Ingalls. A small class of young ladies at the Troy seminary are now pursuing this beautiful study.

† "I suppose myself to have been earlier in this division, than any person in Europe or America. Malte Brun, of France, had similar views, but they were later than my method of teaching, practised in my school in Middlebury. Of my improved method of teaching there, there are living witnesses, both of those who were my pupils and my teachers. Concerning what had been done in Germany and Switzerland, Mr. Woodbridge, who had traveled in those countries, and was the personal friend of Humboldt and other geographers, would have known; and he as well as myself, believed that we were unitedly presenting, in our joint names, in 1821, an original plan of teaching geography."

been able, as in this little book, to range freely by general subjects, without fear of the pupils losing themselves with regard to historic time.

The method described, of teaching geography, is now fully established; and has been for the last twenty-five years. The drawing of maps on the blackboard, adds clearness and strength to the mind's picture; but the arrangement of the subject remains the same. The true method once found, changes are deteriorations. Books for reference, and those for the general reader, are wanted as before.

These changes in educational Geography led to some corresponding improvements in History. I devised the plan of a series of maps answering to the epochs into which that subject should be divided. This method was first described in 1822, in my "Ancient Geography;" and directions and names of places there given to enable the pupil to make for himself a set of maps corresponding to the principal epochs of ancient history.

I adapted this to American History as early as 1821; and it was the great commendation which it received, as exhibited in the examinations of my classes, and the constant requests that I would give it to the public, which first led me to writing the History of the United States. When my earliest "Republic of America" was brought forward, it was accompanied with an Atlas, containing the first series of Historic Maps ever published in this country. This was no inconsiderable step. I then applied the plan, as far as possible, to Universal History.

But I was not fully satisfied. There was as yet nothing so suitable to fix historic time in the mind, as maps are, that of Geographic place. The old Stream of Time, and Priestly's method of exhibiting nations in a chart, were of value; but both difficult to remember, and without marks to distinguish the centuries, as more or less distant. The thought then occurred of putting the Stream of Time *into perspective*, and adding light and shade, to give some idea of the civilization of the several countries. This followed out, produced the chart herein contained, which was published in 1836 or 37, in the first edition of my Universal History. My next step, was the invention of the Historic Tree, connected with my late works on American History. But the Chart containing the Perspective View of Nations seemed not fully understood. It was but as their pathway beneath the Temple of History, and its perspective character was not apprehended. The idea then arose in my mind, of actually erecting over this floor-work an imaginary Temple of Time, which would give the needed measure of centuries by pillars; and on these, and on the interior of the roof, would make places strictly according to time for the names of those great men who are to history, as cities are to geography, its luminous points. This, with great labor and much study, was accomplished four years ago. When this map of time was completed, I was then satisfied that my thirty years' work was done. The goal, to which, step by step, I had been approaching, was at length reached.

This extract shows the persevering tenacity of Mrs. Willard's mind, which could thus for years grasp and hold her subjects—until she had accomplished her designs; and also the manner in which her teaching brought forth her school books,—and they in turn aided her teaching.

For this invention of time-maps, Mrs. Willard holds a medal, and a certificate, signed by Prince Albert, given by a jury of nations, at the World's Fair, held in London, 1851. She presented not only her Temple of Time, but her Chronographer of Ancient History—made on the same principles—and also that of English History. The medal was not given on the *execution* of the Charts, for that was indifferent; but it was doubtless the verdict of the jury, that a new and a true method had been found.

While thus Mrs. Willard was teaching what had heretofore been considered masculine studies, and thus risking the displeasure of those wealthy and fashionable people, on whom, disappointed of public aid, she much depended for support; she was also testing her popularity by the steps she was taking, to induct her pupils into the duties of their sex, in regard to housekeeping; as this might be charged with a degree of vulgarity.*

As a balance to those possible causes of unpopularity, Mrs. Willard ever boldly taught—rare in those days—the principles of esthetics, as regards the sex; and made, at the same time, the most of her own personal advantages, and social standing. She ever regarded esthetics as the special province of women; and taught, from the mulberry grove onward, that it is every woman's duty to be as beautiful as God had given her the power; not for vanity, but to increase her influence, that she might glorify her Maker the better, and the more please her friends, and serve those to whom she would do good. Beauty in woman is a source of power. It is more an affair of cultivation, than had been supposed. Whatever promotes health, promotes beauty of complexion, and is cultivated by air, exercise, bathing, suitable diet, and regular hours of sleep. Proper positions and graceful movements, can, by attention, be acquired. The perfection of dress, especially for the young, is not fashionable extravagance, but elegant simplicity. Then the highest of all sublunary beauty, is beauty of expression; and that is the gleaming forth upon the countenance of what is good within—holy and amiable sensibilities, mingled with intelligence and truth.

DEATH OF DR. WILLARD.—PROGRESS OF THE SEMINARY.—TEACHERS TRAINED.

In May, 1825, Mrs. Willard and the institution met a heavy loss in the death of Dr. Willard. His last illness was long and pain-

* In general, when the graduates of the seminary develop into women of society and mistresses of families, they have been found imbued with the principles, and having acquired the habits, which lead to good housekeeping. The pupils in their small rooms, each occupied by two inmates, (carefully assorted, as one of the most delicate duties of the principal,) are provided with closets, bureaus, &c., so that everything can be used for its proper purpose, and everything kept in its proper place. And they are under a strict surveillance, as each in turn is to keep the room in perfect order. This is that their eye may become accustomed to order, so as, of itself, to detect the reverse. They are required to keep in order their own clothing, and have a set time for mending. They took their turns also with the domestic superintendent, to learn pastry cooking. Each room-mate is in turn, room-keeper for the week, and liable to a fault-mark if the monitress, in her hourly rounds, during school hours, finds any thing out of order.

ful. His wife's presence and care were essential to his comfort, and for the uninterrupted days and nights of three months she was his constant nurse.

Up to the time of his sickness, he had been the beloved physician of the seminary, the head of the family, and the sole manager of its pecuniary affairs. How much he did to sustain Mrs. Willard in the work she had undertaken, may be seen in the following extract from a letter written by her soon after his death: "The pupils I have educated are now my teachers. They, better than men, understand my views, and they cheerfully yield themselves to my influence. But the school has met with an irreparable loss in the death of Dr. Willard, my husband. He entered into the full spirit of my views, with a disinterested zeal for that sex, whom, as he believed, his own had injuriously neglected. With an affection more generous and disinterested than ever man before felt, he, in his later life, sought my elevation, indifferent to his own. Possessing, on the whole, an opinion more favorable of me than any other human being ever will have,—and thus encouraging me to dare much, he yet knew my weaknesses, and fortified me against them. But my feelings are leading me from my subject, and I have no claim to intrude my private griefs on you."

From the grave of her husband, bowed in spirit, and emaciated in form, Mrs. Willard returned to her work, to find it increased by new burdens. She loved not money for money's sake, but she knew it was the sinews of success. Determined to understand her own business, she did not take again her hours of teaching, until she had first planted herself at her office-desk, and, for a time, not only superintended, but kept her own books. She now made a new and more convenient arrangement of the school year, dividing it into two annual terms, instead of three. In other ways she systematized and simplified her school-keeping, as connected with her financial concerns. Twice a year, every debt she owed was paid.

The question will here occur: how were the means to sustain the institution, and to procure its constantly increasing facilities, commanded? We answer: from the great and extensive popularity to which Mrs. Willard's teaching, and her school-books,* had attained. Scholars flowed in from every part of the Union, and some from Canada and the West Indies.

* The geographies had an almost unparalleled success on their first issue; but afterwards, the authors were shot, by arrows winged with their own feathers.

We inquire next: what were the unexpected means by which Mrs. Willard's school became regarded as a model school,—its fame and influence rapidly extending far beyond any conception made while forming its original "Plan?" This was effected by examinations of the school, private and public; by the circulation of the "Plan," and the approbation it met from high authorities, and chiefly from a source not thought of when that was written: the normal training of teachers, and the great demand for their services, so that they were soon spread to the remotest parts of the Union.

This system was but the continuation of the same general efforts for all her pupils, by which all of sufficient ability learned to understand, remember and communicate; and without its being regarded as an object to learn to teach, this process was in reality fitting every one of the good pupils to become choice teachers. Many, who never in youth thought of teaching, have taken it up as a resource in later life, and pursued it with success.

The receiving of girls expressly for education as teachers was at first accidental;—begun in a case, where orphans, left destitute, pined for education; and while their pledge was given that they would pay by teaching as soon as they were fitted, it was taken rather as quieting delicate minds, than with any real expectation on the part of Mrs. Willard,—so long seemed the time, and so many the chances of failure,—that she should ever receive remuneration. Yet in these cases, she was eventually repaid; and seeing that thus she was carrying out her object for the establishment and the spread of female education, and at the same time helping those she loved, she went on willingly in this direction, far beyond the limits of mere worldly prudence.*

But to be capable of teaching is not all that is necessary to the school-mistress. She must govern as well as teach, and there is

* Mrs. Willard's practice of educating teachers, when it became enlarged and systematized, embraced, in theory, a self-supporting scheme. To those young ladies who had not the means of meeting their expenses, either in part or in whole, she furnished at her regular prices, tuition, board, and, in some cases, an outfit of clothing and traveling expenses; and, at the end of the course, they gave a note which was to be met out of their first earnings. But the pupil was allowed a moderate sum for her wardrobe. These notes were, however, frequently collected without interest,—often canceled for less than their first value,—sometimes, when misfortune pressed, relinquished in full, and sometimes lost through extravagance, carelessness, or inefficiency. Those who paid most promptly were the most grateful. Some of them are among the most distinguished women of the country. Filial in their feelings towards their benefactress, Mrs. Willard may well regard them as her glory and crown of rejoicing.

a democratic feature in the government of the Troy seminary, by which all the good and faithful pupils, taking part in the school administration, become fitted to govern others with dignity. The officer of the day is taken in rotation from the older scholars. Her office is grave and important, and constitutes one of the most peculiar features of the Troy seminary; and none gave in its establishment a more severe test of address and perseverance, on the part of the principal.

The teachers of the seminary she assembled in "Teachers' Meeting" on Friday evening, not only to receive reports of their classes, but to debate the standing questions: what can we do to promote the good of the school—what law make—or what unmake?—when Mrs. Willard proposed to them to establish this day-officer or monitress, to be considered during the day an officer of the institution, and to visit every room once an hour and mark delinquents—the teachers declared against it, saying, as many others did, it would be useless to attempt it,—pupils could never be brought to mark their companions. But Mrs. Willard, counting on her influence, and taking great pains previously to instruct her scholars on the special nature of official duty, began the system, and carried it through; establishing honors and privileges to the faithful monitress, and making the unfaithful take the fault-mark, (or what was the same, lose one of her own credits,) for any offense knowingly passed unmarked. The system remains in the seminary to this time; though now the duties of the day require two successive monitors. To be efficient and faithful in this office, is to stand high in the school. To be capable of performing it well, is to be fitted to govern in a school or a family. The success of the teachers who go from the seminary, is in no small degree attributable to this discipline, as officer of the day at Troy.

Mrs. Willard, when she wrote the "Plan," did not at all contemplate the special training of teachers; and she never turned aside to accommodate the school to them, but rather the reverse. With a pupil-teacher of advancement and improved character, she would place in the same room, a petted, self-willed Miss of wealthy parents. This was an advantage to both parties—for while the teacher-scholar was aiding Mrs. Willard in a difficult and delicate duty, she was brought more into contact and conversation with her principal, by whom it was her special business to profit; and on the management of difficult pupils—the most critical portion of the business she was to learn.

The labor of the system and responsibilities of its founder, few can appreciate. Besides the financial risk incurred by the introduction of so many non-paying pupils into a school, whose presence required additional teachers, room, table expenses, &c., the care of providing places for them, after graduation, was immense. Watchfulness over them never ceased. Moreover, the system was so popular, that applications for instruction were quite beyond the capacity of the institution. Imploring letters, sad tales of misfortune, and urgent appeals for special favor, were an incessant tax upon the benevolent sympathies of the principal. During the fourteen months, previous to her leaving the institution, the letters in this department alone, amounted to five hundred, which had all to be read and answered, requiring, of course, the assistance of a secretary.

It was always Mrs. Willard's design to limit the number of teacher-scholars, so that the institution would not incur financial disaster by carrying too heavy a burden. And since normal schools, distinctively established and endowed, have removed the necessity of pursuing the system at the seminary, it has been for the most part abandoned; and its present pupils are generally from wealthy parents, and those whose object is to fit their daughters for private life. Its first object and mission has ever been, to make it a model-school for teaching the broad sphere of woman's duties and accomplishments.*

But so popular had the system become, that throughout the Union the simple certificate of scholarship, signed "Emma Willard," served as a passport to almost any desirable situation, notwithstanding the seminary lacked the seal of an incorporated and endowed institution.

It does not lie within the scope of this article to give a full his-

* As an evidence of the estimation in which Mrs. Willard's power as a teacher are held, we make the following extract from a *Poem on Female Education*, delivered before the Frederick (Md.) Female Seminary, at its annual commencement, July 8th, 1858, by Christopher C. Cox:

In the great art of Teaching we shall find
Its best exponent is a female mind.
In all that wins by manner or address,
As in scholastic discipline no less;
In varied knowledge, oratoric sway,
The ready pen that knowledge to convey;
The skill all sciences to understand,
Grapple abstrusest problems, hand to hand;
Our Trojan WILLARD stands aloft confest
By all, the wisest, noblest, and the best!

tory of the Troy seminary. Its success has been unexampled. For several years the attendance of pupils has numbered about four hundred, of whom more than one-third have been boarders. Teachers and officers number nearly thirty. It sends forth about twenty-five teachers each year. Since 1838, it has been under the charge of the only son of Mrs. Willard, John H. Willard, and his wife, Sarah L. Willard; the former having been for some years her business partner, and the latter having been connected with the institution for nineteen years previous to 1838, as pupil, teacher, and vice-principal. The same methods of instruction and discipline are continued, with such modifications as larger means and added experience naturally and happily induce.

In 1846 an addition was made to the accommodation for room, by the erection of an additional building fifty feet square and five stories high, making the front of the main edifice on the Park, one hundred and eighty feet; and giving rooms for philosophical apparatus, chemical laboratory, library, and lecture room, besides an ample hall for examinations, concerts, &c.

The internal arrangements of the establishment are convenient, including the modern improvements. The entire building is warmed by steam, and lighted by gas. A good calisthenic and exercise hall, for the health of the girls, is included in the building. Thus Mrs. Willard has lived to see an institution, fully and successfully embodying the ideal of her elaborate "Plan;" where the course of study is thorough and complete, and the facilities abundant and adapted.

It is a peculiarly interesting circumstance, that Lady Franklin, whose efforts to rescue her husband from the Arctic seas, have excited a world-wide sympathy, once came to this country expressly to visit the Troy seminary, and see for herself the successful training of women in the higher branches, of which she had heard with great interest, as characteristic of this American institution. She spent some time at the seminary, with great satisfaction to herself and to the teachers.

VISIT TO EUROPE.—EDUCATION OF FOREIGN WOMEN.—SEPARATION FROM TROY.—MOTIVE POWERS.

Mrs. Willard went with her son to Europe in October, 1830, and returned in July, 1831. The main objects of her tour, the restoration of health, and the extension of professional knowledge, were accomplished. During her absence, the seminary was in charge of her sister, Mrs. Lincoln.

The knowledge of Mrs. Willard's labors in behalf of education, had preceded her. When Lafayette revisited this country in 1825, Mrs. Willard was honored with his friendship. He then invited her to visit France—and now received her accordingly. From this and other sources, she obtained facilities for visiting the schools, especially those most remarkable for the education of women. Marshal McDonald gave her an order, permitting her to examine the schools founded by Napoleon at St. Dennis and St. Germain-en-Laye. She had further opportunities of knowing internally their regulations, from one who had long been in them, M'lle De Courval, who returned with her to Troy as teacher of the French language. By Madame Belloc she was furnished with an introduction to Miss Edgeworth; from whom she received facilities for visiting the highest grade of female schools in England.

Some two or three years after the promulgation of the "Plan," Mrs. Willard becoming acquainted with M. Salazar, the Columbian Minister, he forwarded a copy of it, with a letter from the author—pleading for her sex—to the South American Liberator. A respectful answer was returned by Bolivar, through the proper department, and a female college afterwards established at Santa Fè de Bogota.

After Mrs. Willard's return from Europe in 1831, she enlisted her energies in a scheme for establishing a school in Greece for the improvement of the women of the East,—by inaugurating a school in Athens for the teaching of native teachers. By leave of the missionary board, under whom were Mr. and Mrs. Hill of Athens, this normal department was added to their school already existing. The Greek government responded to this welcome movement of the "Troy Society," (an association of benevolent ladies formed at Troy,) by passing a law to educate at this normal school a number of beneficiaries, as great as the American ladies would on their part provide for. To aid in procuring the necessary funds, Mrs. Willard agreed with the society to prepare some one volume; and at their request she wrote out her European "Journal and Letters," containing 390 pages; for the publication of which the society realized $1,100 of the $2,500 eventually sent to Greece by them and others acting with them. There was forwarded $500 a year to support ten beneficiaries; until Dr. Milnor, the Protestant Episcopal Secretary of the Missionary Board, signified that, for the future, the Board preferred to have the sole control of their own agents; and they would provide, if their funds warranted, for the support of the normal department.

There is no doubt that much has been done by this normal school to elevate the women of the East.

In 1838, shortly before leaving the seminary, Mrs. Willard made out, and has left, in a pamphlet of thirty-two pages, a condensed abstract of her educational principles and practices. It was addressed as "A Letter to the Willard Association for the Mutual Improvement of Female Teachers." The pamphlet contains the names of one hundred and ninety-three members then present at the seminary, either as teachers or preparing to teach. The "Letter" is specially addressed to those whom she had already sent forth; and we cannot doubt the earnestness with which she would endeavor to lead in the right way, those on whose success depended not only the extensive spread of female education, but the repayment of the fortune she had expended, and her valued good name as a teacher.

From this pamphlet we shall presently introduce an extract, showing the true character of Mrs. Willard's religious teaching. Religion was regarded by her as the underlying and sustaining principle of all right education. It has always been a maxim with her, that no solid intellectual improvement could be expected of a pupil while she was morally wrong; and hence it has been her constant purpose to make her "daughters," (as she regarded her pupils, for her love to them was scarcely less than maternal,) first of all feel love towards God, and understand the wisdom of conforming the life to His laws. To this end, not only was Christian truth instilled with the daily school instruction, but also by direct personal conversation; and on Saturday morning, at half past eleven, when the week's work was done, a familiar, practical, Christian lecture, was given to the assembled scholars; at which the presence of each one was specially enjoined. This Saturday lecture occurred the next day after the Teacher's evening meeting, when the officer of the week, (each teacher in her turn,) presented to the Principal a Report, embodying the seven monitress bills of the day-officers, with a summary of the fault and credit marks given by them, and also those given by herself, with her own general report of the conduct of the pupils during the week. This summary was read to the school before the lecture began. Thus faults as well as improvements were reviewed, and all conduct and experiences regarded in the light of God's holy law, and of "the power of an endless life."

We commend the following extract from the address above referred to:—

But though earthly employers may not always be satisfied when you do your duty, yet, with the great Father of us all, we shall ever find justice, and that, too, tempered with mercy. First of all, then, be careful so to regulate your example and your teaching, that He, finding you faithful over a few things, shall, in His good time, make you ruler over many. Accustom yourselves to regard Him as the great Employer of your time, and final Judge and Rewarder of your virtues; and the children under your care as His, and to be trained up for Him. Though this grand principle may be modified in its exercise by the peculiar views of earthly parents, yet it is not their will, even if they are so impious as to wish it, that can set aside this primary obligation.

Faithfulness to God, then, will comprehend whatever may be said on the extensive subject, of training the young to morality and religion. The first means to do this is, to show by your conduct the sacred estimation in which you hold these things yourself. SPEAK TRUE, and DO RIGHT, as well as to require it of them. Reverence God with devout love and fear; attend upon His public worship and sacraments; read His word for your guide, and keep near to Him in prayer. Let the holy scriptures, particularly on the Lord's day, be taught to your pupils in a manner to interest them. The practice of special instruction on moral and religious subjects at some stated season, as in our Saturday's lectures at the Seminary, is good. Daily prayer in school should be regularly attended; solemnity should prevail, but tediousness should be avoided.

So far, however, from depending on set times, for the whole discharge of the duty of training the young to piety and virtue, you are, during all your exercises, to regard it as the grand object of your labors; and while your pupils see that it is so, they will be learning to consider it their main concern also. Instead of telling them nothing more than that they must not be angry because it spoils their beauty, or they must not tell lies because it hurts their character, gravely show them that such things are displeasing to their Maker; and mention some of the Scriptures which forbid them. And when you have punished a child for a serious fault, and the penitent asks your forgiveness, remind her while you pronounce it, that she should go to God in prayer to ask it of Him as the one she has chiefly offended. Instead of pursuing the common method of making her promise a great deal to you in the way of amendment, (a practice which does but make promise-breakers,) counsel her to resolve against her fault before her Maker, and ask his grace to enable her to keep her good resolutions; as for you, you shall know her repentance to be sincere, when there is an answering change in her conduct. Take advantage of passing occurrences, as the death of friends, to impress your pupils with the shortness of the time allotted them for preparing their last account; and if an examination excites them, tell them how vain and idle it is to fear to be brought before a few worms of the dust, like themselves, to be questioned on literary matters, where they make special preparation, when the very secrets of their hearts are always known to God, and must one day be made manifest to an assembled universe.

While engaged in teaching any study, the pious instructor will find interesting occasions of leading her scholars to view the Almighty as the God of Nature, or of Providence, and thus to introduce the germs of piety into their minds along with those of science.

That "God has a life-plan for every human person," is a doctrine strongly countenanced by the life of Mrs. Willard. Looking over it as a whole, we see that her felt mission—the progress of woman—had its parts; and the time had now come, when in the department which regarded the Troy Seminary, her own peculiar work was accomplished, while other portions of her life-plan remained to be worked out. She had seen an institution founded, which already gave advantages to her sex, beyond her

conception when she wrote her "Plan." Those dearest to her were ready and fully prepared to take her place; and in the summer of 1838, she resigned to them her office in the seminary.

The next work of public interest in which Mrs. Willard engaged, was in the fall of the succeeding year, 1839. It was the reinvestigation of her long-studied hypothesis of the circulation of the blood. With the aid of her old family physician, Dr. Robbins, and Prof. Smith, then of Troy, (both believers in her theory,) she now witnessed post-mortem examinations of the heart and lungs. Being more and more confirmed in her views, she then carefully re-wrote her theory, and sent four copies of the manuscript to Europe, of which one went to the Drs. Edwards, members of the French Institute. Her correspondence with one of them, and her treatise, are both contained in her work on the "Motive Powers," published in the spring of 1846.

WORK AMONG THE COMMON SCHOOLS.

We have seen that Mrs. Willard's consecration to the cause of education, inevitably led her, in time, beyond the sphere of establishing a Female Seminary, to the still wider benevolence of educating female teachers—and for other lands as well as her own. The same consecration led her in time to feel a deep interest in the Common or Public Schools, which, in the year 1840, was providentially directed to practical results of permanent value. Mrs. Willard thus writes:—

"About three years before leaving the Troy Seminary, my mind was aroused to alarm concerning the condition of the common schools of my native State, by the representations of Miss Robbins, a zealous friend of education, who had just been making a tour of observation through these schools. Looking into the matter, I found that it was not in Connecticut only, but in New York and throughout the country; that there was a general decadence of the common schools.

Early in the winter of 1840, on a visit to Kensington, I stopped at Hartford, and there learned, much to my satisfaction, that a great impulse in favor of common schools had been given; warmth in generous hearts was enkindled; and all around were signs of life and animation. Mr. Barnard, whom I had before known as the friend of my friend, Dr. Todd, was foremost in the movement; and had received from the state an appointment, which was effectively that of State Superintendent. He had already inaugurated a system of operations; and was now going the rounds of the

state to get up an interest, and make dry bones live. He had appointed a festal meeting of the schools at Kensington, which took place about ten days after my arrival there."

Much interest was felt by the people of Kensington, and Mrs. Willard was invited to write an address for the occasion, which she did. Mr. Barnard was present, and in his Journal thus describes the jubilant scene:—

On the 18th inst., a public meeting of all the schools was held at the church, and a happy day it proved to parents, teachers, and children.

Upon the arrival of the schools at the meeting house, the music, with the banners, were stationed on the steps, and the scholars, in procession, entered under the banners, and filled the body of the church. The house was soon crowded, many being in attendance from neighboring towns; indeed it is said by the pastor, the Rev. Royal Robbins, to have been the largest congregation assembled in this place since his ordination, 22 years since. The exercises were commenced with prayer from the pastor, followed by singing from a large choir, under the direction of Mr. Hall, of Hartford. A concise and able report of the present state of the schools by the visiting committee was read. A piece was then sung, composed for the occasion by Rev. Mr. Robbins. The children were next addressed by Jesse Olney, Esq., of Southington. Music followed by the band from Worthington, who had kindly volunteered their services for the occasion. An address written for the occasion by Mrs. Willard, was then read to the meeting by Mr. Burritt, and listened to with deep and thrilling interest. This was followed by other addresses and interesting exercises.

At the close of the meeting, refreshments were passed to the children, when they separated in high glee, in the same order as they came, greatly pleased with the thought that there had been a great and high day on their account. It is believed that the interest of this occasion exceeded the highest anticipations of the old and young.

Mrs. Willard's address, and her past experience, were calculated to inspire not only interest in improving the common schools, but confidence in its author, as the best agent for carrying out the improvements she so earnestly recommended. The result was that she was immediately invited by the influential men of the place, to take the common schools in hand. In order to afford her the due authority, she was unanimously elected by the voters of the parish as Superintendent of the common schools of Kensington, "to take the oversight of them for the ensuing season." To a written notice of those proceedings, from a committee chosen for that purpose, she replied by accepting the office, with the condition that she should be unanimously supported in her arduous duties by the women, as well as the men of Kensington.

We pause upon the extraordinary nature of this transaction, to ask whether it does not inaugurate a new and correct principle of public action? Women cannot legally vote in a town or school-society meeting; but may they not be legally voted for? Had not the voters of Kensington a legal right to elect, by their votes, a woman for school-superintendent? and were they not legally

bound to sustain her acts, the same as if that office had been held by a man? If school-committees may legally employ women to teach, why may not the voters elect women to superintend?

In May, before the opening of the schools, Mrs. Willard, by request of Mr. Barnard, wrote to him a letter explaining her plans of improvement. A few extracts will best show how she intended to fulfill the duties of her novel position:—

Four schools, each with a female teacher, will have gone into operation in this society, during the week ensuing. These teachers are enguged with the expectation that they are to receive directions from me. Our first business, on the assembling of the schools, will be to select, with the consent of all parties, some of the oldest, most discreet, and best instructed girls, as assistant teachers. These will be employed with the three-fold object of promoting their own education, of making them useful in the business of the school, and of training them by actual service, as well as theoretical instruction, to become teachers in full. These assistants should be so numerous that while each shall have a part, perhaps the largest part of her time for her own improvement, the principal teacher shall be so aided in her duties, that the whole school shall be kept profitably employed. Up to a certain point, children, especially when quite young, learn in proportion to the instruction imparted, and this may often be given by a younger, as well as an older teacher.

This plan of assistant teachers, from among the best of the scholars, I tested, in the early organization of the Troy Female Seminary. A school arranged in this manner is not so good as one with a corps of highly instructed and regularly trained teachers. But *that*, on account of expense, is out of the present question; and I do believe the proposed is the best possible method of providing the needed help to the teacher of the common schools. The wife of the farmer might find it easier to be served by experienced hands, than to teach her own daughters to keep the house and tend the dairy; but after they have received the proper drill, it is her own fault if they do not become the best of assistants. And here is an important consideration; if the farmer's wife takes other help, and neglects to instruct her daughters, how is her house to be taken care of, if she is removed; or where are the young farmers to find helps meet for them? So, if the common schools do not educate their own teachers, it appears clear to me that the majority of them will not be educated. * * * * * * *

In regard to room, we shall want for each school, besides the main apartment, one small room, where an assistant can be teaching the very young children; and another, perhaps larger, where the best instructed of the assistants can hear recitations of the oldest pupils, and most advanced classes, whose lessons require considerable time. Such scholars, who understand the general plan of study, who can, in the main, comprehend their authors, and who may, in some measure, be depended upon to govern themselves, do better with an inferior teacher, than larger classes of younger pupils, who are to be governed as well as instructed, and taught the manner of study, as well as the subject matter. Yet the classes confided to the assistants should be regularly reviewed by the principal teacher; and those in this society will be occasionally by myself.

This being the summer term, the most advanced pupils will be altogether of the female sex. I shall regard them as forming one school, divided for convenience of attendance, and for giving aid as assistant teachers; but we shall bring them together for a common examination at the close of the term. Of course, in this department, there must be uniformity in the books studied. As to modes of teaching, I shall be satisfied with the teacher who gives to her good scholars (for it is the good wax alone that takes the perfect impression,) a thorough understanding of the subject, and to other scholars in proportion; and to all a proper method of communicating what they know. It shall be my care to make the examination an actual test of this—a test at which the faithful teacher will exult.

Each school house should, we think, be provided with a clock; no matter how plain, if it do but perform its office correctly. Whatever is to be done regularly requires a *set time* as well as a fixed place; and teachers on low wages cannot afford to buy watches; nor would they serve the purpose of a perpetual memento of the coming duty of the scholar, like a clock.

We close our extracts with the view taken by Mrs. Willard of the influences of bad reading books, charged with fictitious stories.

I have collected and examined the school books used in the Kensington schools. The amount of fiction put into the hands of the children, in their daily lessons, strikes me with surprise and regret. Truth is the mother of science, and the ancient ally of virtue. Fiction may mislead, even when she intends to do good—truth, never. The mind that feeds on fiction, becomes bloated and unsound, and already inebriated, still thirsts for more. And has not so much of the mental aliment of our times been fiction, that this delirium of the mind has become an evil so pervading that we ought resolutely to shun its source, and turn now to the simple element of pure truth? Some of these books, too, contain low and vulgar language. Who would send a child among clowns to learn manners?

In general, sacred objects are the best for schools. There is even among children, an awe and quietness diffused by ideas pertaining to God and religion, which tend to good order; and shed around the true atmosphere of the soul.

For months Mrs. Willard devoted her untiring energies to the four schools of the parish. Her retired chamber was consecrated to religion, and to the consideration of her new duties in regard to the common schools,—and no books, except on these subjects—none whatever of amusement—were there admitted. On alternate Saturdays came the four teachers, and oftener came a class of nearly twenty, whom she called her normal pupils, to whom she taught history and reading,—to a few, algebra, and geometry.

She organized a "Female Common School Association" of women of Kensington, with constitution, by-laws, meetings, and effective work. She counseled with the teachers, met them for special instruction at appointed times; gave minute attention to the teaching of the children of the several schools, so that everything should be done at the right time, and in regular order; she introduced her own methods of discipline and instruction, practiced at Troy; she selected school-books, established a regular system of marks, and exercised the children most successfully in reading, geography and arithmetic; made copies for their training in penmanship and drawing; dictated model letters of business and friendship, and accustomed them to compose off-hand compositions, writing on their slates accounts of passing occurrences,—and she so taught them that mistakes in spelling were rare. She directed what the children should sing all together, and what tunes the older ones should write on their black-boards, dictated to them in

musical notation. She composed a song on "Good Old Kensington," which was a rejoicing to the children, and to be sung at the examination—and a simple heart-prayer, which they recited at the close of each school, with feeling and solemnity;—she sketched model maps, beginning with the town itself, marking the brooks and bridges, the roads, the church, the school-houses—greatly to the edification of the interested children. She talked of her improvements among the people—the men and the women—in the house and by the way; and thus, by all possible devices, wrought out a genuine enthusiasm in fathers, mothers, and children.

In all her labors, she had the hearty coöperation of Mr. Barnard, who sometimes shared with her the labor of visiting the schools.

On the 10th of September, a public examination of the four schools was held at the church, which was crowded not only with the people of Kensington and the adjacent parishes, but also with distinguished educators of Connecticut and other states. The exercises were continued with unabated interest, from nine o'clock in the morning to half-past six in the afternoon, with one hour's intermission. The children entered into the full spirit of the occasion, and made it a proud day for their parents and for Mrs. Willard. At the close of the examination, a gentleman of Kensington, expressed, in the name of the society, public thanks for her arduous and unselfish labors; and the State Superintendent expressed his satisfaction.

From Mr. Barnard's report to the legislature, and in the School Journal, the Kensington proceedings were copied, and went into other states. Thus, much of what was experiment there, became common practice in the schools throughout Connecticut and elsewhere. Mrs. Willard was honored for her gratuitous services in the cause; and received numerous invitations to meet with educational and literary societies, and conventions; and to write addresses for those at a distance; which she often did.

Before leaving Connecticut, Mrs. Willard projected the plan of a Normal School in Berlin, which would probably have been carried into effect, but for the abolition of the Board of Commissioners of Common Schools, and the temporary suspension of Mr. Barnard's labors in Connecticut, upon whose co-operation she had relied. Her plan contemplated a well organized system of Teachers' Institutes, rather than a permanent Normal School. There were to be two sessions of not less than four weeks each, held at those periods of the year when the great mass of teachers

could attend them without interfering with their ordinary avocations. Those who joined the school were to engage to attend four successive sessions, and to go through the prescribed course of study. The union of theory and practice would thus be more thoroughly carried out than in a permanent school, and the benefits would be widely and immediately felt throughout the state.

In 1845, Mrs. Willard was invited to attend a Convention of County Superintendents of Common Schools at Syracuse. She was made an honorary member, and invited to participate in the exercises and deliberations, which she declined; but communicated a paper on the place which woman should hold in the common school system and educational movements of the day. In this paper, which was read, and favorably received, among other suggestions the author recommends the adoption of the plan of operations which she had inaugurated in respect to the Kensington schools, and especially the formation in every town of a society of women, with a constitution similar to the one adopted there. This constitution provides for the appointment of three committees, to co-operate with the regular school officers of the town—*one* to ascertain the condition of the children who were not at school, and to assist in getting them; a *second*, on the accommodations of the school, to see to the state of the grounds, and all those circumstances which affect the health and comfort of the pupils; and a *third*, on procuring books, and the means of illustrating the studies of the school. Mrs. Willard was treated with great respect by the convention—the members calling on her in a body at the house of her hospitable friends, Mr. and Mrs. Redfield.

This interesting and profitable meeting of superintendents, led to Mrs. Willard's being earnestly invited to assist in the exercises of several Teachers' Institutes in the ensuing autumn—which she did by traveling in her own carriage, with a female companion, through the counties of Sullivan, Broome, Tioga, Greene, and afterwards to Oneida by railroad—meeting with over six hundred teachers, and interesting a large number of parents, mothers as well as fathers, in the management of the common schools, where their children were educated.

In the spring of 1846, Mrs. Willard having published her theory of Circulation by Respiration,* set out on a tour through the

* *A Treatise on the Motive Powers, which produce the Circulation of the Blood:* New York, Wiley & Putnam, 1844. That this work contains an important discovery, is now extensively conceded. In 1851, Dr. Cartwright, of New Orleans, is claimed to have proved it, by his vivisection of alligators, made for that express

Western and Southern states, with her niece, Miss Lincoln,† as a companion. Through her long journey, of over 8,000 miles, embracing all the principal cities in every state west and south of New York, except Florida and Texas, she was everywhere met by her former pupils with every demonstration of affection, and made welcome to their homes by every form of hospitality. To seminaries for the education of girls, she was received as a founder and pioneer of this class of institutions.

In the summer of 1849, she published a pamphlet of 100 pages, on "*Respiration and its Effects,—particularly as it respects Asiatic Cholera,*" as a contribution to the modes of dealing with that formidable epidemic, which threatened to renew the terrible scenes of 1832.

In 1852–3, Mrs. Willard was earnestly occupied in writing an educational work on Astronomy, to embody improvements, originated in their first conception while she was a teacher in that department. They form one of her most valuable contributions to the cause of education; and in which—in the language of Prof. Avery, of Hamilton College—"she has achieved a remarkable success in making the elements of a difficult science, easy of comprehension." The theory of the Tides, presented in this volume, is interesting, original, and simple.

In June, 1854, Mrs. Willard, again accompanied by her niece, Miss Lincoln, re-crossed the ocean to attend the World's Educational Convention, at London. By Mr. Barnard,—already there,—she was introduced to its officers, and to the most eminent foreign educators; and to some of their most interesting reunions.

After the convention, Mrs. Willard accompanied her sister, Mrs. Phelps, (just arrived from the U. S.) her son and two daughters, through France, Switzerland, Northern Italy, Germany, and Belgium. In Paris, those noble educators who have done so much for the women of France, Madame Belloc, and M'lle Montgolfier, with whom she had corresponded since 1831, met Mrs. Willard and Mrs. Phelps, as sisters meet sisters.

Her next, perhaps her last, educational labor, had for its object

purpose. In 1854, Dr. Washington, of Missouri, in the Nashville Medical and Surgical Journal, (upheld by Dr. Bowling, the senior Editor,) wrote down all opposition. Dr. Draper, of New York, in his late work on Physiology, says that Hervey's theory of the heart's power, is not correct; but the principle of Circulation by Respiration is.

† Miss Lincoln was one of the victims of the railroad disaster, at Burlington, New Jersey, August 29, 1855. In her premature and violent death, society lost a gifted and accomplished woman.

to provide such a reading book for the common schools, as when in Kensington, she saw they needed; and her impressions there had become deepened by the alarming growth of juvenile crime. She gave to the work the title of "*Morals for the Young*, or *Good Principles Instilling Wisdom.*" This book presents in simple, yet forcible and attractive style, the essential principles of a true Christian life, and God's Providential government; and from its avoidance of all denominationalism, is well adapted to become a text-book in public schools.

The selection of Mrs. Emma Willard to occupy a place in this gallery of eminent American Teachers, was not, so much because of her accomplished work, immense as this has been; not because she had by unsurpassed energy established the first scientific female seminary; nor because, as an author, a million of her books were circulated; nor because she has published various addresses on the subject of education, presented by invitation before various important bodies in various parts of the country; nor because she has enlisted wide discussion and general interest, by the results of investigations in physiology; nor because she has done much disinterested work for the improvement of the public schools; nor because she initiated in her own Seminary a system for the special education of teachers; but because she is preëminently a Representative Woman, who suitably typifies the great movement of the nineteenth century for the elevation of woman; because her life has been consecrated to the education and advancement of her sex, or rather we might say that the Christian elevation of woman has been the life itself—the heart-impulse of which the facts we sketch are the exponents. In this she is individual—note worthy. Other women establish successful seminaries, write successful books, make successful investigations, but they do what they do, either for the sake of the thing done, or for the sake of some benevolence or principle embodied and completed in the thing done. But with Mrs. Willard the thing done has been in behalf of somewhat outside and higher; and this higher end is the progress of woman. And although this has not been always, nor perhaps often, consciously, her great object; (as a great object, self-forgettingly sought, absorbs self-consciousness,) and although efforts to determine a theory of the circulation of the blood, have occupied an important part of her life, in which no one department of humanity is exclusively interested, yet even in these scientific studies we may say that the inspiration was the winning a higher consideration towards woman. In behalf of her life-purpose she has established seminaries, writ-

ten books, presented addresses, wrought out theories, superintended public schools, solicited legislatures, dispensed monies, toiled, and prayed, and wept, and thanked God; and, more than all, in her own life she has been the possibilities of woman which she preached. For this reason, we have written of her with warm impulse and willing pen.

LIST OF PUBLICATIONS, by Mrs. Emma Willard.

PLAN FOR IMPROVING FEMALE EDUCATION, addressed as a Memorial to the Legislature of New York, 1819.

THE WOODBRIDGE AND WILLARD GEOGRAPHIES AND ATLASES, comprising a Universal Geography and Atlas, a School Geography and Atlas, an Ancient Geography and Atlas, Geography for beginners, and Atlas; 1822.

HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES, or REPUBLIC OF AMERICA; 530 pp. Brought down in 1852; 1828, with a Historic Atlas.

JOURNAL AND LETTERS FROM EUROPE; 1833.

UNIVERSAL HISTORY IN PERSPECTIVE; 526 pages; 1837.

ABRIDGMENT OF AMERICAN HISTORY; 1843.

TEMPLE OF TIME, or CHRONOGRAPHER OF UNIVERSAL HISTORY; 1844.

A CHRONOGRAPHER OF ENGLISH HISTORY, on a similar plan; 1845.

A CHRONOGRAPHER OF ANCIENT HISTORY; 1847.

HISTORIC GUIDE, to accompany the Temple of Time and other Charts.

A TREATISE ON THE MOTIVE POWERS WHICH PRODUCE THE CIRCULATION OF THE BLOOD; 1846.

RESPIRATION AND ITS EFFECTS, PARTICULARLY AS RESPECTS ASIATIC CHOLERA; 1849.

LAST LEAVES OF AMERICAN HISTORY, containing a History of the Mexican War, and of California; 1849.

ASTRONOMY; 1853.

MORALS FOR THE YOUNG, or GOOD PRINCIPLES INSTILLING WISDOM; 1857.

Besides these larger works, three addresses on "Female Education in Greece," 1832; an address read at Norwich on the same subject, 1833; an address to the "Willard Association," for the mutual improvement of "Female Teachers," 1838; "Political Position of Women," 1848; "Our Father's;" "Bride Stealing;" an appeal against "Wrong and Injury," and a pamphlet and "An Answer" to Marion Wilson's "Reply;" two poems, read at the "Farmington Centennial," 1840; a poem contributed to the "Statesmen in Albany;" "Universal Peace to be introduced by a Confederacy of Nations, meeting at Jerusalem," 1820; "Will scientific education make Woman lose her sense of dependance on Man?" answered in a contribution to the "Literary Magazine," N.Y., 1821; a metaphysical article on "General Terms," published in the American Journal of Science and Arts, Vol. xxiii, No. 1, 1832; a volume of "Poems," 1830.

Besides the above, Mrs. Willard has written many other contributions to differen periodicals, and numerous addresses, which have been read in different parts of the Union, to schools, to literary and educational societies, &c.

VIII. EVENING HOUR OF A HERMIT.*

BY JOHN HENRY PESTALOZZI.

MAN, as he is, the same whether on a throne or under the forest leaves; man in his essence; what is he? Why do not the wise tell us? Why do not great intellects inform us what is the reality of our race? Does a farmer use oxen, and not study to understand them? Does a shepherd not investigate the nature of his sheep?

And ye who use men, and say that you protect and cherish them; do you care for them as a farmer does for his oxen? Have you such care of them as a shepherd over his sheep? Is your wisdom a knowledge of your race, and are your benefits those of enlightened shepherds of your people?

What man is, what he needs, what elevates him and degrades him, what strengthens him and weakens him, such is the knowledge needed, both by a shepherd of the people and by the inmate of the most lowly hut.

Everywhere, humanity feels this want. Everywhere it struggles to satisfy it, with labor and eagerness. For the want of it, men live restless lives, and at death they cry aloud that they have not fulfilled the purposes of their being. Their end is not the ripening of the perfect fruits of the year, which in full completion are laid away for the repose of the winter.

Why does man investigate truth without order or purpose? Why does he not seek after what his nature needs, that therewith he may secure pleasure and blessings for his life? Why does he not seek Truth, which will afford him inward peace, will develop his faculties, make his days cheerful and his years blessed?

Source of the deepest peace of our existence, pure power of our nature, blessing of our being, thou art no dream. To seek thee, to investigate after thee, is the end and destiny of man; thou art both a necessity to me, and an impulse from the deepest part of my soul, O end and destiny of man!

By what road shall I seek thee, O truth, who liftest my nature toward perfection? Man, driven by his wants, will find the path to this truth, by the way of his own inmost soul.

The powers of conferring blessings upon humanity are not a gift of art or of accident. They exist, with their fundamental principles, in the inmost nature of all men. Their development is the universal need of humanity.

Central point of life, individual destiny of man, thou art the book of nature. In thee lieth the power and the plan of that wise teacher; and every school education not erected upon the principles of human development, leads astray.

The happy infant learns by this road what his mother is to him; and thus grows within him the actual sentiment of love and of gratitude, before he can

* Abendstunde eines Einsiedlers.—*Pestalozzi, Werke*, vol. 5, p. 271.

understand the words, Duty or Thanks. And the son who eats his father's bread, and is kept warm from his flocks, finds by the same nature-directed way the blessing upon his studies, and his duties as a child.

All humanity is in its essence the same; and to its content there is but one road. Therefore that truth which rises from our inmost being, is universal human truth; and would serve as a truth for the reconciliation of those who are quarreling by thousands over its husks.

Man, it is thou thyself, the inner consciousness of thy powers, which is the object of the education of nature.

The general elevation of these inward powers of the human mind to a pure human wisdom, is the universal purpose of the education even of the lowest men. The practice, application and use of these powers and this wisdom, under special circumstances and conditions of humanity, is education for a profession or social condition. These must always be kept subordinate to the general object of human training.

Wisdom and power based upon simplicity and innocence, are efficient blessings in all human circumstances, and in every misfortune, as well as an indispensable necessity in every elevation of position.

To him who is not a Man, a man developed in his inmost powers, to him is wanting a basis for an education suited to his immediate destiny and to his special circumstances, such as no external elevation can excuse. Between the father and the prince, the needy man struggling with difficulties for his sustenance and the rich oppressed by cares still more burdensome, the ignorant woman and the renowned philosopher, the indolent slumberer and the genius whose eagle powers influence all the world, there are wide gulfs. But if those, in their loftiness, lack real manhood, dark clouds surround them; while in these, a cultivated manhood, pure, elevated and sufficing human greatness, will of itself shine forth from the lowest hut.

Thus a prince in his greatness may long for a wise and upright code of regulations for his prisons, yet may offer in vain a purse filled with gold for it. Let him bring real manhood into his council of war, his councils of forestry and of exchequer, and let his conduct be truly fatherly within his own house, and let him wisely, earnestly and paternally train up judges and protectors for his prisoners.

Without this, the name of enlightened laws is, in the mouth of heartless men, only another name for selfishness.

So far art thou perhaps, O Prince, from the blessing of truth which you seek.

Meanwhile are laboring in the dust beneath your feet, good fathers with their ill taught children. Prince, learn the wisdom applicable to your prisoners from the tears of their night watchings; and delegate thy rights over life and death to men who seek that wisdom in that source. Prince, educated humanity is the blessing of the world; and only through it is enlightenment efficient, and wisdom, and the inmost blessing of all laws.

Educated powers of humanity, these sources of your mighty deeds and peaceful pleasures are no purposeless impulse, nor deceitful error.

The path of nature, for developing the faculties of humanity, must be open and easy; and the method for educating men to true and satisfying wisdom, simple, and universally applicable.

Nature develops all the human faculties by practice; and their growth depends upon their exercise.

The method of nature for educating humanity is, the explanation and practice of its knowledge, its gifts, and its qualities.

Therefore the simplicity and innocence of that man are educated by nature, who uses a thorough and obedient explanation of his knowledge, and with silent industry uses his powers, and develops them into a true human wisdom. On the other hand, that man is incapable of the pleasure of the blessings of truth, who violates within himself this natural order, and weakens his sensibility for obedience and knowledge.

Men, fathers, force not the faculties of your children into paths too distant, before they have attained strength by exercise, and avoid harshness and over-fatigue.

When this right order of proceedings is anticipated, the faculties of the mind are weakened, and lose their steadiness, and the equipoise of their structure.

This you do when, before making them sensitive to truth and wisdom by the real knowledge of actual objects, you engage them in the thousand-fold confusions of word-learning and opinions; and lay the foundation of their mental character and of the first determination of their powers, instead of truth and actual objects, with sounds and speech—and words.

The artificial mode of the schools, which everywhere crowds in this affair of words, instead of the easy and slower waiting method of nature, endows men with an artificial show of acquirement which ornaments over their lack of inner natural powers, and which satisfies such times as the present century.

The miserable exhausting struggle for the mere shadow of truth, the struggle for the accent and sound and words only, of truth, where no interest can be felt, and no application is practicable; the subjection of all the powers of growing humanity to the opinions of a hard and one-sided schoolmaster; the thousand-fold niceties of word-changing and fashionable style of teaching, which are made the basis of human education—all these are sad defections from the path of nature.

Moreover, a strict and stiff adherence to one order is not nature's way of teaching. If it were, she would train one-sided characters; and her truth would not accommodate itself easily and freely to the feelings of all men.

Such a severe course would not develop the truth within man to be his useful servant, nor to be a good and affectionate mother, whose happiness and wisdom are the happiness and necessity of her children.

The power of nature, although unquestionably leading to truth, leads with no stiffness. The voice of the nightingale sounds out of the darkness; and all the appearances of nature operate, in an enlivening freedom, without the shadow of constraint anywhere, according to a prescribed order.

Man loses all the balance of his powers, the efficacy of his wisdom, if his mind is too one-sidedly and forcibly applied to any subject. Nature's mode of teaching is therefore not a forcible one.

But her teaching is steady and consistent; and her method is strictly economical.

Education of man to truth, thou art the education of his existence and his nature to satisfying wisdom.

Man who seekest truth after this method of nature, you will find it in proportion as you make it your stand point and your path.

In proportion as that truth is requisite to your repose and your enjoyment, as

it is your guiding star in your troubles and the support upon which your life rests, in that proportion it will be your blessing.

The circle of knowledge, through which every man in his own place becomes blessed, begins immediately around him; from his being; from his closest relations; extends from this beginning; and at every increase must have reference to truth, that central point of all powers for blessing.

Pure sensibility to truth grows up within a narrow sphere; and pure human wisdom rests upon the solid basis of the knowledge of the nearest relations, and of an educated capacity for dealing with the nearest circumstances.

This wisdom, which reveals itself through the necessities of our condition, strengthens and educates our practical capacity; and the mental training which gives it, is simple and steady, consisting of the action of all the powers upon the phenomena of nature in their actual relations; and thus it is related to truth.

Power and feeling and practical certainty are its expressions.

Elevating path of nature, the truth to which thou leadest is power and action, origin, training, completion, and destination of the whole of humanity.

Thou dost educate with certainty; not to a rapid show of growth; and the son of nature is confined by limits;—his speech is the expression and consequence of full knowledge of facts.

The disconnected confusion of the sciolist is as little the basis which nature points out.

The man who with rapid course flits about every subject of knowledge, and does not fortify his acquirements by silent steady investigation, loses the power of observing cheerfully, and with steady search, and the still and genuine pleasure of sensibility to truth.

Unsteady will be the progress of that man who, in the hurlyburly of his sciolisms, finds, to be sure, material for many words, but sacrifices to them the quietness of real wisdom. Amidst his noisy pride, you will discover, close around him, in the place where the power of a blessed wisdom would beam brightly, only empty solitudes and darkness.

Also the slothful empty wastes of dark ignorance lead away from the path of nature. Lack of knowledge of thy nature, O man, contracts the limits of thy knowledge, more than the necessities of thy being. Misapprehension of the first principles of thy condition, deadly oppressive tyranny, withholding of all the pleasures of truth and blessing; unnatural want of general national enlightenment in relation to the most important actual needs and relations of men, overcloud and darken thee, as the deep shadow of night darkens the earth.

The effect of actual life in opposition to the inner consciousness of right, undermines our power of recognizing truth, and perverts the purity of the lofty and noble simplicity of our fundamental ideas and susceptibilities.

Therefore, all human wisdom is based upon the strength, of a good heart, and one obedient to truth; and all human blessings, upon its simplicity and innocence.

Education of humanity in this purity of simplicity and innocence, thou art the guardian of humanity, who dost protect and guide rightly the undestroyed principles of the heart, in the course of their mental development.

Man must be trained to inward peace. Content with one's condition, and with the pleasures attainable in it, patience, reverence and faith in the love of the Father under all restrictions, that is the right training to wisdom.

Without inward peace, man wanders about in wild ways. Thirst and longing after impossible forms, deprive him of every pleasure which present blessings offer, and of all the powers of a wise, patient, and obedient spirit. If the feelings are not regulated by inward peace, their power destroys the inward strength of the man, and plagues him with dark tortures, in days during which the cheerful wise man would laugh.

The discontented man worries himself within his happy home, because his dancing at the festival, his violin at the concert, his address in the public hall, were not distinguished.

Peace, and quiet pleasure, are the first purposes of human education, and its darling children. Man, thy knowledge and ambition must be subordinate to these high purposes, or thy curiosity and ambition will become gnawing agonies and curses.

Man, thou livest not for thyself alone, on earth. Nature educates thee for relations with those without thee.

In proportion as these relations are near to thee, O man, are they important for the training of thy being for its ends.

The complete mastery over a near relation, is a source of wisdom and power over more distant ones.

Fatherhood trains princes, brotherhood, citizens, Both produce order in the family and in the state.

The domestic relations of man are the first and most important relations of nature.

Man labors in his calling, and endures the burden of a citizen's labor, that thereby he may enjoy in quiet, the pure blessings of his domestic happiness.

Therefore the education of man for his professional and social position, must be subordinated to the ultimate purpose, the pleasures of his pure domestic happiness.

Therefore art thou, home, the origin of all the purely natural education of humanity.

Home, thou school of morals and of the state.

First, man, thou art a child; afterward an apprentice in thy calling.

Childish virtue is the blessing of thy days of learning; and the first training of thy faculties to the enjoyment of all the blessings of thy life.

Whoever departs from this natural order, and forces an unnatural education for state, vocation, authority, or servitude, turns humanity aside from the enjoyment of the most natural blessings, to voyage upon a rocky sea.

See ye not, O men, feel ye not, sons of earth, how your upper classes have lost their inner powers by their education? Seest thou not, humanity, how their divergence from the wise order of nature, brings empty and barren curses upon them and from them downward amongst their people? Feelest thou not, O Earth, how the human race wanders away from the happiness of its domestic relations, and everywhere crowds to wild glittering shows, to make game of wisdom and to tickle its ambition?

Erring humanity wanders afar off.

God is the nearest resource for humanity.

Even thy family, O man, and the wisest of thy pleasures, will not last thee forever.

To suffer pain and death and the grave, without God, thy nature, educated to mildness, goodness, and feeling, has no power.

In God, as the father of thy house, the source of thy blessings, in God as thy father:—in this belief findest thou peace and power and wisdom which no pain nor the grave, can shake.

Faith in God is a tendency of human feeling, in its highest condition; it is the confiding childlike trust of humanity, in the fatherhood of God.

Faith in God is the fountain of peace in life; peace in life is the fountain of inward order; inward order is the fountain of the unerring application of our powers; and this again is the source of the growth of those powers, and of their training in wisdom; wisdom is the spring of all human blessings.

Thus, faith in God is the source of all wisdom and all blessings, and is nature's road to the pure education of man.

Faith in God, thou art buried deep in the being of man. As the sense of good and evil, as the ineradicable sense of right and wrong, so immovably fast art thou lodged in our inmost nature, as a foundation for human development.

Faith in God, thou art the portion of the people in every misery, in every clime. Thou art the power of men in every exaltation, and their strength in every adversity.

Faith in God, thou art not a sequel and result of educated wisdom; thou art a pure endowment of simplicity; the hearkening ear of innocence to the voice of nature, whose father is God.

Childlikeness and obedience are not the result and invariable consequence of a complete education; they must be the primitive and spontaneous first principles of human training.

The wonder of wise men in the depth of creation, and their searches into the abysses of the creator, are not an education to this faith. In the abysses of creation, the searcher can lose himself, and in its waters he can wander ignorantly, far away from the fountains of the bottomless ocean.

God, father; God, an existence within the dwellings of men; God, within my own inmost being; God, the giver of his own gifts and of the pleasures of my life;—he is the training of man to this faith; this is the power of nature, who bases all faith upon pleasure and experience.

Otherwise, arouse thyself, O man—I call upon the people—arouse, O man, to the lesson of preponderating goodness. Let this encourage or soothe thee; that either happiness will on the whole preponderate. When the flames of misery burn over thy head and destroy thee, will this dictum of wise men support thee?

But when thy Father strengthens thee inwardly, makes thy days cheerful, lifts thy being above all sorrows, and develops within thyself an overbalance of blessed enjoyments; then thou enjoyest the education of nature to faith in God.

The bread which my child eats from my hand develops its child's feelings; not its wonder at my night watches and my care over its after years. Much judgment upon my deeds would be folly, and might lead its heart astray, and away from me.

Simplicity and innocence, pure human feelings of thankfulness and love, are the source of faith.

On the pure childlike nature of men, is based the hope of everlasting life; and a pure human faith in God is not possible for it without this hope.

The tread of a tyrant upon his brethren, upon the children of his God, makes the inmost soul of humanity to shudder. The widows and orphans of the ranks of his victims wail, tremble, hunger, believe, and die.

If God is the father of men, then the day of their death is not the day of the fulfillment of their existence.

If there is any perception of truth in thee, O man, speak. Does it not conflict with thine inmost convictions, to believe that God is the father of men, and also that the lives of these wretches are completed so?

God is not the father of men, or else death is not the completion of our life.

Man, thy inward sense is a sure guide to truth and to thy duty; and dost thou doubt, when this sense summons thee to immortality?

Believe in thyself, O man; believe in the inward intelligence of thine own soul; thus shalt thou believe in God and immortality.

God is the father of humanity; God's children are immortal.

Within thine inmost being, O man, lies that which with faith and reverence recognizes truth, innocence and simplicity.

But simplicity and innocence are not possessed by all men.

To many, this inward consciousness of humanity is a mere dream; and faith in God and immortality, based upon this inner consciousness, a contempt and a reproach.

God, who within my being dost with strength and power teach me truth, wisdom, holiness, faith and immortality; God, who hearest all the children of God;—God, whom all the good, feeling, pure and loving among men understand all alike;—God, shall I not listen to the lessons within my inmost nature, which are true and which must be true? Shall I not believe what I am and what I do?

Faith in God causes a separation of men into the children of God and the children of the world. Faith in the fatherhood of God is faith in immortality.

God, father of man; Man, child of God; this is the aim of faith.

This faith in God is a tendency of man in his relations to his blessings.

Parental love and filial love, these blessings of thy house, O man, are results of faith.

Thy rightful enjoyments, husband and father, the pleasant submission of thy wife and the deep and soul-elevating gratitude of thy children, are the results of thy faith in God.

Faith in my own father, who is a child of God, is a training for my faith in God.

My faith in God is a reinforcement of my faith in God, and of every duty of my house.

So, O elevating nature, thou dost bind together, in thy discipline, my duties and my pleasures; and at thy hand man is guided from pleasures enjoyed to new duties.

All humanity, prince or subject, master or servant, is disciplined for the especial duties of its station by the enjoyment of its most intimate natural relations.

The prince who is the child of his God, is the child of his father.

The prince who is child of his father, is father of his people.

The subject who is child of his God, is child of his father.

The subject who is child of his father, is child of his prince.

Station of prince, representation of God, father of the nation. Station of subject, child of the prince, are each, the child of God. How soft and strong and subtle is this interweaving of the natural relations of humanity.

O humanity in thy loftiness!

But vain is the sense of thy worth, to a degraded people.

I scarcely venture to name thy rank, householder. What art thou, and what canst thou be? An ox for sale? The master of thy house. The representative of the prince, within thy hut, O man in thy degradation! O Lord and Father of all!

In whatever low state, the servant is in his essence like his master; and is by nature entitled to the satisfaction of his necessities.

For the raising of the people to the enjoyment of the proper blessings of their existence, are the high the fathers of the low.

And all the people depend, for the enjoyment of their domestic happiness, upon their pure childlike confidence in the paternal feeling of their lords; and upon the fulfillment of the paternal duties of their lords, for the education and elevation of their children to the enjoyment of the blessings of humanity.

Is this expectation of men a dream? Is their childlike expectation a mere vision in their sleep and weariness of their degradation?

Faith in God, thou art the strength of their hope.

Princes who believe in God, and understand the brotherhood of men, find in this belief a stimulus to every duty of their station. They are men trained by divine power for the blessing of their people.

Princes who disbelieve the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of men, find in this unbelief the sources of a terrible annihilation of their recognition of their duties. They are men of terror; and their power works destruction. In the recognition of the supreme paternal authority of God, princes assume to themselves the obedience of their people as a religious duty.

And the prince who does not found his own rights and duties upon obedience to God, founds his throne upon the mutable sands of popular belief in his own power.

Faith in God is in this view the bond of union between prince and subjects; the bond of the intimate connection amongst the relations of men for happiness.

Unbelief, disbelief in the brotherhood and fraternal duties of man, disrecognition and contempt of the paternal rights of God, obstinate hardiness in the misuse of power, are the dissolution of all the pure bonds of the happy relations of humanity.

The clergy are the announcers of the fatherhood of God and of the brotherhood of men; and their station is the central point of union between the natural relations of men, and the blessings which come from faith in God.

Faith in God is the source of all the pure paternal and filial feelings of men; the source of all uprightness.

Faith in God without paternal or filial feeling, is a mere glittering nonentity, without power for blessing.

The haughty administration of laws, the passing of sentences according to the ancient blasphemies which have grown up in the studies of the law and the courts, is a mummery in imitation of justice, and no blessing to the people.

Security and innocence, those sources of pure virtue among the people, those consequences of wise and fatherly justice, are consequences of faith.

Hardy and outrageous attacks upon innocence, right and truth, those evidences of the absence of a paternal feeling in the administration of the laws of a country, are the consequences of unbelief.

Violence and impudent bold usurpation contrary to right and innocence, in

the spirit of a nation, are sources of national powerlessness; and thus unbelief is a source of such powerlessness.

And on the other hand, fatherly and childlike feelings in the national spirit, are the sources of all pure national blessings.

In like manner, the belief in God among the people, is a source of all pure national virtue, all popular blessings, and all national power.

Sin is the source and consequence of unbelief. It is the action of men contrary to the inner teachings of our nature as to right and wrong. Sin, the source of the perversion of our first fundamental ideas, and of our pure natural feelings. Sin, the destruction, O man, of thy faith in thyself, and in thine inward nature, destruction of thy faith in God, of thy childlike feelings toward him.

Open sin; defiance of God by man.

Abhorrence of sin; pure feeling of the childlike relation of man to God, expression and result of the faith of humanity in the revelation of God within its own nature.

Abhorrence of open sin: feelings of a child toward a man who insults his father and mother.

National abhorrence of a people against public sinners; pledge and seal of national faith, and of the childlike feelings of the people toward their supreme head.

National abhorrence by a people of the open defiance by their prince of God, is a sign of national virtue, and of the weakening of the faith and obedience of the people toward their supreme head.

Unbelief; source of the destruction of all the inner bonds of society.

Unbelief in rulers; source of disobedience in subjects.

Paternal feeling and paternal treatment by rulers establishes and assures the obedience of subjects.

Unbelief destroys the source of obedience.

Under a ruler who is not a father, the tendency of the people can not be toward the understanding of a popular character, pure in thought and happy in childlike obedience.

The consequences of unbelief:—Daily increasing burdens, daily decreasing paternal goodness, arbitrary exertion of power for no good purpose, fantastic and unnatural abuses of governmental authority, oppressive intermediate officers, decrease of power in the people to oppose them, are among the inevitable consequences of a government without faith; which despises the rights of God and of humanity.

The perception by the people of the perversion of paternal authority is the dissolution of the pure bonds of nature between the prince and his people.

Thou, good and motherly nature, dost knit the bands of social relations through the blessings of mutual happiness.

And it is the popular perception, the national feeling of the blessing of this happiness, which blesses and sanctifies these relations through the gratitude, love and faith of the people toward their ruler. Here therefore is the sacred source of all patriotism and civic virtue.

I am touching strings unused, and not accordant with fashionable tones. Despise the sound, dance-music, trilling calumnies, and drown my voice; leaving pure humanity and truth unnoticed.

All the powers of humanity only accomplish blessings through faith in God;

and the paternal character of princes, the only sources of blessings for the people, are the consequence of this faith in God.

Man, how low thou standest! If thy prince is a child of God, his authority is paternal.

Harsh and insolent exercise of authority is not paternal; is not a sign of faith in God. It is the destruction of the highest attributes of both prince and country; of the pure childlike feeling of the people toward the prince.

I can not apply to such conduct, although so common among penetrating minds in the service of princes, the name of high treason.

But what less is it, when they interpret the paternal authority of the prince to include the right of both good and evil, of both right and wrong?

What less is it, when in the prince's name they destroy the happiness of households, rob them of their goods, and cover innocence with infamy and shame?

Bond of union between humanity and its blessings, belief of prince and people in the supreme Lord of humanity, faith in God, thou alone protectest mankind from such perils.

All unbelief is arrogant; but faith in God, the childlike feeling of humanity toward God, gives a quiet sublimity to every exertion of its powers.

A brilliant and flashing creation of humanity, is that hardy laughing courage at danger and destruction, which is a human power; but it is unfavorable to a childlike feeling toward God.

Diligent economical use of every gift, aspiration after the strengthening of the faculties, is the path of nature to the development and strengthening of all the powers; and in every degradation and every weakness this is an inclination of the pure childlikeness of humanity to God.

A proneness to degrading shadows, impulse to make sport with the faculties and powers, and to hide its weaknesses, is a mark of the lowest and weakest humanity, turned aside from the natural order of development.

Outward and inward human nobleness, cultivated in the natural method, is understanding and paternal feelings toward a lower order of endowment.

Man, in thy elevation, use thy powers for this purpose.

Paternal exercise of high endowments toward the undeveloped and weak flock of common humanity.

Pure blessing of humanity, thou art the power and the result of faith.

O my cell, pleasure be within thee! Thou also art a consequence of this faith.

Hail, myself and my hut!

In order that humanity may believe in God, I abide in this hut.

The faith of the people in the true ministers of God is the source of the peacefulness of my life.

The priests of God are the representatives of the pure paternal relation of humanity.

Thy power consecrated, is the enlightenment of God.

God's enlightenment is love, wisdom, and fatherhood.

O thou who wanderest near my hut, would that I were even a shadow of the power of my God.

O Sun, thou picture of his power, thy day is completed. Thou goest down behind my mountain, O day of my completion. O hope of the coming morning, O power of my faith.

I base all freedom upon justice; but I see no certain justice in this world, except that inspired by simplicity, piety and love, and in humanity as enlightened by this inspiration.

All family administration of justice, which is the greatest, purest and most generally enjoyed in all the world, has as a whole no source except love; and yet, in the simplicity of all the nations, it accomplishes the general blessing of the world.

As all justice rests upon love, so does freedom upon justice. Pure childlikeness is the real source of freedom, which rests upon justice; and pure fatherhood is the source of all such government as is elevated enough to do justice, and to love freedom.

And the source of justice and of all worldly blessings, the sources of the love and brotherhood of men, these rest upon the great idea of religion: that we are the children of God, and that the belief in this truth is the sure foundation of all human happiness. In this great idea of religion lies the spirit of all true political wisdom which seeks the real happiness of the people; for all the moral faculties, all enlightenment and human wisdom, rest upon the same basis of the faith of humanity in God.

Forgetfulness of God, neglect of the filial relation of humanity to God, is the source of the destruction of all the power of morality, enlightenment and wisdom, for the blessing of humanity. Therefore is this loss of filial feeling toward God the greatest of human misfortunes, since it renders all God's paternal instruction impossible; and the restoration of this lost filial feeling is the salvation of the lost children of God on earth.

The man of God who through the sorrows and death of humanity re-establishes this universally lost filial feeling toward God, is the saviour of the world, the sacrificed priest of God, the mediator between God and God-forgetting humanity. His teachings are pure justice, an instructive philosophy for all people; the revelation of God the Father to the lost race of his children.

IX. THE TRUE ORDER OF STUDIES.

BY REV. THOMAS HILL,
Waltham, Mass.

We take it for granted that there is a rational order of development in the course of the sciences, and that it ought to be followed in the course of common education. Starting from these assumptions, we seek to find what that order is, and arrive at the conclusion that there are five great studies for the human spirit, — Mathesis, Physics, History, Psychology, and Theology, — which must be pursued in the order in which we have here named them. This circle of five points must be embraced in every scheme of education, whether for the nursery, the subprimary school, the primary school, the grammar school, the high school, or the college. No one of them is to be omitted, in any school, until the student enters the professional school in which he is to prepare directly for the exercise of his profession or calling in life.

We also take it for granted that there is a natural order of development in the human powers, and that studies should be so arranged as to develop the powers in this order. Starting from this assumption, we arrive at the conclusion that the ability to receive impressions, that is, the perceptive power, first shows itself; next, a power to conceive or imagine; thirdly, the power of reasoning; fourthly, the power to decide and act upon the decisions of reason. Moreover, these faculties are called out in their proper order of development by taking the five branches of study in their proper order, — and this harmony of the results of our two lines of inquiry is a presumptive proof of their correctness.

These are the conclusions at which we have arrived, and which we propose to illustrate somewhat at length in the present paper. Their great breadth and generality, and the demand which they make, upon those who accept them, to change the whole character of our education from the hour of the child's birth to the day of his graduation from college, must be our apology for the length of our remarks, and for our request that the reader should not dismiss them from his mind without a candid consideration of their value.

It is manifest that the faculties which are first developed should be

first exercised by a judicious training. It is true that, in one sense, all the faculties are developed together, — that glimmerings of reason, and faint indications of a will, are perceived in the youngest infant. Thus, also, in education, the child is to be treated from the beginning as a reasonable and free agent. But the perceptive powers become perfected in their action long before the reason is matured, or the will strongly developed. For the first few years of a child's life its principal occupation is that of learning to recognize material things by their forms. This natural education in geometry begins through the eye at the age of a few days; and, during the whole of childhood, the attention is strongly directed to those characteristics of bodies which appeal to the senses. By the age of fifteen the perceptive powers are frequently in their highest state of development. The powers of imagination are not usually manifested at all until the age of two or three years; never in a distinct form before the age of seven or eight months, and seldom if ever attain their fullest vigor before the age of twenty. The reasoning powers cannot usually be shown to exist entirely distinct from the other faculties until the age of ten or twelve years, and seldom reach their perfection before the age of thirty. The will manifests itself, and comes to maturity no earlier than the power of reasoning.

Hence nature herself indicates that the studies of the child should follow in such succession that his perceptive powers should first be exercised more than any other; that his imaginative powers should next be called into play; and that those studies which require reasoning, and those which treat of his responsibilities, should not be given him at too early an age. A man must first learn facts, then conceive hypotheses, before he can reason of abstract truths, and deduce laws of duty.

It is also self-evident that there must be a natural sequence or order of truths, or, as it has been called, a hierarchy of sciences. In our view of the whole field of knowledge, we see it divided into five great branches; Mathesis, Physics, History, Psychology, and Theology. Theology treats of the uncreated Creator, and of our special relations to Him. Psychology treats of man, who may be called the created creator. History deals with the thoughts and deeds of men; that is, with the creations of the created. Physics treat of the material world, that is, of the creations of the uncreated, with the creation in the usual sense of that word. Physics thus bear the same relation to Theology that History does to Psychology, and may hence be called Natural History. Mathesis treats of that field of space and time in which the deeds of History and of Natural History are wrought; that is, if we

consider time and space as having objective reality, Mathesis deals with the uncreating uncreated.

Now, all possible objects of human thought are comprised under one or another of these five heads, and these five studies logically precede each other in the order we have here indicated. Mathematics must precede Physics, because conceptions of form, time, and number, necessarily precede any conceptions of material phenomena, which are subject to the laws of form, time, and number. In other words, Mechanics treats of motion in straight lines or in curved orbits, of the transfer of force in various directions subject to the conditions of geometry, of the strength of materials in various forms, and of the adaptation of those forms to the purposes of art; all of which implies geometrical knowledge. Chemistry deals with definite proportions, with the laws of multiples, and of combinations, so that it necessarily requires a knowledge of arithmetic. Botany and zoölogy in their morphology require both geometry and arithmetic; in their physiology, chemistry, and in both departments, mechanics.

As Mathematics thus necessarily precede Physics, so Physics must precede History. All that men do must be done in this world of ours, upon these materials set before us, while subject to the conditions of our material frame. All the thoughts of men must be expressed either by word, by symbol, or by a work of art; — and, of these, even words imply a knowledge of the outward world, for all words were originally figurative. Hence, every historical study must be preceded by the knowledge of a certain amount of physical truth, that is, of Natural History. We might add that while the deeds of men are wrought by physical agents, a great deal of the thought of man has been expended upon physical theories; so that a just appreciation of human thought and action requires a knowledge of that material world which has been the theatre of men's actions, and the object of so many of their thoughts.

Again, Psychology requires a knowledge of Physiology and of History. We know nothing of the human soul save through its actions, interpreted by our own consciousness; — including in its actions its thoughts as uttered in words. Lastly, Theology requires a knowledge of Psychology and of Natural History. For we can know nothing, by nature, concerning the Creator, in whose image we are made, except by first studying his works, and especially that image of Himself which He has placed within us. We may have religion with but little theology, but we cannot have any theology, at all, without some previous knowledge of ourselves, and of the other works of God.

It must be evident, therefore, that the Mathematics logically take

the lead as the great and indispensable foundation of all learning. It is not only impossible to dispense with them, but impossible to place them anywhere else than at the beginning of all intellectual education. No man can possibly attain to the knowledge of anything in the world without first attaining some mathematical knowledge or power. That mathematical knowledge may have been gained unconsciously, and may not have arranged itself in a distinct scientific form in his mind; but it must be there, for there cannot possibly be any intellectual life whatever upon our planet which does not begin with a perception of mathematical truth. A natural method of education requires us therefore, to pay our earliest attention to the development of the child's power to grasp the truths of space and time.

Mathesis would naturally divide itself into three great branches, treating of space, of time, and of number. Geometry unfolds the laws of space; algebra those of time; and arithmetic those of number. Other branches of Mathematics are generated by the combination of these three fundamental branches. Now, geometry, arithmetic, and algebra, should be taught in a natural order. There is a difficulty in deciding, simply from the logical sequence, what that order is, because the fundamental ideas of the three studies are so nearly independent of each other. Pure algebra, as the science of time, cannot, however, be evolved without reference to number and space; it will, to say the least, in the very process of its evolution, generate arithmetic. But geometry can be evolved without the slightest reference to time, although not, to any extent, without reference to number. The idea of number is one of the earliest abstractions from our contemplation of the material world.

The relative order in which these studies should be pursued will, however, be made more manifest on reference to the order of development of the child's powers. Number, though an early abstraction from phenomena in space, is a much higher and more difficult conception than conceptions of form. The child recognizes the shape of individual things long before he can count them, and geometry should therefore precede arithmetic in his education. But time is much more difficult of comprehension than space, — it requires a riper effort of the mind to conceive of pure time without events, than of pure space without bodies. The latter remains, so to speak, visible to the mental eye; the former does not even in imagination address any of the senses. Geometry is, therefore, the first study in an intellectual course of education; generating and leading to arithmetic, and through that to algebra; preparing the way also for Physics, and thus for History, Metaphysics, and Theology. We must begin intellectual education

with geometry, leading the child through other studies as rapidly and in such order as the amount of his geometrical knowledge justifies and demands. Some knowledge of geometry is gained by an infant within a week of its birth; and when it first comes to school it has usually gained at first hand from nature a sufficient knowledge of the laws of space to serve as a basis for a good deal of other information picked up here and there.

If, now, we consider the order of subdivision in physical study, we shall find here, also, three principal departments of science; mechanical, chemical, and vital. The laws of color, sound, odor, and flavor, may appear at first sight irreducible to either of these three divisions; but a closer examination of the question will show us that this arises simply from an intermingling of psychological relations with the physical phenomena. The three divisions of Physics naturally follow each other as we have named them. Some knowledge of mechanics, that is, of the laws of force and motion, is necessary to any knowledge of chemistry, and some knowledge of chemistry and of mechanics is necessary for any thorough understanding of plants and animals. But it is evident that all knowledge of Natural History must begin with observation; and that one of the uses of the previous knowledge of Mathematics is to teach the child to observe with accuracy. The senses through which we observe material phenomena are, of all the human powers, the earliest to be developed, and should, therefore, be the first to receive a deliberate cultivation. Now, the mechanical relations of bodies, including color and sound, are those most obvious to sense; the chemical are more difficult of discovery, and the effect of vital powers can scarce be perceived without an interpretation from our own consciousness. Thus it is manifest that the order of arrangement in these three departments of Physics is conformed to the order of development of the human powers; and we may add that, in every subdivision of these smaller departments of science, the same principles of classification will give us both a theoretical and practical guide to the natural and most effective mode of teaching them; — we must give first that which is most dependent upon direct perception, and, afterward, that which is more dependent upon an analysis of consciousness; — give first that which is most nearly a simple function of space, and, afterward, that which demands the conception of time or of force.

In attempting to subdivide the great department of History, we shall find difficulties arising from the complexity of the objects of human thought and action, and from the multiplicity of modes in which men have expressed their thoughts and emotions. But we are

inclined to make our primary division fourfold. In the first division we should place Agriculture, Trade, and Manufactures; in the second the Fine Arts; in the third Language and the history of thought; in the fourth Education, Politics, and Political Economy. That is, the first division should embrace the history of men's operations on material things to produce a tangible product; the second should treat of men's use of forms, colors, and tones, in the expression of thought; the third, of the expression of thought through words; the fourth, of men's action on each other.

In Psychology we might, perhaps, divide man into intellect, heart, and will, giving rise to intellectual, æsthetic, or moral and religious philosophy.

In Theology we should be obliged to feel cautiously our way by the light of Scripture. A natural division might be to consider the Divine Being as being first the Creator of the world, secondly the Father of all spiritual beings. The first would lead us to what is called, generally, Natural Religion, the second to themes more peculiar to Revealed Religion; the first would treat of the relation of the physical world to its Maker, the second of our own relation to Him.

Thus, out of the five great branches of learning, Mathesis, Physics, History, Metaphysics, and Theology, we have made, as a first essay toward a subdivision, fifteen classes, to wit: Geometry, Arithmetic, Algebra; Mechanics, Chemistry, Biology; Trade, Art, Language, Law; Intellectual Philosophy, Æsthetics, Ethics; Natural Theology, Religion. We believe that all sound education gives, with or without the consciousness of the pupil and the teacher, instruction in all of these fifteen studies; and that there is no period of a child's life in which he ought not to be receiving direct instruction in at least some of the classes of study belonging to each of the five great branches. This instruction should be adapted to the child's age, consisting, at first, principally of those studies which come first upon our list, and of those which are named first under each branch; and giving only prophetic hints and foretastes of the higher parts of the course.

A true system of intellectual education would take the child at the age of five years and give it daily instruction in the simplest facts of geometry and arithmetic. Geometry should be taught at first without reasoning, simply as a matter of perception, either by diagrams, or, still better, by tangrams, bricks, geometrical solids, and simple models for generating curves and curved surfaces. The latter would belong to a period five or seven years later in the child's life, when the imagination is to be exercised as well as perception. Arithmetic should

also be first taught by actual concrete numbers; nothing being better than a handful of beans. With these the properties of prime and composite numbers, the commutative principle of the factors in multiplication, and similar arithmetical truths, may be *shown* to very young scholars; and the laws of derivation or differentiation illustrated to older pupils. If there is any soundness in the views which we have given of the hierarchy of science, and of the development of the human powers, such works as Warren Colburn's inimitable First Lessons must not be the first lessons, but must be reserved to the age of twelve or thirteen years.

In the department of Physics, the child of five years should be trained in habits of observation. Every school for young children should have a cabinet of all the minerals common to the neighborhood of the school-house, and of all the most common plants, insects, and other animals, — or, at least, good, well-colored drawings of them, — and the teacher should take frequent walks with the children, requiring them to look for natural objects, and name them according to the lists accompanying the cabinet, until the child can name, at sight, several hundred of the plants and insects of his native town. The attention of the pupil should be directed not only to the form, but to the color, odor, sounds, tastes, roughness, or smoothness, of the various objects. The simple mechanical powers should be illustrated by simple apparatus. Attention should also be directed to the most obvious chemical phenomena, such as the oxidation of metals, the burning of coal, &c. By the age of seven or eight years, geography must be taught; at first wholly from the globe, afterwards from maps and books. It is also important to give the child early ideas of the true nature of the sun, moon, planets, and stars; their size, motions, and relative distances. These Natural Sciences, which are usually reserved for the high school, are, in fact, especially adapted, in their rudiments, for the primary school; and if the main facts were set clearly before the child's mind, at the age of from eight to twelve years, they would enlarge and develop his powers, both of observation and of conception or imagination, and he would be much better fitted to study them logically at the age of sixteen or eighteen.

In the department of History there will be no call for special instruction until the age of seven or eight years. The scholar may then be taught to observe, in the fields and shops of the neighborhood, the modes of cultivation, the machinery and manufactures, the articles of commerce, and the modes of packing and transporting them. He must be encouraged also to draw, and to sing; the drawing being at first the simplest copying of the outlines of leaves, flowers, &c., and

the singing being at first simply by rote. Language he will have learned orally from his earliest years, — but at the age of five or six he must be taught to analyze words into their phonetic elements, and a few weeks or months afterward be taught letters as the representatives of these phonetic elements. Spelling, in the ordinary sense, must be strictly avoided for some years, as it has a mischievous effect on the child's whole nature, slight and usually unnoticed, but real and mischievous, as far as it goes. In order to insure good habits of reading let a phonetic alphabet (books in the Cincinnati alphabet are most accessible) be used for at least two years, and let there be a daily drill in phonetic analysis and synthesis of words for four or five years. As for Law, its rudiments will be incidentally taught, sufficiently for so early an age, by the discipline of the school-house, by accidental references to political questions, and by the rules of honor in the games and sports of the playground.

In the fourth great branch of study, the teaching will, at this early age, be also incidental. The child will learn something of its intellectual powers, its tastes, and its obligations, from its attempts at study, at drawing and singing, and at keeping the rules of school. And in the fifth great branch of Theology the child of tender age must have his reverence for the Divine Being deepened, and his conceptions of His attributes enlightened, by being taught to look upon crystals, plants, and animals, as the workmanship of His Wisdom, — the pleasures of home and of the school-room as the gifts of His love, — the actions of even children as pleasing or displeasing to Him in His holy oversight of men.

It would be tedious if we went on to greater length in defining the studies for each succeeding age, as we have defined them for pupils from five to seven years of age. We will, therefore, endeavor to show, in a tabular form, the order of study in each of the particular subdivisions of our five great branches. The left-hand column contains the age of the pupil, beginning with his entrance into the primary school at five, and ending with his graduation from college at twenty-two; the succeeding columns contain the studies. By the term incidental instruction, we signify that oral instruction which circumstances from time to time furnish the teacher an opportunity of giving, or that written teaching which the child will find in all the well chosen books that it reads at home or at school. This tabular view is not proposed as a Procrustean bed, but as a typical plan of studies, which should be somewhat modified by the circumstances and abilities of each student.

TABULAR VIEW OF THE STUDIES IN LIBERAL EDUCATION FROM ENTERING SCHOOL TO LEAVING COLLEGE.

	MATHESIS.			NATURAL HISTORY.			HISTORY.				PSYCHOLOGY.			THEOLOGY.		
Age of Pupil.	Geometry.	Arithmetic.	Algebra.	Mechanics.	Chemistry.	Biology.	Trade.	Art.	Language.	Law.	Thought.	Emotion.	Will.	Nature.	Man.	
5—6	Little bricks,								Phonetic analysis,							Sub-Primary School.
6—7	blocks, and geometrical	Counting, &c., with		Incidental instruction		Notice flowers,	Names and uses of tools,	Sing, Draw on	Phonetic print. Common print,	School, and family				Incidental instruction,	Incidental instruction,	
7—8	puzzles.	beans.	Rhythm		Notice	insects,	furniture, &c.	blackboard.	Spelling.	rules.	Incidental	Incident-	Incidental			
8—9	Geometrical	Simple rules, i. e.	in verse	on the sensible qualities	combustion, rust,	&c. Name flowers,	Visit farms,	Sing, draw,	Phonetic shorthand and common long-hand.			al in-	instruction	directed to cultivation of	directed to the cultivation of a	
9—10	Theorems	+ − × ÷ on the	and	of bodies, and	fermentation,	&c.; also parts	shops,	and perhaps	Keep a short-hand diary. Write simple letters to children. Read and spell.		instruction.	struction.	on the moral	reverent views of	conscientious	Primary School.
10—11	as	slate.	music.	Geog. by the globe alone.	decay, &c.	of the human body.	factories, &c.	play.		History of United			laws.	Creation and Providence,	spirit,	
11—12	facts.	Ciphering. Mental		Elements of Astronomy and Nat. Phil.	Begin to call the attention	Elements of Botany,	History of inventions,	The drawing begins to embrace	Commit extracts to memory. Begin to read French.	States.	Incidental	Cultivation of a	The same	drawn from	and drawn from	Grammar School.
12—13	Theorems demonstrated	arithmetic. Prove rules of		Geog. by maps.	more frequently to chemical	Zoölogy, Anatomy,	discoveries,	landscape, the singing,	Elements of English Grammar.	Histories of England	instruction.	good taste.	as above.	Scripture reading and	Scriptural readings, and	
13—14	in	ciphering.		Elements	changes.	and Physiology.		harmony.		and of the Jews.						

14—15	Geometry	Use of	Simple	of Optics,	Elements			Music,	English Gram-	History				Instances	Instances	High School.
15—16	solid, and spherical	logarithms.	Algebra. The language of	Acoustics, and Thermotics.	of Chemistry, Electricity, and Magnetism.			including thorough bass,	mar. Begin Latin. English Composition and Declamation. Begin Greek. English Versification.	of Greece and Rome. General History.				of divine wisdom and power	of moral government, &c., in History and daily life.	
16—17	Trigonometry.	Evolution and Involution.	Trigonometry.	Physical Geography and Geology.			Elements of Agriculture, Commerce, Manufactures, as related to Political Economy. Political Economy.	or counter point.	Elements of Logic. Continue French and begin German.	Story on the Constitution.	Elements of Intellectual Philosophy.	Elements of criticism of art, poetry, and eloquence.	Elements of Moral Philosophy.	in Nature. Natural Theology and	Natural Theology and	
17—18	Descriptive Geometry.		Higher Algebra.	Higher Mechanics, Optics, Acoustics, and Astronomy.	Higher course of the same.	Botany, Physiology, Zoölogy, and Anatomy.										
18—19	Conceptions of higher Curves.	Finite differences and theory of numbers.	Analytic Geometry. Differential Calculus and Integral. Hints on Higher Calculus.						Continue a more thorough study of the five languages above, especially Greek. Take up Logic, Rhetoric, Writing, Speaking, &c.	Fuller course on Constitutional Law and on History, especially of the nations mentioned above, and on the laws of nations.	Complete and thorough course, including a review of the history of Speculation.	Highest criticism of art, poetry, and eloquence.	Moral Philosophy and religious discipline.	Scriptural views of the Divine Attributes, and Dogmatic Theology.	Scriptural views of the Divine Government, and Dogmatic Theology.	College.
19—20																
20—21																
21—22																

We of course would attempt, by this table, merely a first sketch of a plan of general study, in which there is no room for detail, and on which a great deal of careful thought must be bestowed before the proportion and arrangement of parts would be practically applicable to actual use. We have introduced it, not for the sake of giving details, but to illustrate more clearly the general principles of that plan of education, which we think is in use in Nature, and is thus given to us to learn, to understand, and to adopt. It will be observed that in each column severe study begins later than in the preceding column, and that the same is true when we take the wider columns, which are separated by double rules. The table also shows how varied and extensive are the studies which we consider necessary for a pupil at every stage of his education. From ten to fifteen different objects are always claiming his attention and taxing his powers. We have willingly brought this point forward prominently, because upon it is founded the only strong objection which we have heard advanced against our views of education, during the ten or twelve years since we first began publicly to present them.

It is said that our course of study is so extended that we should be able to give the pupil only a smattering of each; that the powers of the child would be very imperfectly developed in any one direction; and that we should end in making him a superficial "jack at all trades, master at none." In reply to the proverb, we would retort with the saying of the Stoics, "The wise man is a king and a cobbler." In reply to the charge of encouraging superficiality, we shall be obliged to explain somewhat more at length.

According to the scheme which we have given, it will be seen that, by the age of sixteen, when children usually leave the common school, we propose to give them not only the usual proficiency in Reading and Spelling, Arithmetic, Geography, and Grammar, but also to give them a knowledge of geometry, of the use of logarithms, of the elements of algebra, of the elements of mechanics, optics, &c., of the elements of chemistry, of the plants and animals of their native town, of drawing and singing, of history and of languages. Now, we confess that the attempt to introduce these studies, or half of them, as usually taught, into the common schools, in which the other studies are taught in the usual way, would only result in giving the children a confused and useless smattering of everything, a correct training in nothing. In order to make any valuable improvement in common school education, we must begin at the beginning, and lead the scholars upward by the path of nature. The labor of learning to read must be dispensed with, and by means of phonotype the task of learning to read be

reduced to the pleasant sport of a few months. The stultifying process of learning to spell must, if retained at all, be made a diversion by rendering phonetic print so familiar that the ordinary spelling will be remembered for its comicality. The intense labor of arithmetic must be postponed until the child has learned all the principal facts of number, from playing with beans, and the labor will no longer be intense. Geometry must be introduced by blocks and tangrams, and addressed to the imagination before it appeals to the reason. Botany and zoölogy must be begun in the earliest years by pointing out the weeds and insects, and showing the interesting points in each creature. By thus beginning aright the child will find the subsequent path easy. But the child who has already attained the age of fourteen without any knowledge of nature, or geometry, without any training of the senses to exact observation or of the imagination to precise conception, must not expect to find his path easy.

The mode of teaching each study must also be adapted to the design of the whole course. Each study must be begun by presenting its facts to the senses or the imagination, and the order of presentation be determined by the importance and obviousness of the facts. Then the principles of the science must be presented. But the distinguishing mark of teaching on this mode must be its thoroughness and exactness. Let the fact be apprehended with precision. This is the most important aim, lying at the foundation of all education; — teach to *observe accurately*, and to repeat the observation until the precise fact is fixed in the memory. The observation should, if possible, include all the sensible qualities. The second great aim is to produce, in imagination, vivid and definite images of things defined or described in words. The third great aim is to unfold principles in such way as to make them facts to the pupil. When a child observes accurately the principal facts of a science, and remembers them; conceives clearly its hypotheses; and understands thoroughly its leading or fundamental principles; that child has not learned that science superficially. It has taken him but a few months to gain this knowledge, — and the amount of it is small; but the question of superficiality or thoroughness is not a question of quantity, but of quality. Inaccurate observation, imperfect conception, erroneous view of principles, these are the proofs of a superficial knowledge. But the accurate observer, clearly apprehending and understanding what he sees, is thorough as far as he has gone, even from the beginning. And if a proper selection of facts, hypotheses, and principles, be made when beginning a course of instruction, in any study, it requires but a moderate time to impart a valuable general acquaintance with any science;

not a vague recollection of a multitudinous array of particular facts, but a definite conception of the scope and spirit of the science. Ordinary text-books cannot, in general, be depended upon to give such views. They are not prepared with reference to a broad scheme of education, and they comprise in themselves material for the instruction of older as well as younger scholars. Even those text-books which are arranged in series err by making the whole series too diffuse, and lacking in clearness. Of all the multitudinous text-books which, in a long service on a school-committee, we have examined, we have only seen four or five that were of the highest order of excellence; and even of those some of the best are misused, — put in a high school when they belong in a primary, or in a primary when they belong in a high school. The book for the primary school should present facts and rules judiciously selected and carefully expressed, — the book for the high school should present principles; selecting the broadest, most comprehensive principles, and putting them if possible into a form in which they will be directly applicable to use. The highest use, however, of all learning is to fill the pupil with a deeper sense of the power, wisdom, and love of God, to lead him to a more perfect consecration to the service of God; — and what is commonly called practical is only valuable when used in that service. The five great branches of the hierarchy lead to theology, and theology to religion. The will is the highest faculty, and its highest function is to control the spirit to the service of the Highest, to the pursuit of the beautiful, the good, and the true; finding the highest beauty in virtue, the highest goodness in consecration to the service of God's creatures, the highest truth in the knowledge of Him and of our relations to Him.

But to return to superficiality, to which our scheme of education may lead those who but partially adopt it, we say that accuracy in laying the foundations, accuracy in apprehending the principal facts, accuracy in comprehending fundamental principles, is the true measure of thoroughness, and the true preparation for forming an extensive acquaintance with special facts and subordinate principles. Without this thoroughness of foundation the so-called thorough acquaintance of the specialist is of very little value; it amounts only to intellectual lumber. The child's powers are to be developed in due proportion, and he is to be furnished with the most useful knowledge that he can obtain at his age. Neither of these ends is obtained in our ordinary schooling, in which Spelling and Arithmetic, and Statistical Geography occupy the child for four or five years, and he nevertheless leaves school without ever having been led to observe the relation be-

tween *p*, *b*, *f*, *v*, *w*, or to note whether *wh* or *hw* comes nearer to the initial sound of such a word as *when;* he leaves school without knowing that every number is either prime or the product of certain primes; without knowing how many great coast lines are arcs of great circles tangent to the polar circles, or having a clear idea what physical fact in nature is represented by those polar circles.

Our remarks have thus far had almost exclusive reference to simply intellectual education. Let it not be supposed that we ignore other branches of instruction. A child is a spirit, whose will manifests itself through a body under the guidance of reason, and at the impulse of passion. Here are, then, four kinds of education which he needs, — an education of the body, an education of the heart, an education of the intellect, and an education of the will. These four departments of culture must proceed together harmoniously, and will do so easily according to our scheme of intellectual education. The body must be cared for, by giving the child abundance of out-door cheerful exercise. At home the parents must also provide suitable food and clothing. The special organs subservient to the mind should receive also the teacher's care. The susceptibility of the senses to external impressions differs by nature, but the differences of this susceptibility are usually marked by the still greater differences produced by culture, in the ability to interpret those impressions. Careless observers of the blind have reported them as having marvellous sensitiveness in the organs of touch and of hearing; but the marvellousness is not in their sensitiveness, but in the accuracy of judgment, acquired by habit, concerning the bearing of faint impression through those senses. The accuracy of our judgment upon sensations may always be improved by a culture similar to that imposed by nature upon those deprived of part of their organs of sensation.

The present paper has been chiefly occupied with a sketch of the true order of studies in intellectual education. The three other parts of a child's training are equally important, and each opens a wide field of investigation and discussion.

Physical education must give the child, as far as hereditary weakness of constitution, or unavoidable accidents of position, allow, a healthy, vigorous, strong body, with quick and accurate senses.

Intellectual education must develop the child's power of thought and give him a clear understanding (as far as it is permitted to our capacity), of his relation to the world, and to his Maker. This education is to be conducted with reference to the order of succession in the great hierarchy of Science, as we have explained at length in the present article.

Moral culture must develop in the child, as far as native gifts will allow, pure tastes, a cheerful and affectionate temper, a loving, confiding heart, a tender conscience. This culture is, in general, to be effected not only by precept but by example, and by treatment; — showing to the child the temper you expect from it in return, and leading it at least to do those things which a good heart would prompt a wise and good man to do.

Religious culture is the development of the will. It begins, therefore, so soon as the child is taught to apply itself either to study or to work. The necessity for labor is the first serious demand upon the will, and develops that power which most nobly manifests itself when the young man, on arriving at mature life, devotes himself with unwavering earnestness to serving God and God's children in that mode in which he judges he can serve them most effectually; forgetting all purely selfish aims, and counting not even his life dear to him if he can finish the work which has been given him to do.

We propose to continue, in future numbers of this Journal, the discussion of these views of education, taking up the five branches of the hierarchy in succession, and showing in what manner the general principles which we have now announced should influence the practical work of the teacher and of the parent, especially in the earlier years of the child's life. We are fully aware that in so large an undertaking there is room for error of opinion; but of the correctness of the first division of the hierarchy into five branches we have no doubt; nor of the propriety of cultivating observation before imagination, and imagination before reasoning. Still less can we doubt that the primary need among educators is the need of firmly-established and wide-reaching principles, such as those which we have here attempted to attain. If any man thinks that we have failed, let him join with us in hoping that we may, at least, stimulate some reader to more successful efforts.

X. JOHANN GOTTFRIED HERDER.

[Translated from the German of Karl von Raumer, for this Journal.]

JOHANN GOTTFRIED VON HERDER* was born, August 25, 1744, in Mohrungen, a small town of East Prussia, where his father filled the offices of sexton and cantor. He was a conscientious and simple man, and his wife a pious and intelligent woman; and they lived, with their children,† a quiet and christian life, after the good old-fashioned way.

Herder received his school instruction from Grimm, the strict rector of the public school of Mohrungen; a man for whom he always entertained a great respect; and a pious minister confirmed him.

In 1760, Trescho, the deacon of Mohrungen, took Herder, then sixteen years old, into his house, but did not treat him in a friendly manner, keeping him very much shut up. One day, when Trescho had sent Herder to the bookseller, Kanter, in Königsberg, in charge of a manuscript, the youth left with it a poem by himself, "To Cyrus," without his name. Kanter had the poem printed with the other manuscript; this was in 1762, when Herder was seventeen and a half years old.

The surgeon of a Russian regiment, in winter-quarters at Mohrungen, became acquainted with Herder, became quite fond of him, and took him with him to Königsberg, to study surgery. But at the first dissection which he witnessed, he fainted away. This decided him to give up surgery, and on August 9th, 1762, he was matriculated as a theological student, after an examination which he passed with great credit.

He now studied, under Kant, logic, metaphysics, ethics, and mathematical and physical geography. At the same time he became acquainted with Hamann. They first met at the confessional, and afterward read Shakspeare together.

Herder's pecuniary condition was at this time very pinching; but it was improved in 1763, when, in his nineteenth year, he obtained a situation as teacher in the Frederic's College, which he filled with great conscientiousness. "I have to thank this teaching," he said after-

---

* This sketch is mostly from the "*Recollections of the Life of J. G. von Herder*," by his widow; which constitute, in Cotta's edition of Herder's Works, the 21st, 22d, and 23d parts in the division "Philosophy and History."

† Of two sons and three daughters, one son and one daughter died in their third year.

ward, "for the development of many ideas and their clear definition. Let any one, who desires to work out any study thoroughly, teach it."

In 1764, principally by Hamann's influence, Herder became assistant at the Cathedral School, in Riga. In a letter to Lindner, rector of the school, Hamann says of the young man, only twenty years of age, that he has "a respectable quantity of historical, philosophical and æsthetic knowledge, and a great desire to cultivate the most promising field possible; and with a more than moderate experience in school management."

Three years afterward, in 1767, Herder received, in addition to his place in the school, an appointment as preacher. His teaching, in Riga as in Königsberg, was exceedingly approved of. "His method of instruction," writes pastor Bergmann, one of his pupils, "was so excellent, and his intercourse with his scholars so pleasant, that they attended no lesson with more pleasure than those which were given by him."

In Riga he published, in 1767, his first work of importance, his "*Fragments of German Literature*," and, in 1768 and 1769, his "*Critical Forests*." In the Fragments, among other things, are some very correct and profound views on the undervaluation of the mother tongue, and the overvaluation of the Latin, which then gave tone and color to the schools. He also strives against the prevailing apish imitation in Latin style. Thought and expression, he says, must go together; it is so in the native language; and it is only in that that a man can write with originality. These works drew upon him especially from Klotz, who has been immortalized by Lessing, the most violent attacks and insults, which annoyed him so much,* that in the year 1769, he asked a dismission from his place, and took a journey to France with a friend. The purpose of this journey was "an acquaintance with the best institutions of education and learning in France, Holland, England, and Germany, and, at his return to Riga the erection of an educational institution."†

On the voyage from Riga to Nantes, and in France, Herder kept a very interesting diary,‡ in which all the elements of his subsequent university may be seen fermenting together with youthful wildness "All his various characteristics were heaving together in Titanic hope."§

* Hamann sharply reproved Herder for his "autorial susceptibility."

† Philos. and Hist. works, 20, 107.

‡ This diary is in Cotta's edition of Herder's Works; not entire, however. but "with the omission of some portions whose ideas are more fully presented in other parts of his works."(!) It is, however, given in full in "*Picture of von Herder's Life*," (v. *Herder's Lebensbild.*)

§ Gervinus. "*Later History of National Poetic Literature*," 1, 468, 485. Gervinus also says "Except Göthe's "*Juvenile Letters*," we have nothing which expresses, so well as this diary, the Titanomachy of this period, its Promethean attack upon heaven."

In this diary he refers to a book which he thought of publishing, "for human and Christian training." "It would begin," he says, "with the knowledge of self; of the wise cultivation of body and soul; would explain the design and indispensableness of each member to body and soul, and the manifoldness which exists among them; and would then give rules and directions for all the development of body and soul, of which they are capable. To this point, Rousseau is a great teacher. But there follows a second part, relative to society; where Rousseau is quite unable to teach." He then goes on to set forth the contents of his intended work, and mentions the various topics of Christianity which it was to discuss.

In the course of the diary, he mentions his pedagogical ideal. He proposes to "change Rousseau's human savage, Emile, into a national Livonian child." "O, ye Locke and Rousseau!" he cries out, "and Clarke, and Franckè, and Hecker, and Ehler, and Büsching! I desire to rival you; I will read you, examine you, nationalize you."

After this, Herder gives the complete plan of a school; from which it appears how powerful an influence Rousseau exercised upon him. Thus, he opposes the tyranny of the Latin; and, on the other hand, most strenuously advocates real studies. "My method," he says, "makes practical minds, because it teaches words; or rather, inversely, it teaches things." "No school is good, where nothing is learned but Latin. I have tried to drive it away, by opening three completely independent real classes, in which the pupils study for humanity, and for their whole life." "There will be an everlasting contest between the Latin and the real schools. The latter will always teach too little Latin for an Ernesti, and the former too little knowledge of facts for the rest of the world."

Grammar, on this plan, should be taught, not in the Latin, but in the native language.

"Grammar," he says elsewhere, "must be learned from the language, and not the language from the grammar; style from speaking, and not speaking from an artificially formed style."

"After the mother tongue," again, "the French should follow, as it is the most universal and indispensable in Europe, and, according to our modes of thought, the most finished, and the most complete in beauty of style and tasteful expression. * * * It is the easiest and most uniform, by means of which to obtain a foretaste of philosophical grammar; the most orderly for matters of arithmetic, the understanding, and argument. Our state of society, also, requires that it should come immediately after our own language, before any other, even before Latin. I would even rather have men of learning know French than Latin."

These extracts show how thoroughly realistic were Herder's views at that time, even in respect to languages. He expressed them in a condensed form as follows:—"It should be a principal aim to give the boy living ideas of every thing which he sees, says, or enjoys; in order to give him a tangible place in a world of his own. * * * He will never wish to have been born in another world, as his head will not have been disordered by any other, and his first horizon would be his own." And he suddenly exclaims, "Oh, if I had myself ever taught through such a course, and still more, had I myself studied through it, and done so in the beginning, and had been educated in that manner! But as it is, nothing is left for me but a second education. I will study French, to learn to appreciate their Buffons and Nollets; and, above all, to investigate art, and nature, and human progress, and to become fully acquainted with them, . . . and to learn to know the real sources of books, so that when I possess them I may train myself according to them."

The genial young man of five and twenty, had all at once become aware of his condition of half learning. Trained up among books, the world of books appeared to him one of antitypes, and he was resolved to seek the original types answering to them,—and to seek them in France! In this state of reaction he overvalued what he lacked, and much undervalued what he possessed. But however strong was the French influence upon Herder at this time, it operated rather upon the exterior than upon the center of his mind. Untouched by the shallow deism of France, he recommended, most earnestly, in his school plan, Luther's Catechism. "This," he says, "must be thoroughly learned by heart, and be remembered ever after."

If this French influence had penetrated Herder deeply, his eyes would not so soon have been opened to the French and their language, as the sequel of his diary and his letters show that they were. He writes to Hamann, "I am yet at Nantes, where I live in a small but familiar circle, and am making myself acquainted with the French language, manners, and modes of thinking. I do not learn to like them, however; for the nearer I see them, the less I like them." And in a letter from Paris he says, "France can not completely satisfy; and I am heartily weary of it."

Rousseau himself must have appeared to him in an entirely different light, after his more complete acquaintance with the French.* "With Rousseau," he says, in his diary, "one must use every where

* He says: "One can not understand any French writer unless he understands the French nation."

paradoxes which corrupt and deceive him; which make old things appear new to him, little great, true false, and false true. No plain statement will suffice for him; all must be new, striking, wonderful. Thus what is beautiful is carried too far; truths are made too universal, and thus to cease being true. His sophistries must be detected; and we have to force ourselves back into our own world. But who can do this? Can every ordinary reader? Would not the labor be often greater than the gain to be made by it? And is not Rousseau thus unpractical, or harmful, by reason of this intellectual quality, in spite of his greatness?" And in another place he says,* "Voltaire is vain and impudent about himself, Rousseau proud and haughty; but both of them sought nothing so much as to distinguish themselves. The former always assumed that he had done it, and in controversy depended entirely on wit; the latter, upon intolerable and unheard of novelties and paradoxes. However strongly Rousseau may contend against the philosophers, it is still evident that he is not at all concerned for the justness, goodness, reason, or usefulness of his views, but for what is vast, extraordinary, new, or striking. Wherever he can, he is a sophist and a mere advocate; and, indeed, here is the reason that the French have so few philosophers, politicists, or historians; because these three classes of writers must deal with the truth only. But what is there which would not give Voltaire occasion for an attack, or Rousseau for a novelty?"

How cool and correct is this opinion of Herder, in his twenty-fifth year; and how soon had he recovered from his earlier overestimation of Rousseau! We shall be still more convinced of this when we see how efficiently he combated the evils of the Gallomania, and the extreme views of the Philanthropinists.

Tired of France, he left Paris in the beginning of 1770, and went into Holland to Eutin, and thence, as tutor to one of the princes of Holstein, to Strasburg, where he became acquainted with Göthe, five years his junior. Here he was appointed a consistorial councilor at Bückeburg, where he resided from 1771 to 1776. Having, while here, read Rousseau's "*Emile*" again, in 1771, he remarks upon it: "We must not praise it, but imitate it." Still, he expresses himself, five years later, in an extract, given in our sketch of Hamann, of a letter to the latter, entirely displeased with Basedow's Philanthropinum, which was modeled entirely after Rousseau. He afterward expressed deliberate and profound views of the same kind, in several

* What we have said indicates that Herder first wrote these opinions of Rousseau in France. He reached Nantes, July 5th, 1769; and in the following October he wrote to Hartknoch, that he had yet some writing to do in his diary, "with which I have," he adds, "been in arrears all the time on shipboard, and am so still."

addresses on educational subjects, with relation to the much praised new educational methods of the day; and contends against the "shallow and easy methods *in usum Delphinorum* of the present age." And he says, "He who pretends that there is light, or intelligibility, where there is none, is a juggler, and not a teacher." And he contends against those who advocate "a Leibnitzian and Newtonian philosophy for children," and who pretend that languages can be learned "without memory, pains, or grammar."

In another address, he remarks that "instead of the good old word 'school,' a fashion has been introduced of using new and more showy terms, such as 'Educational Institution,' and 'Philanthropinum;' and that much is said and much praise is heard of 'genius,' 'original genius,' which does every thing for itself, and has no need of any other instructor; and of wonderful self-development by one's own powers." "Such empty commendations of innate natural powers" have become in the highest degree harmful to youth; and "nature, so called," has been operative to the destruction of regulated, strict, and well-considered art." If the older schools were correct in principle, he says, "No one who knows what is a well-founded public temple of science, and what is good education, would become an advocate of one of these shrines of Diana, with which men do so many idolatries under green trees, with the fashionable methods of the day. Many of these playthings have already fully displayed their emptiness."

It is pleasant to see how the overflowing genius of the youth developed into the prudence of the man. This is shown in respect to the excessive praise of the French, which we have already mentioned; and with which no German reader, and no one who understands French and its relations with other languages, especially Latin, can fail to be displeased.

This displeasure will, however, be fully appeased upon reading, in Herder's "*Letters for the Advancement of Humanity*," written about a quarter of a century after the "*School Plan*,"* his remarkable attack upon the "Gallomania, or imitation of the French." In this he says:—

"This has inflicted upon us a much deeper wound.

"Since language is the organ of our mental faculties, and the chief means of our training and education, we can not be well taught

*The "*School Plan*" appeared in 1769; the "*Letters*" between 1793 and 1797. Herder's later satisfaction (1801,) at the spread and improvement of the French language, by means of the French Academy, and at its influence upon the other European languages, German especially, seems to have originated in his dislike to the "obscure German metaphysics, which scarcely understood itself," and to the "confused ideas and tangled periods" of its style. Gervinus compares this praise with Göthe's compliments to Voltaire's purity of style.

otherwise than in our native language. What is called a French education (a term actually in use,) in Germany, must of necessity pervert and injure German manners. This truth seems to me as clear as the sun at noon.

"By whom and for whom was French constructed? By Frenchmen, and for them. It expresses ideas and relations which occur in their world; in the course of their life; and expresses them as they are presented to the speakers by their local circumstances at the moment, and by their mental peculiarities at the moment. Without this area, the words must be half understood, or not at all, ill applied, or, where the subjects are wanting, altogether inapplicable, and thus uselessly learned. Since fashion rules in no language as despotically as in French; since no other language is so entirely a reflection of variableness, and of a changeable succession of shades of manners, significations, and relations; since no other language equals it in expressing delicate gradations of meaning, and in plays upon a color-piano of brilliant meteors and refractions of light; with these qualities, what can it be for the education of Germans, in their peculiar circumstances? Nothing,—or a will-o'-the-wisp. It leaves the mind empty of ideas, or gives it, in place of the truths and actualities of our own country, false expressions, erroneous terms, unnatural representations, and affectedness. Wrenched out of its proper place, such results must of necessity follow, if it were a language of angels. Neither is it going too far to say that, in those classes of our own nation, where it has been the vehicle of education, and still more where it has constituted the whole of education, it has distorted the understanding, laid waste hearts, and,—worst of all,—left the mind emptied of such qualities as are most essential to the enjoyment of pleasure in our race, in our circumstances, in our calling; and are these not the sweetest of pleasures?

"And yet, the whole value of a man, his usefulness in society, his happiness as a man and a citizen, depend upon this; that he understand thoroughly and clearly, and from his youth up, the world in which he lives, his employments and relations, and their means and purposes; that on these subjects he gain secure possession of ideas, sound in the strictest sense, and sincere and cheerful views; and that he train himself in them, unperverted, immovably, without any unnatural or false ideal in his mind, and without any squinting toward foreign manners and relations. One who has not attained to this, will find his ways of thinking distorted, and his heart uninterested in the situation in which he is placed; or, as it might better be represented, his heart will have been stolen from him in his youth, for his whole life, by a courtezan.

"What can be more valuable than a real world of real hearts and minds,—than a condition in which we know our own thoughts and feelings in their truest form, and express them to others in the truest and most natural way; in which others communicate to us in return their own thoughts and feelings; in short, where every bird sings as nature taught it to sing? If this light is extinguished, this flame quenched, this primeval bond between souls broken or weakened, then, instead of all this, nothing would be to be heard, but mere memorized, foreign, poverty-stricken phrases. What misery is that of everlasting superficiality and falsehood, and heart and soul dried up, hard and cold!"

In 1776, Herder left Bückeburg, having, by Göthe's influence, been appointed councilor of the high consistory at Weimar, where, twenty-five years later, he became president of that body.

Next to the duties of his ecclesiastical office, the improvement of the schools lay nearest his heart. In 1783, he drew up a new plan for the schools, and secured an increase of wages for the teachers. A teachers' seminary was founded, by his influence, in 1787. In the lower schools he endeavored to introduce the best and practical parts of the Pestalozzian method of instruction. He gave the clergy "the privilege of a thorough oversight of the country schools."

Herder refused to have his plan for the schools printed; "as," he said, "most such undertakings, if begun publicly, end miserably. For, in this matter, every thing depends upon practice, upon vigorous methods, and experiment. A faulty plan may be drawn up in half an hour; but it becomes a fetter in which a succeeding century walks lame."

His idea was, that "the lower classes of real schools should train useful citizens, and that the upper ones should form a scientific gymnasium for those intending to study."

He offered to give his assistance in establishing his scheme of organization; saying, "In my nineteenth year I began teaching in the highest class of an academical institution, and from that time to this I have never been free from the responsibilities of a teacher, or else of a school officer. Foreign countries, even Catholic ones, have consulted me in relation to their school organizations; and, without departing from the greatest modesty, I believe myself entitled to assert that I understand the subject."

Herder manifested, in every way, knowledge of schools, and skill in their management. In particular, he possessed, when of mature years, both the greatest respect for established institutions of value, and the readiest recognition of valuable novelties. He was consistent

in upholding the former, and in opposing raw and presumptuous reformers; but his conservatism did not make him blind to such improvements of value as now and then came up.

In a man of Herder's poetical and simple character, these sound and moderate views on education are truly wonderful. They are clearly expressed, among other places, in his plan for the teachers' seminary above mentioned. In this he says, "It is the single purpose of a teachers' seminary, to furnish to such young persons as devote themselves to educational pursuits, by instruction and proper practice, in whatever is necessary or truly useful for their future vocation, without ostentation, or any of the pedagogical fantasies of the day; for the greatest skill as a teacher is to be acquired only by method and practice."

Herder was also interested in favor of a theological seminary. In respect to it, he considered that "the first seeds of such institutions must be sowed in silence; for that, as old records show, what is begun with a great noise, commonly comes to an end very quietly." The same wise humility appears again here; which knows that the blessing comes from above, but that presumption is fatal to grace.

In his opinion respecting a theological seminary, he says: "What the clinic does for physicians, and the *formularium practicum* for jurists, must be done for theologians by a seminary for those intending to be clergymen; an institution, for the establishment of which our universities seem, under present circumstances, to be, for many reasons, unfit. Learned and experienced clergymen only are the proper men to do it."

He advised young clergymen, as Luther had done, to endeavor to obtain practice in teaching, especially public teaching. "I consider it," he said, "as a piece of good fortune, that in my youth I was under the necessity of teaching. I know that what I learned by it I could with difficulty have obtained, if at all, even by eternal reading and hearing. Ministers who have been good school teachers, if they have not remained in the business too long, are very soon distinguishable for orderliness, science, and real practical knowledge."

He wrote also a very instructive "*Plan for the employment of three academical years, for a young theologian.*" In this, he advised such a young man not to enter the university too early; and recommends him to study geography and natural history. "The knowledge of our place of abode," he says, "of its creatures and formation, is indispensable to him whom God intends to preach." He advises students to practice taking notes during their studies; as being a means of "better distinguishing and digesting their thoughts." He warns

them against being hypercritical in reading the Bible. "The New Testament," he says, "should be read in a religious, simple, and plain meaning, as the Apostles wrote it, and the first Christians read it."

"The students ought not to pursue refinements too far in their studies; should read rather good books than bad ones; and should not attempt to explain every thing, to the last iota; but should rest contented with the general internal consistency, purity, power, and beauty of the word of God in itself."

This plan of study for a young theologian is annexed to the "*Letters to Theophron*," which are addressed to a young man who has completed his academical studies in theology. The author praises Theophron's affection for his teachers, and his freedom from foolish pride and silly arrogance. He, however, proceeds to find fault with him, "because his mode of reading the Bible is perverted and profane; because he can not drop the critical spirit; and the word of God becomes, under his critical process, like a squeezed lemon." And he adds: "Obtain for yourself a heart inclined to overcome all obliquities of judgment, to level hill and valley, and again to attain to that right-mindedness which was a happiness of your youth, and without which we can never be happy."

Herder's "*Report upon the education of young clergymen at the university*,"* is of great value in relation to theological studies. The occasion which called out this report was a most lamentable one. Numbers of young theologians, at the close of their academical term, were found utterly unfit for the ministry. The question was asked, whether it was not going to be necessary to educate those preparing for the ministry, in schools set apart for them. Herder opposed this plan, and, together with a full exposition of the existing evil, advised how it could be remedied, without laying aside the received course of study.

He begins by seeking the source of the difficulty, not in the department of theology, but in that of philosophy; which is especially to blame for perverting the minds of the students beforehand, and thus unfitting them for their subsequent theological studies. This is the worse, as "the young people come too young and immature to the university;" immature in understanding, judgment, and character, and thus given over to every intellectual and moral temptation. Herder's principal remedy is, to lengthen the school course one year, and to establish a "select class" in each gymnasium, "in which the youths may learn to conduct themselves as academical students."

* Drawn up from the only two, unfortunately, which remain, of the reports on similar subjects, which the author wrote during the last six years of his life.

"In this way the prolongation of their stay in the school would not become a hardship to them, and their entrance into the university will not turn their heads." On this plan, academical lectures would be avoided on subjects which can be thoroughly learned only in schools; as these would be attended to in this select class.

In conclusion, we will glance at the excellent addresses which Herder delivered while *Ephorus* of the Weimar Gymnasium, mostly at examinations.

In two of these, he advocates strict order and discipline in schools, though the period was one of the greatest laxity of morals. If such discipline is wanting, if the teacher is not entirely master in his class, and possessed of entire control of his scholars, his occupation becomes an infernal torture, such as that of Sisyphus and the Danaides. But, on the other hand, the teacher should not forget the rule, *Maxima reverentia puero debetur*. In a third address, he discusses methods of study; and adds, that in some departments (*e. g.*, in natural history,) these methods have been improved as the studies have advanced. He then proceeds to oppose the feeble and enfeebling newly-discovered methods for easing study.

One address is upon written school exercises. Among others, he earnestly recommends translations from the classics, as accurate as possible without unpleasant closeness; and assiduous reading, in which the pupil must be assisted by the teacher. "Very eminent men," he says, "have educated themselves without a teacher, but it would be unfortunate for any one to undertake to gain all his acquirements without a teacher; and the consequence would often be that he would be distinguished only for mental deformity." "A good school is a community of bees, who fly about and gather honey; an indolent one, a collection of beasts of burden, who go just where they are driven, and do not, all their lives, take possession even of what is laid upon them."

In the address on schools as physical gymnasia, he discusses the development of innate faculties by practice. As included in this, he mentions exercises in bodily accomplishments and susceptibilities. All such exercises, he says, must be steadily followed, and interchanged with each other; and a noble emulation, the "good Eris" of Hesiod, must preside over them. In regard to such exercises, the schools are far better situated than the universities, which undervalue all exercise.

Two addresses consider what place the fine arts should occupy in the schools. "Woe to a time," says Herder, "which calls that beautiful which is easy; and that agreeable which is attained with facility."

The ancients knew nothing of the "fine" arts, as opposed to the profound or the useful.

The Latin terms "*literæ humaniores*," "*studia humanitatis*," happily expressed the correct idea of the fine arts. To the ancients the term "beautiful" was "an actual part of a clear, accurate, intelligible, expressive proposition; not a mere verbal finery." "All sciences lose their best part when the beautiful,—that is, that quality by which they develop humanity,—is taken away from them; and that this is a quality which each of them, after its kind, can have and should have, that no science should be barbarian or inhuman, that even the most abstract pursuits have their attraction, their beauty,"—these are propositions which follow of themselves.

"On the use of schools." This is directed against pseudo-philanthropic reformers who contemn all tradition, which, meanwhile, is handed down to us principally by means of the schools. "The whole human race is certainly one school, continued on through all centuries; and a new-born child, suddenly removed from this school, broken out from this chain of instruction, and set upon a desert island, would be, with all his natural faculties, a miserable beast, even ten times more miserable than the beasts."

"The spirit of our age tends more to destroy than to build. To fell a tree costs only a few strokes; but to make it grow up, requires years, or centuries."

Herder then turns to ignorant teachers. "It is an established fact, that an ignorant or visionary man can teach nothing correctly; that one who desires to teach, must himself have learned; that is, must have acquired clear and correct ideas, and a lucid, easy, and practicable method. This is the reason why all half-learned men are so strenuous against true modes of instruction. I believe we should all agree that the arguments of such persons would be very suspicious. * * * The older we grow, or at least the more mature our judgment becomes, the better does he see that no measures should be kept with such geniuses, with their peculiar enthusiasms, with their eloquence upon subjects of which they are ignorant, with their activity in occupations which they do not understand; and, for my part, I experience a horror when I hear, read, or see the preaching, or orations, or operations of these geniuses. What we learn it is, that we understand."*

Every thing which Herder says here seems perfectly clear of itself. And yet Jacotot, whose system has, at a later date, gained so much reputation, says that his "universal instruction appeals to no one who does not feel himself competent to teach his son what he does not

* In his obituary address upon Heinze, the late rector at Weimar, Herder praised him as "a master who would not teach at all what he only half understood."

himself understand. * * * He appeals to his own experience; since he taught Dutch and Russian without understanding them, and music, of which he never knew any thing."*

"School," says Herder further, "is a place in which we learn a science, a language, an art, or a trade, thoroughly and by rules; where we practice those rules, and make ourselves familiar with them; where our faults are explained to us from their bottom, and remedied in the easiest way possible. * * * Thus it appears of itself that a teacher must understand the subject which he teaches; and that accordingly I can learn it from him, and can do so much more easily than from myself, who know nothing of it." "It is certainly a recommendation of a man to say 'he is educated;' but a *rips-raps*, who has no training in any school, lacks steadiness and precision in his work."

The same address contains striking remarks upon the heuristic or inventive method, which had been pushed to the extremest caricature, especially by Jacotot. Herder ridicules the undertaking to find out, for one's self, sciences, rules, arts, which the mind is to bring out for us,—or which the wind is to blow to us." It is more than we are able to do, to learn the necessary studies in the slowest manner.

"*On the introduction of improvements in schools*, 1786." In this address he complains that the public take little interest in the schools, and regard them so little. He opposes the idea that, even in the gymnasium, reference should be had to the future social destiny of the scholar; and contends that a general mental development should rather be sought.

"*On the preference of public or private schools*, 1790." Herder makes no defense of the "pure good Latin schools." In practice, he was instrumental in removing the objection that the scholars were ranked everywhere by their standing in Latin, and that other studies were pursued merely as subordinate; for he was prominent in the introduction of the new arrangement, according to which the pupils received a name and rank from their proficiency in Latin, but were set higher or lower in each other section, according to their proficiency in that. Thus the scholars of a particular Latin class might have different places at different lessons.

Although, in some of his addresses, Herder appears as a firm partisan of established good measures, and as decidedly conservative, still, in that last quoted, he recommends, with equal earnestness, an innovation, that is the uniting of the class system and the classification by studies. Latin, as anciently established, is, it is true, to hold the first rank in the schools; but other studies are made to assume a rank and importance of their own; and are to appear to the scholars, no longer as unimportant adjuncts to the Latin, but as independent pursuits, requiring earnest study.

* Jacotot's "*Universal Instruction*," explained by Dr Hoffman, p. 22.

In several other addresses, as in his youth, Herder is an advocate of realism in the schools; of an enlightened realism however, not of one which can only stimulate pride. In an address, in 1798, "*On the progress of a school in the course of time*," he says that he would not comply with the demands of the times in what is extravagant, but so far as they are true and useful. He had learned, to full conviction, that the times very correctly required of scholars, training in understanding, speaking and writing their native language, in natural science, mathematics, and geography. His address "*On the agreeableness, usefulness, and necessity of Geography*," is full of love of the study. He says that "he pursued it with the extremest pleasure in the best years of his life, and taught it to others with as much pleasure." He considers geography, in connection with natural history, as the basis of general history. The fresh enthusiasm which characterizes this address is the same which appears in his "*Ideas upon the History of Humanity*," the first part of which was published in 1784, the year of the delivery of this address.

In a second address, "*On true progress in schools*," he expresses himself strongly against "old, empty, dry customs." "Every teacher," he says, "must have his own customs, must himself have fashioned them, and that intelligently, or he will accomplish nothing." This is most strongly opposed to the antiquated custom which prescribed that men must move only in the footsteps of their predecessors.

The address "*On the genius of a school*" is very able, and very characteristic of Herder. This genius is, in his view, "a personification of the purity and nobility of human nature;" a personification of humanity. A comparison is very interesting, of this address with another, entitled "*Schools as the laboratories of God's spirit, the Holy Ghost.*" What are the relations between the "genius of a school," and the Holy Ghost, and its operations?

I shall concluded here, referring the reader to Herder's works. It was not my design to give an exhaustive account of him, but only such an one as might instruct the teachers of our times; who, in their overestimate of the present day, may easily undervalue the profound, truthful, and fruitful views of preceding great men.

We have sketched Herder's life until he came to Weimar, in 1776. We have seen how deeply he was interested in schools, seminaries, and the education of ministers and teachers; and how he labored for them, in thought and in action. In this course of active exertion he persevered steadily and hopefully, although it often appeared as if his labor was vain, until his death, which took place December 18th, 1803, at the age of fifty-nine years four months.

XI. JOHN LOCKE.

[Translated for the American Journal of Education, from the German of Karl von Raumer.]

JOHN LOCKE was born in 1632, at Wrington, near Bristol. His father was a captain in the parliamentary army, during the civil wars. He brought up his son strictly during his early years, and in a more free and friendly manner, as he grew older.

Locke attended the Westminster school until 1651, when he entered Christ's College, Oxford. Here he found the Aristotelian philosophy, especially the empty disputations, repulsive to him. He however studied Des Cartes, and took great pleasure in learning medicine.

In 1664 he went as secretary of legation to Berlin, and in 1665 returned to Oxford, where he commenced those meteorological observations by which Boyle afterward profited.

In 1666 he became acquainted with Lord Shaftesbury, the instruction of whose son, then fifteen years old, he afterward conducted. This child was very sickly, but under the care of Locke recovered, afterward married and brought up seven children, the eldest of whom, a son, Locke also educated.

In 1672 Shaftesbury was lord chancellor, and Locke was appointed his secretary; both, however, lost their offices the next year. In 1682 Shaftesbury, forced by the Catholic party, left England, and sailed to Holland, whither Locke followed him in 1683. Here he became acquainted with Le Clerc and Limborch; to the latter of whom he wrote the epistle upon Toleration. He did not return to England until 1689, when he came in the ship in which William III. brought his wife. In 1690 he published his celebrated work upon the human understanding, and wrote against those who, under the cloak of Christianity, defended a Turkish despotism.

In 1693 appeared his "*Thoughts upon the Education of Children;*"* which soon passed into other editions, and was translated

* "*Some thoughts concerning education.*" In part third of "*The Works of Locke*, London, printed for John Churchill, 1714." There are many editions of them. There is in French, "*De l'education des enfans, traduit de l'Anglois de Locke* par Mr. Coste, Amsterdam, 1730." And in German, "*Handbuch der Erziehung aus dem Englischen des Locke, übersetzt von Rudolphi*, 1781." This is in the ninth part of Campe's "*Revision*." Salzmann, Campe, Gedike, Trapp, and others, have added remarks to this translation; and Coste has given additions here and there, and amongst them compared passages from Montaigne.

into French, Dutch, and German. The book soon acquired great reputation, and had much influence upon education.

Toward the end of his life, Locke took more and more interest in the study of the Holy Scriptures, and wrote commentaries on the epistles to the Romans, Corinthians, Galatians, and Ephesians, and also a work upon the reasonableness of the Christian religion.

He passed the last years of his life in the country, at Oates, twenty English miles from London. A few months before his death, he was enjoying a supper with two friends, when he declared "that he was in perfect charity with all men, and in a sincere communion with the church of Christ, by what name soever it might be distinguished." On the last evening of his life, he asked for the prayers of his friends in the house, and said that he had lived long and happily, but that in his whole life he could see only emptiness.

He died while listening to the reading of a psalm, Oct. 28th, 1704, in his seventy-third year.

LOCKE'S PEDAGOGY.

From what has been said of Locke's life, it can be judged what his views upon pedagogy would naturally be. As a physician employed to prevent a sick youth from dying, he would naturally pay special attention to the care of the health. As the occupant of several public stations, in relations with the most eminent statesmen, and the preceptor of a statesman's son, he would naturally value practical power in a system of education more than learning. Accordingly, he could not but recognize the principles of the higher nobility, in particular those of honor, and of what belong to an educated nobleman; and acquire their antipathy to learned pedantry. Locke, as he himself says in his conclusion, looked only to education at home, by a private tutor, of a rich and noble child; and, in the common school life of youth, he saw only vulgarity. But we will listen to himself.

In the introduction, he gives a brief general explanation of his views. "A sound mind in a sound body is a short but full description of a happy state in this world: he that has these two, has little more to wish for; and he that wants either of them, will be but little the better for any thing else. * * * He whose mind directs not wisely, will never take the right way; and he whose body is crazy and feeble, will never be able to advance in it. * * * Of all the men we meet with, nine parts of ten are what they are, good or evil, useful or not, by their education." Although the mind is the chief object of the teacher, he adds, yet the body must not be neglected; and he speaks first of the health of the body.

I shall not here raise the question whether man consists of body, mind, and spirit. Juvenal, from whom Locke quotes his *Mens sana, &c.*, says in another place:—

"Mundi
Principio indulsit communis conditor illis (beasts)
Tantum animas, nobis animum quoque."

In proportion as this triplicity is important to the teacher, as I shall hereafter show, in the same proportion is it in opposition to Locke's views.

1. ESTABLISHMENT AND PROMOTION OF THE HEALTH.*

Children of eminent persons should be brought up, in this respect, like the children of wealthy land-owners.

Children must not be too warmly clothed, not even in winter! day and night, in wind and weather, they must go bare-headed.

They should daily wash their feet in cold water, so as to make them as insensible to moisture as the hands are. Cold baths have wonderful effects, particularly upon weak persons.

All boys must learn to swim. The ancient Germans learned this of their own accord. If the Romans desired to speak ill of any one's education, they said, "*Nec literas didicit nec natare:*" "He understands neither learning nor swimming."

Boys should run about in the open air, at all times of the year.

Tight clothes are improper; and particularly stays for girls.

To small children no meat should be given, but milk. Food too salt, or spice, is not good for them. Between meal times (which should be as few as possible,) the children should be permitted to eat only dry bread. They may drink small beer, but no wine, or liquor. Melons, peaches, most kinds of plums, and grapes, are to be prohibited to children (!) but not strawberries, currants, gooseberries, apples, and pears.

Early retiring and rising is the rule, and eight hours' sleep. They should not be awaked by frightening them. They should sleep on a hard bed—a mattress, not a feather-bed.

They should go regularly to stool; the best time is after breakfast.

As little medicine as possible should be given to children, especially by way of preventive. And the physician should not be sent for upon every small occasion.

Care for the health of children, first touched upon by Montaigne, was first treated in a more general way by Locke. He recommends a similar mode of life—hardening and little medicine. Rousseau went further; and Basedow and his school carried the principle into actual life.

* Rudolphi's translation, Pages 9—82.

2. EDUCATION OF THE MIND.*

Men should keep the body strong that it may be able to serve the mind.

Self-denial, and self-control must be early learned.

Children's faults must not be overlooked, for they grow up into men's faults.† Animals are trained to good habits while young, and why not children?

But children are, on the other hand, actually instructed in evil. Strike me, it is said, or else I will strike you. Their love of dress is early awakened; they are filled with false excuses, and accustomed to daintiness; and thus, adults are the corruptors and enticers of youth.

The whims of children are not to be attended to; they must first be taught implicit obedience, and accustomed to freedom as they grow up, so that from obedient children they may become friends.

In this, Locke speaks very truly. Rousseau afterward went beyond him, in that he traces all the faults of children to temptation, or delay on the part of their elders; a necessary consequence of Pelagianism.

3. PUNISHMENT AND REWARD.‡

No whipping. What is beaten into boys excites their repugnance for that very reason, and whipping makes them cowardly and slavish. As little should they be tempted to goodness by allurements or dainties, or rewarded by money, dress, &c.

On the other hand, they should be influenced by praise, and blame. Esteem and disgrace are, of all others, the most powerful incentives to the mind, when once it is brought to relish them. If you can get into children a love of approbation, and an apprehension of shame and disgrace, you have put into them the true principles; which will constantly work, and incline them to the right. . . . This I look on as the great secret of education.

Children are sufficiently sensible to praise or blame, when their father praises them if they are good, and when his behavior toward them is cold and careless whenever they are guilty of faults. Right conduct should be connected with praise, and wrong with blame; children must learn how doing good will make them beloved by all, or how, in the opposite case, they will be despised and neglected. Thus the desire will grow up in them to gain the approbation of others, and to avoid that which will make them contemptible. This seeking after approbation must be made the motive of their conduct until, at a riper age, they shall be fitter to be governed by a knowledge of their own duty, and that inward content which attends upon obedience to the Creator.

What praise children deserve, they should receive in the presence of others. The reward is doubled when the praise is known. On the other hand, their faults should not be made known, for it makes them reckless.

Like so many others of the methodologists, Locke here declares himself against corporeal punishment, except in a few cases, as we shall see. He also forbids allurements to the senses; and, on the other hand, both here and elsewhere, he recommends the worst of allurements, that of ambition. Whoever, says Locke, knows how to awaken ambition in the child's soul, possesses the great secret of education. In this, he agrees entirely with his antipodes, the Jesuits. "In truth," says the Jesuits' plan of education, "he who knows how properly to awaken emulation, possesses the most valuable help in

* Pages 82—106.

† Compare Augustine, Conf., 1, 7. "It is the weakness of the limbs of infants, which is innocent; not their minds."

‡ Pages 106—149.

the profession of teaching, and that which is the only thorough means of instructing youth in the best manner." And when the boys have been allured to goodness by this most unchildlike and unchristlike of all motives, then, says the philosopher, they will in their riper years adopt better principles without further trouble! "Where there are no gods, phantoms reign."

4. PRECEPTS TO BE GIVEN TO THE CHILDREN.*

Not too many should be laid down, of such rules as the children are scarcely able to obey. For, if the teacher holds them to the observance of such, he will be too strict; and, if they are laxly observed, his authority will perish. He should rather endeavor, by repeated friendly reminding, to accustom them to that in which they can learn well; and thus he will avoid requiring too much at once, or what they are not able to comply with.

Affectation is when the outward conduct of children does not conform to their inward impulses; or when these impulses are expressed in unsuitable ways. A plain, rude, spontaneous nature is better than one shaped by affectation.

5. MANNERS OF CHILDREN.†

Children learn what are called manners, more by intercourse with well-mannered men than by precept. A dancing-master will cure many awkwardnesses. And while nothing is so fitted to give children a proper confidence, and good carriage, and to bring them into the company of their elders, as dancing, still I am of opinion that they should only learn to dance when their limbs are fit for it. For, though there is nothing more in its movements than outward grace, yet it awakens, I know not how, something of a man's ways of thinking, and a grave demeanor. Care must be taken not to find too much fault with the manners of young children; many things will come of themselves, as they grow up.

Above all things, parents should not give their children into the care of servants, but should keep them with themselves, as much as possible, yet without confining them.

In justice to Locke's dancing-master, it should be remarked that no crazy waltzes were danced in his time, but polite and grave minuets; and the instruction in dancing was a very torture for the feet; now it is different!

Locke often speaks with disapprobation of servants; yet mildly, in comparison with Rousseau, who calls them "the rabble of servants; the lowest of men—except their masters."

6. ADVANTAGES OF PRIVATE EDUCATION.‡

Instruction away from home makes boys confident, and fit for intercourse with others; and the consequent emulation has an effect upon their progress in learning. It, however, risks the innocence of the boys for a little Greek and Latin. And the confidence acquired away from home usually ends in roughness and impudence: it is better that the boy should remain a little shy and awkward, for this will speedily wear off when he goes into the world. Among the motley army of wild boys, such as are usually gathered together at schools, children of parents of all conditions, it is difficult to guess what the boy will gain with which the father will be pleased.

It is, therefore, better to employ a tutor at home, who will teach his pupil far better manners, and more manly ways of thinking; and a feeling for goodness and propriety, will carry him much faster forward in all kinds of knowledge, and will much sooner make him a ripe and established man, than is possible in the most extensive educational institution. Among so great a number of boys, it is impossible to bestow proper care upon each one. It is not the foolish tricks and

* Pages 149—161. † Pages 161—172. ‡ Pages 172—193.

deceits upon each other of school-boys, their rudeness to each other, their artful plans for robbing fruit orchards, which make an able and useful man; it is the virtues of uprightness, magnanimity, and moderation, together with observation and activity; noble attributes, which school-boys can not communicate to each other.

Home education under a tutor is the best means of teaching virtue; and that is the principal thing.

Boys should be as early as possible brought into the company of their elders; but the parents, especially, must not vex the boys. *Maxima debetur pueris reverentia.*

Locke idolizes home education, and caricatures school life. Nothing would be easier than to reverse these praises; to paint a good school, with a skillful rector, well-disposed scholars, loving each other and strengthening each other in every thing good; and, on the other hand, to describe an incompetent or even wicked tutor, in an epicurean and unchristian, though noble, family; a pupil exposed to corruption from his parents and his teacher, abandoned to the care of servants, &c.

7. PARDONABLE AND PUNISHABLE FAULTS OF CHILDREN.*

What the children are to do should not be laid before them as a task, for it then becomes a disgust to them. Even their play would be so, if they were forced to it. Children like as well to be free and independent as the proudest adults.

A liking should be cultivated in them for what they are to learn, and they should usually be kept to work only when they feel inclined to it. The child will learn three times as fast, if he feel like it; and, on the other hand, he will need twice as much time and pains, if he is indisposed to the work. He should be made, if possible, himself to ask the teacher to teach him something.

They must not, however, go idle; and must learn to control themselves so far as to give up some favorite pursuit, if necessary, for one less agreeable.

If it can be contrived that they will, themselves, perceive that what they see others do is a privilege of riper years, their ambition and desire to become equal with those whom they see to be beyond them will awaken their industry, and they will go to work with activity and pleasure—that which they are to do being their own wish. The consciousness of freedom, which they love, will be found no small stimulus to them. The hope of gaining a good reputation, and the approbation of others, will be found to have great influence over them.

It would be possible only under a private tutor, to attempt the plan of making the children study, only when they are so disposed. It is one of the prominent advantages of schools, that in them every thing goes by the stroke of the bell, and the boys quickly learn to conform themselves to strict regulations, independent of themselves. It is a disorder even of our times, that each one takes upon himself to demand his own freedom; and for himself to act in every thing according to his own views, wishes, or prejudices; and thus it happens that we have no more valuable public servants either in church or state. Impulse and conscience must work together in boys, or else, instead of them, the obscure, unloveable, and egotistical motive of ambition will act.

Children should not be punished in anger, nor insulted. Blows are of service only against obstinacy and refractoriness; and, even then, shame and disgrace

* Pages 193—212.

may be made to accomplish more than pain. Stripes are to break the will; and they must not be discontinued until this is done. And, even then, insignificant occasions should not be laid hold of; and patience should be used, except in case of malevolence.

Children must be reasoned with. This they understand, as soon as they have a general understanding of any thing; and they prefer, earlier than is thought, to be used like reasoning creatures. This is a pride which should be carefully cultivated, and made as influential an instrument as possible. It is evident of itself that they should be reasoned with, as far as their age will permit.

Blows should not be given immediately after their cause, and while there may remain some anger from it; and it would be better to administer them by the hand of some intelligent servant, so that the pain may come more from the hand of another; though at the command, and under the eyes, of the parents. Thus respect for them will be preserved, and the dislike which the pain awakens in the child will fall more upon the person by whom it is immediately occasioned. Whipping in schools, in the course of instruction in Latin and Greek, must be occasioned either by some thing unnatural and repulsive to the boys in those studies themselves, or by the method pursued in them.

After a child gets so bad that all the whipping does not benefit it, there remains nothing for its father to do, except to pray for it.

The tutor ought not to whip a child without the consent and advice of the father, until he shall have been well approved of.

Blows given in holy anger make, perhaps, a deeper and stronger impression upon a child than those given by an entirely calm and reasoning teacher. More passionate anger is, of course, to be avoided. A child should never be punished by one whom he does not love; as, by a servant. Locke's recommendation reminds us of the Jesuits, and of the custom of the Spartans, who made their Helots drunk, to teach their children abhorrence for drunkenness. These are eminently unchristlike.

We shall, hereafter, speak of reasoning with children.

8. THE REQUISITES OF A TUTOR.

The father should treat the tutor with respect, that the child may follow his example. The tutor should present a good example to the child in every thing. Such a tutor it is hard to find; as hard as to find a good wife for one's son. It is not enough that the tutor understands Latin and logic; his manners must have been trained in and to good society, or else his learning will be pedantry; his simplicity and plainness, boorishness; and his good nature, low hypocrisy. Elegant manners are not to be learned from books. In most cases, what a man accomplishes, depends more upon his manners than upon the affairs themselves; and upon them only depends the pleasure or unpleasantness with which affairs are transacted. It is more the duty of the tutor than of any one else, to draw the attention of the pupil to every branch of good manners; for one's faults are spoken of only behind his back.

The instructor should have knowledge of the world, in order to communicate it to his pupil, especially that the latter may learn to observe men, and to estimate them as they are, neither as better nor worse. Without this instruction, the youth, when he goes out into the world, will be easily deceived. Of this he must be warned in time. Such knowledge as this is more important for him than Latin, and cramming his memory.

The tutor needs not to be a man of finished learning, or to be a complete master of all the branches of knowledge into which the young man of the world is to be introduced only, and with which he is only to have a general systematic acquaintance. The pupil is to study, chiefly in order to use his powers to advantage, and to avoid idleness; not to become a learned man. Seneca's expression is too true, among us: *Non vitæ sed scholæ discimus.*

The children ought to learn what they can use when men.

Parents should spare neither pains nor expense to procure the services of a good tutor.

Locke, like Montaigne and Rousseau, describes an ideal tutor, whom to find, in reality, can only be expected by kings and princes; and such men should have been educated not only in the schools, but in life, travel, &c. Locke has here quoted many things, almost word for word, from Montaigne.

9. FAMILIARITY OF PARENTS WITH THEIR CHILDREN.

Your authority should be as early as possible confirmed over your child, so that it may operate upon him like a natural principle whose origin he does not understand. Let him fear and love you. But in general, as he grows up, the practice of command must cease, and that of confidential, friendly counsel and conversation take its place. The sooner boys are treated like men, the sooner they will be men.

Locke seems to have taken these rules from his own father's method with him. The principle is a bad one, that boys can and should be treated like men before their time, and that so they will become men. God preserve them from such errors!

10. OF REPRESSING TOO HARSHLY THE AMBITION AND SELF-SEEKING OF CHILDREN.*

Children desire to rule, and this is the origin of much evil; and they also desire to have, to possess. Early opposition must be made to this ambition, and love of acquisition. Children should not be given what they demand with violence, crying, and obstinacy; but what they really need, should be given to them. If they are hungry or thirsty, for instance, they should have something to eat or drink; but not necessarily roast meat every time they ask for it. They must early learn self-control. They should have entire freedom only in their recreation, and at play.

From the love of authority proceed the complaints of children against their fellows. This should usually be turned off, or sometimes a peace should be made.

Covetousness, the root of all evil, should be opposed in every possible way, and generosity substituted. This virtue must be awakened by praise, and by careful and persevering management not to let the child lose by magnanimity and generosity. He should be always praised when he has practiced this virtue, without exception, and with interest; and it should be made plain to him, that testimonies of love to others are not bad economy, but that similar expressions from others answer them, both from those who receive them, and those who are only spectators of them.

Children should be held to strict honesty, and strict regard for the property of others; little dishonesties in children grow into deceitfulness, when they are men. Since in our efforts we are led much more by egotism than by reason or reflection, it is no wonder that children very easily lose sight of the difference between right and wrong; as the knowledge of it requires the training of the reason, and careful reflection.

Locke's method for curing children of covetousness, and for making them generous, is fundamentally wrong; the very opposite of the teachings of Christ; and is well calculated to produce a most selfish kind of well-doing, which must take place in the sight of man, and from which a return can not fail. That would be learned, without instruction in virtue.

* Pages 280—296.

Reason and reflection do not cure the egotism of adults; they more frequently assist it.

11. WHINING AND CRYING OF CHILDREN.*

Obstinate bawling must be firmly repressed; and children should not be encouraged in crying for pain, by permitting them to do so, but should rather be hardened to endure it.

In direct opposition to this reasonable rule of Locke, is the unreasonable crying behavior of grown-up persons, when children fall down, by which the latter often learn to make an uproar.

12. FEAR AND FOOL-HARDINESS IN CHILDREN.†

Children should be taught not to be afraid, but not in such a way that they will become fool-hardy; they should learn true courage. This remains master of itself in every occurrence, and in every sorrow.

Children should be taught not to be timid; should be accustomed to the sight of strange beasts, frogs, &c., and should be hardened so that they will willingly endure pain. Thus, ambition can be made useful to them. (!)

13. TENDENCY OF CHILDREN TO CRUELTY.‡

Fear of animals is especially to be guarded against. The opposite, however, sometimes happens. Children are taught to strike each other, and their elders laugh when they hurt each other. And the whole course of entertainment which history lays before them is nothing but fighting and death. Conquerors are great destroyers of the human race; the boys learn to admire them, and their benevolent feelings are thus destroyed.

Children should be made to be kind to their inferiors, especially to servants.

14. DESIRE OF KNOWLEDGE, AND INDOLENCE AND CARELESSNESS, IN CHILDREN.§

Children who ask questions must not be sent away in an unfriendly manner, or be fooled with wrong answers. Children's questions often help in forming men. To cultivate their desire for knowledge, the knowledge of others may be talked about in their presence. Since we are all idle and proud creatures, even from the cradle, the idleness of children should be amused with things which may become useful to them; and their pride made effective in a way to be of profit to them. It is a similar stimulus to cause the younger to be taught by the elder.

Children who are industrious at play, or lazy at learning, should be ordered to spend a whole day in play, to make them tired of it; their work, on the other hand, should be treated as a recreation, and never made a business. Bodily labor is likewise good for the lazy, where they can be easily watched and managed.

Thus, pride is to be made a motive again. Locke knew that it would please the pride of the elder children to make them instructors of the younger. The application may be made to the practice of employing decurions and monitors.

15. PLAYTHINGS FOR CHILDREN.‖

These should not be provided in too great abundance, nor should too many be put into their hands at the same time. As far as possible, they should make their own toys; and, in this, they should have assistance, if needed.

16. LYING OF CHILDREN.¶

This must be represented to them as something horrible; as something so repugnant to the name and character of a man of honor, that no one, who has

---

* Pages 329—338. † Pages 339—355. ‡ Pages 355—364. § Pages 364—394.
‖ Pages 394—399. ¶ Pages 399—406.

any pretensions to such a character, will endure such an accusation.* Repeated lying is to be punished with blows; but an open confession of a fault must be rewarded with its forgiveness.

"Men of honor"—what honor does he mean?

17. OF THE FEAR OF GOD AS THE FOUNDATION OF VIRTUE.†

Virtue is the first and most necessary of those endowments that belong to a man or a gentleman,‡ since it is absolutely necessary in order to procure them the respect and love of others, and satisfaction with themselves. The basis of this is laid by a right idea of God the Creator,§ who loves us, and whom we ought in turn to honor and love; such an idea as our confession of faith gives of him. No more than this need be taught; except that a short form of prayer should be recited morning and evening.

Nothing should be taught about spirits; and the children should be kept from notions and representations of goblins and ghosts.‖

To the instruction about God should be added teachings in truth, love, and benevolence.

18. WISDOM.¶

This is the art of performing one's business in the world with skill and foresight. Its constituents are understanding and honesty. Deceitfulness is a foolish and dishonest imitation of prudence.

The practical understanding of children should be cultivated, and they should be guarded against falsehood.

19. GOOD MANNERS.**

Silly bashfulness and bold carelessness should be avoided. Courtesy is, to disoblige no one; good manners, and the most polite way of signifying our own wishes.†† If there is good will, good manners will follow of themselves, by intercourse with the well-bred. It is not necessary to trouble one's self too early with the art of making compliments.

Pains must be taken not to let children interrupt others in their conversation, especially in a presumptuous manner.

20. INSTRUCTION.‡‡

"I speak of knowledge last," says Locke, "because I think it the least important subject. A high value is set upon a little Latin and Greek; boys are chained to the oar for from seven to ten years, to learn these two languages, which they might learn with very much less expenditure of time and pains, and almost in play.

"A virtuous and wise man is far to be preferred to one of great learning."

Thus Locke declares that he knows a shorter and better method

---

* La Coste translates: "*Une qualité indigne d'un homme de bonne maison, qui le met au rang de ce qu'il y a de plus bas et de plus méprisable parmi la plus vile populace.*" (!)

† Pages 406—418.

‡ Original; "Gentleman." La Coste: "*La vertu la plus excellente de ces echoes, la plus avantageure à l'homme, et en particulier à une personne de bonne maison.*" Locke had said, previously, "A father should wish his son four things besides wealth: virtue, wisdom, knowledge of life, and learning."

§ La Coste: "*Idée de dieu, telle qu'elle nous est sagement proposée dans le symbole des Apôtres.*" In the original, "as the creed wisely teaches."

‖ Funk and Gedike remark here: "It would be difficult to avoid telling children something about such things, for they can not easily go into the street without hearing a name which, together with the ideas connected with it, has, since before the Reformation, had more currency with people of all ranks, and is therefore of more importance, in some respects, than the name or idea of the Highest and most worthy of love." It would delay me too long to consider here the ethics of Locke, his conception of virtue, his motives to it, &c.

¶ Pages 418—421. ** Pages 421—435.

†† "The essence of politeness is a certain care that our speech and our manners shall make others contented with us and with themselves." La Bruyère.

‡‡ Pages 435—563.

of teaching. The comparison of the man of great learning and the virtuous man, sounds very much like Montaigne, and more like Rousseau.

21. READING.

As soon as the boy can speak, he must learn to read; and this must be made, not an affair of labor to him, but an amusement; for at this age all constraint is hateful. Toys may serve to teach him to read. For instance: a die with twenty-five faces, and the letters on them; and a price set upon some letter which is to be shown. When the boy has learned the letters in this way, he may go on to spelling and reading.

The fables of Æsop, with as many pictures as possible, offer a proper first reading-book. Children should receive their first impressions, not from words, but from things and the representations of things. "*Reynard the Fox*" is also a good book for the purpose!*

The Lord's Prayer, the creed, and the commandments, should not be learned by rote by reading, but by having them repeated to the pupil.†

The whole Bible is not a proper reading-book for children; but only extracts from it should be used, for practice in reading and for instruction.‡

Writing should be begun with directions for holding the pen correctly; they may write red letters over again with black ink.

Drawing should come in connection with writing; especially learning to make sketches of neighborhoods, buildings, machines, &c., which may be of great advantage in traveling.

It would also be a good plan for the children to learn stenography.

22. LANGUAGES.

The boy should learn French first, as this can be learned in the common way; that is, by speaking. French should be learned early, as the true pronunciation will be learned with more difficulty at a later age.

Latin, like French, should be learned by speaking it. But it should not be learned by all; not by those who will not have any occasion for it during the rest of their lives; as, for example, by those who are to be merchants, or farmers, whose writing and arithmetic will be neglected while they are spending all their time in Latin.

The boy should be spared the Latin grammar; and should rather be put in charge of a man who shall always talk Latin with him. Thus he will soon learn the language like another mother tongue, as girls learn French from women.

These Latin conversations may be made useful, by turning upon geometry, astronomy, chronology, anatomy, and some parts of history; and upon things which lie within the sphere of the senses. The beginning should be made with things of this kind.

If no good speaker of Latin can be found, an entertaining book, like Æsop's fables should be taken, and a translation written of it in English, as literal as possible, by writing in between the lines, over each Latin word, its English equivalent. This translation should be read and reread daily, until he quite understands the Latin, when he should take, in like manner, another fable; reading over, however, that which he has already learned, to keep it in his memory. He should also write off the same fables, and learn the conjugation and declension by rote at the same time; he will need to know no more than this of the grammar for the present.

Locke here, and often afterward, follows Comenius, who would

* This sounds much like Comenius.

† Upon this. Campe remarks: "How, at this age? I can not see any good reason for it." And Resewitz: "I do not understand it." In like manner Gedike: "Least of all should the ten commandments be learned then, since they contain a morality only of the most partial, incomplete, and indefinite kind. But they were not intended to be a manual of morality; and it is no reason for blaming Moses, that Christian teachers have made an elementary class-book of morals out of his criminal code!"

‡ Locke also recommends a catechism, by Worthington, in which all the answers are word for word from the Bible.

teach foreign languages and real things at the same time, by speaking those languages. The interlinear version of Æsop, on the contrary, is altogether in Ratich's manner. Locke apparently knew the writings of both.

Learning should be made as easy and pleasant as possible to children; for fear hinders their progress. "It is as impossible to draw fair and regular characters upon a trembling mind, as on a shaking paper."

After Æsop, Justinus or Eutropius may be read, and the scholar may have the assistance of an English translation. To speak a language, it should never be learned from the grammar. The complete study of the Greek and Latin grammar should be left to philologists by profession. If an Englishman of rank studied any grammar, it should be that of his own language; a thing, however, which is not at all thought of. Above all, the grammar of a language should be learned only when the student can speak it; and it should be made an introduction to rhetoric for him. To one who only wishes to read the classics, and not to speak or write the ancient languages, the study of grammar is needless.

The scholar's translations from Latin into his mother tongue should be so arranged, that he can gain from the work a knowledge of real things, as of minerals, plants, beasts, and especially of useful and fruit-bearing trees. Still more important is it that geography, astronomy, and anatomy should be thus learned.

If the boy learns Latin at school, he is made to write Latin exercises, that he may learn to be fluent in verse and prose. But what he needs is, to understand the Latin authors; not to become a Latin orator or poet. But themes are given him for these exercises which he does not understand at all. It would be much better to require him to speak extempore upon subjects which he understands in his own language, or to compose written exercises upon the like subjects.

To torment a scholar with Latin verse-making, when he has no poetical talent, is in the highest degree unreasonable.

If he have a poetic vein, it is the strangest thing in the world, that the father should desire or suffer it to be cherished or improved. Methinks the parents should labor to have it stifled or suppressed as much as may be; and I know not what reason a father can have to wish his son a poet, who does not desire to have him bid defiance to all other callings and business—which is not yet the worst of the case; for, if he proves a successful rhymer, and gets once the reputation of a wit, I desire it may be considered what company and places he is likely to spend his time in, nay, and estate too; for it is very seldom seen that any one discovers mines of gold or silver in Parnassus. It is a pleasant air, but a barren soil; and there are very few instances of those who have added to their patrimony by any thing they have reaped from thence. Poetry and gaming, which usually go together, are alike in this too, that they seldom bring any advantage, but to those who have nothing else to live on. If, therefore, you would not have your son the fiddle to every jovial company, I do not think you will much care he should be a poet, or that his schoolmaster should enter him in versifying. But yet, if any one will think poetry a desirable quality in his son, reading the excellent Greek and Roman poets is of more use than making bad verses of his own, in a language that is not his own.

This is the opinion of Shakspeare's countryman upon poetry. Campe* says, "to smother or to repress the poetical vein," is too strong an expression; Gedike is still more decidedly on the side of poetry, although he advises to teach the youth who has the gifts of a real poet, that there are much greater services to be done, than those even of the greatest poet. It must, however, be alledged in Locke's favor, that the most celebrated poets of his time, Dryden, Cowley, &c.,

* Locke's Manual, p. 515.

wrote poems of the most immoral character. He is entirely in the right, in saying that the senseless hitching together of Latin verses is not the right training for the true poet. On the contrary, he might have recommended it as an excellent means to smother and repress poetical gifts.

It is not advisable to learn by rote large extracts from the classics, but only especially beautiful portions. It may be a question whether the memory should be cultivated by learning by rote. That is best remembered in which the mind is strongly absorbed, and in which it takes most pleasure. If such exercises are made to be conducted in a methodical order, all is done that can be done to strengthen a weak memory.

The teacher should consider the learning of Latin as the smallest part of education. This the mother herself can teach the child, by hearing him read the Latin evangelists, two or three hours a day. If she should read them herself she would soon learn to understand them; and, after understanding these, she could in a like manner read Æsop's fables, and so go on to Justin and Eutropius.

A Gertrude teaching Latin!

Geography, the knowledge of countries from the globe and from maps, can be begun early. The beginning of arithmetic may follow; and after this may come the fuller knowledge of geography, including determinations of size, &c., and astronomy, with the help of the celestial globe. Next geometry; the first six books of Euclid. With geography the boy should, at the same time, learn chronology, without which history will be confused; and history itself may be next learned, by the reading of the Latin classics.

He may next read Cicero's *De Officiis*, Pufendorf's *De officio hominis et civis*, and then Grotius' *De jure belli et pacis*, and Pufendorf's *De jure naturali et gentium*.

A virtuous and well-mannered young man, who well understands so much of the civil law, knows Latin fluently, and writes a good hand, may be sent out into the world with confidence, and may be sure that he will find, somewhere, good employment, and the respect of his fellows.

The youth must know the laws of his own country.

Logic and rhetoric. It is after the rules of these two arts that men learn to think and speak with rigid correctness. For the latter, Cicero's writings may be studied. As exercises in style, scholars may write short histories, and may translate Æsop But, above all, the chief object should be that they should learn to write and speak well, not only Latin, but their own language also; and should not despise this, as the language of the multitude.

Natural philosophy may be divided into the study of the mind (metaphysics,) and the study of bodies (physics.) The former must precede, and must be founded upon the Bible; lest otherwise the influence of the external world should destroy faith in the supernatural.

The pupil may read Des Cartes, to become acquainted with the substance of the current philosophy.

Men of learning must understand Greek. But what I have undertaken, is not to treat of the education of the learned man by profession, but only of that of the man of the world. If such an one has afterward a desire to carry his studies further, and to get a glimpse of the Greek literature, he can easily obtain a knowledge of that language for himself. (?)

Dancing is of service, to give grace to all the motions; and can not be learned too early. The dancing-master, however, must know and be able to teach in what the graces consist, or he will be of no value. Leaping and flourishing dances are to be prohibited.

Music is related to dancing; and is highly valued by many. But just so much is lost from the time of a young man, if he shall have acquired skill (upon instruments,) even to a moderate degree. He will also by this means be so liable to be brought into such foolish company, that others are of opinion that his time could

be much better employed. And I have so seldom known a man praised, or valued among men of talents and business for great skill in music, that I believe I should put it in the last place upon the list of the things in which skill is to be acquired. Life is too short to strive after every thing; and time and effort should therefore be expended upon what is of real use and importance.

For Locke's anti-poetical sentiments I found an excuse, but for his anti-musical ones I know of none; and am therefore forced to believe that the musical faculties of the English were, at that time, far too little developed. Otherwise, Locke must have been characterized by the most terrific unimaginativeness and want of all susceptibility to art.

A young man of good rank must learn to ride. Fencing is good for the health, but not useful in real life. Skillful fencers seek duels, or at least do not avoid them. But as long as fencing and riding are both general and necessary in the education of a young man of rank, it would be hard to deny him these marks of his social position.

Virtue and wisdom stand higher than knowledge. Boys should be taught to restrict their impulses, and to subject their desires to reason. For training a young man to this, there is no more effectual means than the love of approbation and praise; for the cultivation of which, therefore, all means should be used; and their minds should be made as sensitive to praise and blame as possible. If this be done, a motive has been given them, which will be efficient, at all times, even when they are alone; and they have a basis, upon which can be afterward reared the true principles of religion and morality.

Here appear, in their full proportions, the errors of Locke's principles. He plants thorns with the utmost care; and from these, when they have grown up, he expects to gather figs. He does not at all recognize the existence of a Christian character, of which, according to Augustine, the first, second, and third fundamental virtue, is humility.

23. MANUAL LABOR.*

The youth, even of high rank, should learn some trade, for his diversion; that of carpenter, joiner, turning, gardening, or farming, for instance. To this may be added perfumery, (!) japanning, engraving on copper, and working in metals.

Playing at cards or dice should not be learned, to avoid temptation.

24. MERCANTILE ARITHMETIC AND BOOK-KEEPING.†

This should be understood by every man of rank, not as a means of getting a livelihood, but that he may be acquainted with them, to prevent him from spending his money at random.

25. TRAVELING.‡

Traveling, to learn foreign languages, is most profitable between the ages of seven and sixteen, and most unsuitable from sixteen to twenty; for then the youth is too old for learning languages, and too young for the study of human nature; but at the very best age to be tempted into a dissolute life

26. CONCLUSION.§

The character of children is a foundation which can not be built upon twice in the same manner; and hence the method of education must be made to vary, according to the various conditions under which it is required. The present general observations were intended for the son of an eminent man, and were written down, on account of his extreme youth.

---

* Pages 538—597. † Pages 598—601. ‡ Pages 601—610. § Pages 610—612.

XII. STEPHEN VAN RENSSELAER.

BY DANIEL D. BARNARD.

Stephen Van Rensselaer, the founder of the Rensselaer Institute at Troy, was born on the first day of November, 1764, in the city of New York. His father was Stephen Van Rensselaer, the proprietor of Rensselaerwyck.† His mother was Catharine, daughter of Philip Livingston, of the family of that name to which belonged the manor of Livingston. Mr. Livingston was conspicuous among those lofty and disinterested spirits brought out by the American Revolution in devotion to human liberty. He was one of the signers of that undying instrument—the declaration of independence. At the period of the birth of his grandchild, which took place in his own house, he was a member of the general assembly, and at that time, more than ten years in advance of the Revolution, in an answer to the speech of Lieutenant-Governor Colden, which was reported by him, he put forth and insisted, in explicit terms, on that great doctrine of "taxation only with consent," the denial of which by Great Britain finally brought on the conflict of arms.

The present manor house of Rensselaerwyck was completed in 1765, when the subject of our memoir was a year old. It took the place of a structure, the site of which was near by, and which had answered, in its day, the uses of a fortress, as well as a dwelling.

---

* A discourse on the life, services, and character of Stephen Van Rensselaer; delivered before the Albany Institute, April 15th, 1839. With an historical sketch of the colony and manor of Rensselaerwyck, in an appendix.

† The colony of Rensselaerwyck, planted under the direction, and at the sole expense, of Killian Van Rensselaer, was the first successful colony planted, as such, by the Dutch, in America. The projector and proprietor was a director in the Dutch West India Campany, at Amsterdam, incorporated in 1621; and was one of the nine commissioners, appointed in 1629, for the government of the affairs of New Netherlands. Under a liberal charter of privileges granted by the Company in 1629 to Patroons who would establish colonies, Van Rensselaer, early in 1630, sent out an agent to purchase lands, near the head of navigation of the North River, of the Indian owners; until in 1637, these purchases embraced a tract of about twenty-four miles in breadth by forty-eight in length, near but below Fort Orange, which was built on what is now the business portion of the city of Albany. To these lands colonists were sent from time to time; and, in 1637, Van Rensselaer took up his own residence among his tenants. As a large landed proprietor, he exercised, within his territorial limits, certain powers, military and judicial, analagous to those of the old feudal barons, and was called Patroon. It was not a title of personal nobility, and could not be severed from the proprietorship of the estate. General Stephen Van Rensselaer was the fifth only in direct descent from the original proprietor and Patroon of Rensselaerwyck.

To this, the new manor house, his father directly resorted. His occupation of it, however, was short. He died in 1769, of a pulmonary disease, leaving his son, his eldest born, a few days less than five years old.

On the death of his father, which took place in 1769, the care of that great landed and feudal estate, which fell exclusively to him, by the rule of primogeniture, was committed to his uncle, General Ten Broeck. For a while he remained under the control and supervision of his excellent and pious mother—long enough, no doubt, to receive those deep impressions of the value of religious faith and the beauty of holy things which were finally wrought firmly into the texture of his character.

His first experience in school was under the labors of Mr. John Waters, a professional schoolmaster, at a period when a schoolmaster was what he always should be, a man of consideration. It was before the days of Webster and printed spelling-books, and when the letters and elements were studied and taught from a horn-book. And thus was he initiated into these mysteries.

But the education of the young proprietor was to be provided for in a way which required his early removal from the side and hearth of his mother. This care devolved on his grandfather; and he was first placed by Mr. Livingston at a school in Elizabethtown, in New Jersey. When the stirring and troublous times of the Revolution came on, Mr. Livingston was driven with his family from the city of New York, and took refuge at Kingston. Here, fortunately, was established a classical school, or academy, which attained no small celebrity under the direction of Mr. John Addison.* Mr. Livingston, much absent from home himself on public affairs, caused his young charge to be domesticated in his own family, for the convenience of his attendance at the academy, where he acquired the elements of a classical education.

In 1779 he was placed in the family of the Rev. Dr. Samuel Smith, the son-in-law of Dr. Witherspoon, and vice-president of New Jersey College, at Princeton, to whom the immediate care of conducting the instruction of the institution was now committed. But New Jersey was not yet safe from the incursions of the enemy; Princeton was still too near the seat of war; and, the next year, it was thought advisable to remove the young collegian to the university at Cambridge; then, as now, a distinguished and leading school

* Addison was a Scotchman, possessing the thorough scholarship of an educated man of his nation. He became a man of consideration in the state, and filled the office of state senator about the beginning of the present century.

of the higher kind in the United States. Here, in 1782, in the nineteenth year of his age, with respectable attainments in the classical and other learning of the time, he took his first degree in letters as a Bachelor of Arts. It may be added, in this connection, that in 1825 he received, from Yale College, a diploma, conferring upon him the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws.

Mr Van Rensselaer was married before he was twenty, at Saratoga, to Margaret, the third daughter of General Philip Schuyler; and thus was he connected, by a near relationship, and one, as it proved, of great confidence and affection, with another of those extraordinary men whose names so crowd and illumine the pages of our Revolutionary history. The occasion of his reaching the important age of twenty-one was celebrated with much of that kind of rousing observance, which, without being inappropriate, would have fitted more perfectly, perhaps, his relations as a landlord, if the event had transpired ten years earlier. But as it was, and changed as the political relations between him and his tenants had become within that time, they were not to be restrained from offering, on this event, the testimony of their joy, and their affection for his person, as if he was still, instead of being simply a contracting party with them in regard to their lands, as much their Patroon and feudal superior, as his ancestor was of their fathers in the time of Petrus Stuyvesandt.

This event fairly disposed of, Mr. Van Rensselaer found it necessary to look somewhat critically after his interests in the manor. By offering leases in fee, or for long terms, at a very moderate rent—sometimes hardly more than nominal—Mr. Van Rensselaer succeeded readily in bringing a large proportion of his lands, comprising the greater part of the present counties of Albany and Rensselaer, into cultivation; and thus securing to himself a valuable and competent income. This policy, once adopted by him, was never changed. Nor did he ever after attempt, as he might easily have done, greatly to increase his current means derived from this source. The net returns from his lands never exceeded, probably, two, if they did one, per cent. upon them, considered as a capital at a very moderate valuation. But finding himself in the receipt of a current income large enough for his simple and unostentatious habits, and those of his family, with something liberal to spare for his charities, he was not only not desirous of adding to his wealth by enhancing his receipts, but he was positively and strenuously averse to such a course. He had none of that morbid appetite for wealth which grows ravenous by what it feeds on.

Mr. Van Rensselaer received his first military commission, as a

major of infantry, in 1786; then at the age of twenty-two; and h was promoted to the command of a regiment two years afterwar In 1801, Governor Jay directed the cavalry of the state to be forme into a separate corps, divided from the infantry, to which the horse ha before been attached. The cavalry formed a single division, with tw brigades, and the command of the whole was conferred on Mr. Va Rensselaer. This commission of major-general of cavalry he bore t his death.

It was in the spring of 1787, when he was short of twenty-thre years of age, in the vigor of manhood, just on the threshold of ma ture life, which sparkled brightly before him, with large possession and wealth enough to lay the world under contribution for whateve it can afford to pamper appetite and passion, and supply the mean of wanton and luxurious indulgence; it was then, and under suc circumstances, that he deliberately chose, by a formal profession o religious faith, and a personal vow of religious obedience, accordin to the doctrines and discipline of the Christian church as adopted b the Dutch Reformers, to pledge himself to a life of temperance, sim plicity, truth, and purity. How well he kept his vow, is known t all who had occasion to observe him; and how eminently he wa blest in keeping it, was seen in all those quarters where, th christian is wont to look for the promise of *the life that now is*—i the calm and quiet of a peaceful existence, in domestic relations o the most tender, harmonious, and beautiful character, and in a re signed, appropriate, and happy death.

Toward the close of the year 1787, the convention which sat a Philadelphia, to frame the federal constitution, terminated its labor and submitted its work to the judgment of the people. All over th country a desperate conflict arose; and, no doubt, the fate of the re public was suspended on the issue. Mr. Van Rensselaer took groun promptly and decidedly in favor of the constitution. In the sprin of 1788, delegates to the state convention, which was to pass sen tence of condemnation or approval on the constitution, in the nam of New York, were to be chosen from the county of Albany. Th anti-federal party, strong throughout the state, was particularly formi dable here. Yet were the friends of the constitution bound to mak the effort; and, in so doing, to leave no part of their moral force ou of the controversy. With this object, Mr. Van Rensselaer was so licited, and consented, to stand as a candidate for the assembly, at th same election. The sway of anti-federal opinions and feelings at th period, may be estimated from the fact that, with all his personal

popularity and influence—already very great in the district—he was beaten by an overwhelming majority.

The constitution having been adopted, after a fearful struggle, the government was to be organized and put in full operation under it. In 1789, Mr. Van Rensselaer was again a candidate for the assembly, and was now carried into office by a majority nearly as great as that by which he had been before defeated. In the course of the next forty years after, he had occasion often to try the strength of its attachment to him; and on no occasion did the county of Albany, whether comprising more or less territory, and whether the elective privilege was less or more extended, ever desert him.

The next spring (1790,) he was elected to the senate of the state, from the *western* senatorial district. When we look over the great State of New York, and see what the West now is, we hardly know how to credit the fact that, within so few years, the county of Albany, on the North River, was one of the western counties of the state. He was a member of the senate from his first election down to 1795. In the whole of this legislative period, he was a faithful, vigilant, highly influential, and useful member. There were few standing committees at that period; but he was, from the first, and always, a member of one or more of these, and always of the most important.

When the election for governor approached, in 1795, Mr. Jay was again placed in nomination; and, with him, Mr. Van Rensselaer was nominated for lieutenant-governor; and they were elected by handsome majorities. In 1798, both were renominated, and both reelected to the same offices. On this occasion, Chancellor Livingston was Mr. Jay's opponent—only very lately his strong friend, political as well as personal. The lieutenant-governor had no opposing candidate.

New York has never seen so pure an administration of its government, as that which was conducted by Governor Jay. He could not have had, during the six years of his administration, a purer or more worthy coadjutor than Lieutenant-Governor Van Rensselaer. Never could there have been, or could there be, a moral spectacle of higher beauty, than was seen in the lofty and universal harmonies of thought and intent, of feelings, character, and purposes—the perfect blending of harmonious colors, till nothing was visible but the white light of truth and integrity—when these two united to administer the government of a free people.

It is not surprising then, when the community—such of them as were attached to the administration and principles of Governor Jay—came to look after a fit person to be his successor, that all eyes should

have rested on the lieutenant-governor. In January, 1801, a large body of the most respectable freeholders, from various and distant parts of the state, assembled at the Tontine coffee-house, in Albany, and unanimously named Mr. Van Rensselaer as their candidate for governor at the ensuing election. He was, however, defeated by a majority of less than four thousand votes.

It was in the month of March of this year, and while the election canvass was going on most actively and virulently, that he was called to part with the companion and wife of his youth, by whom he had three children, one of whom only, his eldest son, survived him.

In October, 1801, a state convention met at Albany, to consider and revise the constitution. Colonel Burr was the president; but Mr. Van Rensselaer presided, during much the greater part of the deliberations, as chairman of the committee of the whole.

In May, 1802, Mr. Van Rensselaer formed a highly fortunate and happy matrimonial union with Cornelia, only daughter of the late William Patterson, a distinguished citizen of New Jersey, and one of the judges of the supreme court of the United States. This excellent lady, and nine children of the marriage, survive the husband and father.

In 1810, he was called to a new and distinguished service. In March of that year, a commission was instituted by the legislature for exploring a route for a western canal; and then was laid the foundation of that great system of internal improvements, by which New York has so much signalized herself. Seven persons composed the commission—though all did not act. Mr. Van Rensselaer' was the second name; the first was that of Governeur Morris; D Wit Clinton was one of the number. In the summer of this year these gentlemen, accompanied by a surveyor, personally inspected and explored the route of a canal from the Hudson to Erie. They traveled for the most part on horseback; not always without serious difficulty and much deprivation, from the uncultivated state of the country.

The favorable report made by the commissioners, in February, 1811 drawn by Mr. Morris, with consummate ability, and yet not without great defects, gave an impulse to the canal project which it never wholly lost, though it shortly after suffered interruption by the intervention of the war. In April, 1811, the legislature again acted on the project, by raising a commission to consider "of all matters relating to inland navigation." Mr. Van Rensselaer was still one of the commissioners. It was proposed by this commission, to enlist congress, and, as far as possible, the states individually, to contribut

their aid and support to the work—a scheme which, most happily, completely failed. In March, 1812, the commissioners reported, and appealed strongly and eloquently to the pride of New York, to construct the canal, from her own resources, and on her own account. The appeal was so far effectual, that the legislature, in June, authorized them to borrow five millions of dollars, on the credit of the state, for the prosecution of the enterprise. The war occurring just then, the project slept for nearly four years.

The war with Great Britain was declared in June, 1812. But there was a great deficiency of troops for any offensive operations. A regular army, of much magnitude, is not to be recruited and disciplined for service, in such a country as ours, without time. And hence the necessity, in all such cases, of a resort to the militia. The first reliance for defense, at least, if not for conquest, must be upon citizen soldiers. A requisition was made on Governor Tompkins, to order into immediate service a considerable body of New York militia. The patriot governor promptly obeyed the requisition, and selected Major-General Stephen Van Rensselaer for the command.

It was his country that called him to the field, and that was a voice which he could never disobey. Nor was he a loiterer, or a laggard. In an incredibly short time, after receiving the order, he had formed, with excellent and ready judgment, his military family, thrown off the citizen and put on the soldier, and, having taken hasty leave of the domestic circle at the manor house—from which he parted under circumstances of the most delicate and tender interest—he took up his line of march for the frontier. In ten days only from the date of his orders, we find him at Ogdensburg, having visited and inspected the post at Sackett's Harbor, on his way. On the 13th of August, he was in the camp at Lewiston—just one month from the date of the call that had been made upon him; and just two months from that day—on the 13th of October—in one of the most gallant and brilliant affairs of the whole war, he carried his victorious arms into the enemy's territory, and planted the American flag triumphantly on the hights of Queenstown. The position was one that was easily defensible, and he had within trumpet-call men enough, twice or thrice over, to have maintained it, and put at defiance any force with which the enemy might or could have assailed him. And yet, after all this, he must see his victory turned into defeat, and his triumph into disaster, by the shameful refusal of his yeoman soldiery, under the plea of constitutional scruples, to march into the safe camp that had already been won for them on the other side of the lines.

With the campaign just referred to, closed the services of General

Van Rensselaer in the field. The next spring (1813,) the gubernatorial election was to come on, when the contest for power in the state between him and Governor Tompkins, or rather between their respective parties, was to be decided. His party was found to be, as it had long been, in a minority. He was defeated, but with a majority against him of only 36,00, out of 83,000 votes which had been cast in the canvass.

With no disquieting ambition for political distinction, and a candidate for high office at any time only by a reluctant submission to the will and judgment of his friends, General Van Rensselaer was not a man to feel any regrets, on his own account, for defeat at an election canvass. In his own affairs, in his own family, and in the secret opportunities which he was always seeking for the practice of benevolence, he had resources enough for the agreeable and useful occupation of all his time.

During all the period of the war, the commission which had been instituted for the promotion of internal improvement by a great canal, and of which he was a member, continued in existence. The war was no sooner ended, than measures were taken to revive the subject, and the interest which had been felt in it. A memorial on the subject, of great ability, drawn by DeWit Clinton, was presented to the legislature of 1816; and, in March, of the same year, the commissioners, with Mr. Van Rensselaer at their head, and acting as chairman, presented their report, setting forth the difficulties which had been interposed to prevent the execution of the trusts confided to them four years before, and urging the legislature to renew the authority, to adopt immediate measures for the prosecution of the enterprise. In April, 1816, the law was passed by the legislature, which authorized and directed this great work to be entered upon; and the management and execution of it were committed to a board of canal commissioners, of whom, as usual, he was one. From that period down to his death, he was a member of that body, and he was the president of the Board for nearly fifteen years; from April, 1824, when the name of his friend, the great Clinton, was struck from the roll of commissioners. In the spring of 1816, he was again, and for the last time, elected to the assembly of the state; and his presence and influence in that body, in the session of 1817, were especially useful as affecting those immense interests—as yet but little understood, much abused and contemned, and most violently opposed—which belonged to the canals, and the system of internal improvements, then in the extremest weakness of their infancy.

In March, 1819, he was elected by the legislature a regent of the

State University, and at the time of his death he was the chancellor, having been elevated to that station, on the decease of Simeon De Wit, in 1835.

In 1821, Mr. Van Rensselaer was elected to the convention called to revise the constitution of the state, and was a member of the committee on the right of suffrage. He was the largest landed proprietor in the state, and he had inherited his interest in the soil originally from a feudal source, and held it by a feudal title; but he was an enlightened and patriotic citizen of a free state; and, as such, he was ready to take his chance with others under the protection of a government essentially popular and free. He had no difficulty whatever in agreeing to the propriety of at once abolishing the old distinctions between landed and personal property as affecting the higher rights of citizenship, and making the qualification of electors for all the officers of government equal and uniform. And he was equally ready to abandon the notion of a property qualification of any sort for electors. He agreed perfectly to the principle—which was the one professedly adopted by his colleagues of the committee—that those who really contribute to the support and defense of the government, should make the government. So far, he was willing and anxious to go; but here he would stop. He insisted upon guarding the principle strictly, by limiting the privilege to such as should seem to have something of the character of fixedness and stability in their residence, and their attachment to the state, and he was entirely unwilling to extend this privilege (to use his own expression,) to "a wandering population, men who are nowhere to be found when the enemy or the tax-gatherer comes." He conducted his opposition, before the convention, as he had done in committee, in his own direct and manly way; and, presenting a distinct amendment of his own, he exerted himself to induce the convention to place the right of suffrage on a ground, at once, according to his opinions, of great liberality and of perfect safety. But his opinions were not the opinions of the majority of the convention, and his efforts, and the efforts of those with whom he was more immediately associated, though not without their strong and salutary influence, were, in the main, unsuccessful.

In 1819, the legislature of this state was induced, through the exertions of a number of disinterested and patriotic gentlemen, among whom was Mr. Van Rensselaer, to pass an act for the encouragement and improvement of agriculture. A sum of money was appropriated, to be divided rateably among the several counties of the state; county societies were to be formed with the proper officers; and the presidents of these societies, or delegates instead of the presidents,

from such of them as should choose to elect them, were to form a central board of agriculture. Such was the outline of the proposed organization. In January, 1820, the presidents, or delegates, from twenty-six county societies, already organized, met at the capital in Albany, and elected Stephen Van Rensselaer president of the board. The life of this board of agriculture was made a very brief one by law, and when the legal limit was out, it was suffered to expire. It lasted long enough, however, to demonstrate the inappreciable value of legislative aid and encouragement to the agricultural interest; and it raised to itself an enduring and noble monument, by the publication of three very valuable volumes of transactions and memoirs.

Each of the first two volumes of the board contains, amongst other things, a very curious and remarkable paper. These papers present a complete view of the geological and agricultural features of the counties of Albany and Rensselaer, as gathered from accurate and minute surveys, and from actual and extensive analyses. They are the reports of distinguished scientific gentlemen, employed, exclusively at the expense of the president of the board of agriculture, to make the examinations and surveys, the results of which are here embodied. It was believed then, and it is believed now, that these were the first attempts made in this country "to collect and arrange geological facts, with a direct view to the improvement of agriculture."

The laws for the encouragement of agriculture expired, as I have said, by their own limitation; but Mr. Van Rensselaer, though without any convenient society, or board of agriculture, under cover of whose name he might pursue his plans for the benefit of the state, had only just now entered on a series of extraordinary efforts and experiments for the advancement of science, of education, and the public prosperity, which he afterward prosecuted with equal perseverance and effect. After the surveys of the counties of Albany and Rensselaer had been completed, under his direction, presenting, besides a view of their geological formations, a thorough analysis of their soils, in all their principal varieties—on a plan new at the time, and since extensively approved and employed—and accompanied, particularly in the survey of Rensselaer county, with a view of the proper methods of culture adapted to the various soils; and after he had caused the surveys to be published, at his own cost, in a separate and convenient form, for extensive and gratuitous distribution; he next turned his attention to a more extended scientific survey, to be carried through the entire length of the state, on the line of the Erie Canal. This was commenced and prosecuted, under his orders, in

the fall of 1822, by Professor Amos Eaton, aided by two competent assistants, and completed in 1823. The plan embraced a particular examination of the strata and formation of American rocks, by the survey of a transverse section, running across the great primitive ranges of New England, and the transition and secondary ranges of Eastern and Western New York. Professor Eaton's section extended from Boston to Lake Erie, a distance of about five hundred and fifty miles, stretching across nine degrees of longitude, and embracing a belt about fifty miles wide. At the same time, Professor Hitchcock was employed to make a similar survey of a section across New England, a few miles north of that taken by Professor Eaton. In 1824, a publication was made, containing the results of these surveys, with maps exhibiting a profile view of the rocks in each of the sections. Attention was strongly attracted, both in this country and in Europe, to the very creditable and faithful labors of Professor Eaton, prosecuted under the direction of his munificent patron; and this example it was, unquestionably, which has led, at last, to the adoption in several of the states, and this among the number, of plans for exploring their territories at the public expense, in search of scientific facts, and of the mineral riches, and other substances of economical value, to be found upon or beneath the surface of their respective portions of the earth.

But the crowning effort of this good man's life was in behalf of the dearest interest of his country, and of mankind; it was an effort to advance the cause of education and human improvement. He had satisfied himself that there were great defects in the ordinary and prevalent systems of instruction; at any rate, he saw that some of the most useful subjects of human knowledge were scarcely communicated at all, in quarters where they seemed most needed for the practical purposes of life; and he determined that the proper remedy, if possible, should be applied.

His first movement was to employ Professor Eaton, with a competent number of assistants, to traverse the state, on or near the route of the Erie Canal, with sufficient apparatus, specimens, and the like, and deliver, in all the principal villages and towns, where an audience of business men, or others, could be gathered, familiar lectures, accompanied with experiments and illustrations, on chemistry, natural philosophy, and some or all of the branches of natural history. This scientific and educational progress through the state was made, in the summer of 1824, at his cost; inconsiderable contributions only having been made in the villages where lectures were delivered. The experiment was entirely successful; a prodigious interest in behalf of

natural science had been excited; and he was encouraged to prosecute a plan of operations which he had meditated for a considerable time.

He had long been accustomed to send the schoolmaster abroad among the poorer portions of his numerous tenantry; and he had been led to observe, as the result of these experiments—having been obliged to employ persons, for this service, of very slender qualifications, for want of better—that the improvement of the masters, as a general thing, was much more considerable than that of their pupils. It was from this hint, that he was led to consider, and finally to digest, a plan for a school; the leading feature of which should be, that the learner should himself take the place, and perform the regular duties, of teacher or instructor, in all the business and exercises of the school. Securing, in this way, as he believed he should, the most ready and thorough improvement of the students, he proposed that the chief business of the school should be to furnish instruction "in the application of science to the common purposes of life." He declared one of his principal objects to be "to qualify teachers for instructing the sons and daughters of mechanics, in the application of experimental chemistry, philosophy, and natural history, to agriculture, domestic economy, and the arts and manufactures."

On the 5th of November, 1824, having provided a suitable building at Troy, and employed an agent to procure the necessary apparatus and library, he inclosed to the Rev. Dr. Blatchford a set of orders for the government of the school, and requested him to proceed to its organization, and act himself as president of a board of trustees, whom he named. He named, at the same time, a senior and a junior professor, whom he endowed with liberal salaries. The senior professor was Mr. Eaton, who had already been engaged to take the charge of instruction in the institution. The school was soon after organized, and put into successful operation. In 1826, it was incorporated, and is now known as the Rensselaer Institute. Its success, under the care of the veteran Eaton, was complete—but with a very heavy and continued outlay on the part of its generous patron. Instruction in the sciences is wholly experimental and demonstrative, and it is always, therefore, practical and thorough.

In 1828, after having, at his own cost, established and liberally endowed this school, and while he was bearing from his own purse not less than one-half of its current expenses, caused an invitation to be given to each county in the state, to furnish a student, selected by the clerk of the county, for gratuitous instruction at the institute.*

* He, however, imposed on these students a condition—the benefits of which would, of

The invitation was accepted in nearly all the counties, and that large number of persons, within less than three years, was sent forth from the institute, with a complete practical education, obtained without the cost of a dollar to them for tuition.

Mr. Van Rensselaer first proposed to himself to sustain this school, as an experiment, for three years, with a reasonable expectation certainly that, at the end of that time, if successful at all, public attention would be sufficiently attracted toward this novel method, to enable him to hand it over to the community, with a confident reliance on the patronage of the public to support and perpetuate it. But all observation shows that no improvements are so slow in gaining adoption and support at the hands of the community, as improvements in the methods of education. In this case, almost of course, while he saw, at the end of three years, that the advantages secured by his methods and course of instruction were great, beyond all his original expectations, he yet saw that the public must continue to enjoy them, if at all, for years to come, chiefly at his cost. He submitted to the sacrifice, and thus was continued this invaluable institution for upward of fourteen years.

It is impossible to compute, or perhaps to give any rational conjecture, about the amount of good which has already been effected through this munificent and skillfully devised charity—much more impossible is it to compass, in thought, the benefits which coming generations must reap from that system and plan of education, of which the example was first set, and the eminent utility satisfactorily tested, in the Rensselaer Institute. Schools have been set up on the Rensselaer method, in various and distant parts of our country; and it has been stated as a fact, from calculations actually made, that the institute has itself furnished to the community more experimental teachers and professors, state geologists, principal and assistant engineers on public works, and practical chemists and naturalists, than have been furnished, in the same time, by all the colleges in the Union. If the half of this statement be true, the result, in this single particular, is a proud one for the memory of the founder, through whose almost unknown munificence it has been effected.

In December, 1823, General Van Rensselaer took his seat, for the first time, in congress, as a representative from the city and county of Albany. He was continued in his place by re-election for three successive terms, and retired on the fourth of March, 1829. During his whole congressional service of six years, he held the station of

course, go to the community—that they should instruct in their own counties for one year, on the experimental and demonstrative method.

chairman of the committee on agriculture. In March, 1824, he mad a valuable report to the house, in answer to a resolution of inquir touching the effect of the tariff laws on the interests of agricultur In February, 1825, the imposing ceremony of an election to th presidency took place in the house of representatives. His vote de termined that of the delegation from this state in favor of Mr Adam and, as it resulted, produced the election of that gentleman on th first ballot. He never mingled in the conflict of debate; but he wa not, for that reason, the less valuable or influential member. H faithfulness, his integrity, his eminent honesty, his kindness of man ner, his ready perception of the true and right in all questions pr sented for the action of the house, and his freedom from the preju dices and trammels of party, gave him a standing and influence i the house, far beyond what ever belongs, in such a body, to the mer ability, however distinguished, to conduct a skillful argument, or pr nounce an eloquent harangue. The great moral sway which chara ter alone, commanding general admiration and respect, bears in deliberative assembly, was never more conspicuous, than in the ca of Stephen Van Rensselaer, in the American House of Represen atives.

Our brief review of this eminent man's life is drawing to a conclu sion; and, as yet, no distinct notice has been taken of certain partic lars, by which he was more known and distinguished in the popul estimation, than by any thing else; namely, first, his connection wit various societies, foreign and domestic, particularly with those whos objects were benevolent; and his private charities. These have n been forgotten, but they can not be enumerated in this brief memoi It may be mentioned, in general terms, that he was an honorar member of many and various learned associations, at home an abroad; some pursuing particular branches of science, of arts, c learning, and others more comprehensive and general in their object He was the president of several local societies, designed for charitabl or religious uses; while, of the great institutions of the day, so gen ral as to be designated American, and employed to aggregate im mense numbers, and combine their united strength for the prosecu tion of great christian enterprises, there was scarcely one, perhap not one, with which he was not, or had not been, connected by mem bership, and frequently by the highest, always by high, official statio

In regard to his private charities, there are two difficulties in th way of any attempt to particularize them; one is, that they wer private, and they are, therefore, to a great extent unknown; and th other is, that, so far as known, they are numberless. It would b

tedious and difficult to enumerate the cases alone, in which he gave by hundreds and by thousands. Two* of our American colleges received from him, in one subscription, five thousand dollars each. It is computed that he expended, through a single agent, in prosecuting scientific researches, and for the advancement of his educational methods and plans, and for gratuitous instruction, not less than thirty thousand dollars. And, taking the cause of learning in its various branches, the support and spread of Christianity, and the plans of benevolence and mercy, as found, each of them, in the hands of voluntary associations, and dependent on individual munificence; taking these objects together, it can hardly be doubted that he was the largest contributor to them, of pecuniary means, during his life-time, in the Union. In respect to his minor benevolencies, nobody can number or compute them. They flowed from him in streams which were perpetual—never dry, and never scanty. It was impossible they should fail, so long as objects could be found to call them forth; and these never fail. There is not, probably, a profession, and hardly a department of active life, amongst us, in which some could not be found, few or many, who owe the advantages of their position to him; while it is nearly certain that he fed more that were hungry, warmed more that were cold, clothed more that were naked, covered more shelterless heads, dried up more bitter tears, and comforted more despairing hearts, than any other man living among us in his time.

On the 26th of January, 1839, Mr. Van Rensselaer, after two years of protracted and frequently severe suffering from disease, died, as he had lived, a christian. His own desire had been frequently expressed that, when the time came, his body should be borne to the common tomb of his fathers, with simple ceremonies only, and with an entire absence of ostentatious parade. This injunction was obeyed by his family, as far as the public, and public bodies, would consent it should be. It was arranged that the religious solemnities of his funeral should be celebrated at the North Dutch Church in this city—his own place of public worship—and in the presence of that fellowship of christians belonging there, with which he had been connected, as a member in communion, for more than half a century. From thence to the family vault near his late residence, a procession was formed. The body, in its simple and unadorned coffin, was borne on men's shoulders—the bearers frequently relieving each other—the pall supported by those who had known him long and loved him well. No hearse was permitted to receive the burthen. The mourners fol-

* Yale College, at New Haven, and the College of New Jersey, at Princeton.

lowed; after them, the municipal authorities of the city, severa
lic societies, the chief magistrate and other executive officers
state, and the legislature, in order; and then came citizens and
gers, falling in by two and two, until the procession was exten
a most unusual and imposing length. All were on foot. N
riages were used. The military were in citizens' dress. All l
of office had been laid aside. No plumes nodded, no helmet
tened, no music murmured; solemn, slow, and silent, the proc
moved on, through thick and thronging, but orderly and resp
ranks, crowding the streets, and lining the casements of every
ing on either side. And thus were the remains of this goo
carried and deposited in their resting-place; and thus were th
tended. None ever had a more simple funeral; none were ev
lowed by a larger train of sincere and sorrowing mourners.

NOTE.

Among the older graduates of the Rensselaer Institute, when natural
geology, and chemistry were the leading subjects of study, were the follo

Ebenezer Emmons, *Geologist.*
Asa Fitch, *Naturalist; New York State Entomologist.*
*Douglas Houghton, *Geologist; chief of the corps of Geologis
Naturalists of the Michigan Survey.*
Jno. L. Riddell, *Physicist and Chemist; Professor in the Univer
Louisiana, etc.*
James Hall, *Geologist; New York State Palaeontologist.*
Abraham Sager, *Natural History; Professor in the University of Mi*
William N. E. Aiken, *Chemist; Professor in the University of Ma
Chemical Inspector of Drugs and Chemicals for the port of Baltimo*
James C. Booth, *Chemist, Assayer, etc.; United States Mint, Philad*
*Robert Peter, *Naturalist; Professor in the Transylvania Univers-ity*
*John Wright, *Naturalist; of the Michigan corps of Geologists and
ralists, Professor in the Rensselaer Institute.*
Ezra S. Carr, *Chemist; Professor in the University of Iowa.*
Eben N. Horsford, *Chemist; Professor in the Lawrence Scientific
Harvard University.*

The following are among the many graduates of the Institute since Ci
gineering was made prominent in its course of study.

Charles A. Cook, *Chief Engineer.*
Charles L. Prescott, " "
Theodore T. Judah, " "
Strickland Kneass, " "
George H. Cook, *Geologist, etc.; Professor in Rutgers College, N.*
Henry Pomeroy, *Professor in Lawrence University, Wisconsin.*
B. Franklin Greene, *Director, etc., of the Rensselaer Polytechnic Ins*
William Hall, *Chief Engineer.*
Samuel S. Greele, " "
Richards Edwards, *Principal of St. Louis Normal School.*
George W. Plympton, *Professor in New York State Normal Schoo*
John F. Barnard, *Chief Engineer.*
Augustus W. King, *Professor in Hanover College, Indiana.*
William H. Burrall, *Chief Engineer.*

* Deceased.

XIII. BRITISH MUSEUM OF PRACTICAL GEOLOGY.

[Abridged from Companion to British Almanac for 1859.]

To the late Sir Henry De la Beche the world is indebted for the idea of fully illustrating "the Applications of Geology to the useful purposes of Life." De la Beche became an early student, and in the field he learned those lessons which he subsequently rendered intelligible to all, by the collections which eventually grew into that Museum to which we especially desire to direct attention, and for which he received the honor of knighthood.

The Ordnance Survey of the British Isles was in progress, and its maps, on the one-inch scale, were in process of publication. De la Beche suggested to the government of the day that the value of those maps would be greatly increased if the geology of the country was laid down upon them, and showing that the experiment could be tried at a small cost, and without at all interfering with the existing arrangements of the Ordnance Survey: he was connected with that body and allowed to commence his work. This he did by starting from the most westerly rock in England—and probably the oldest in order of time—carefully tracing every geological formation in Cornwall, with all their mineral lodes and vast dislocations, and proceeding onward to the adjoining counties of Devonshire and Somersetshire. The value of these geological maps could not be denied; and having collected a few specimens to illustrate them, this earnest geologist pressed upon the government the importance of embracing the opportunity offered by those surveys to make a collection which should fairly illustrate the mineral characters of the British Isles. This was commenced by the authority of the government, with an insignificant grant at the suggestor's disposal, in 1835. It was not, however, until 1837 that apartments were obtained in Craig's-court, in which to place the small collection which De la Beche had got together. Like the rolling snow-ball the collection enlarged itself, by purchase and by gifts, until it became necessary to secure the services of a competent curator; and in 1839 Mr. Richard Phillips, F.R.S., was appointed to this office.

The late Mr. Richard Phillips, well known to the public as the chemical adviser of the College of Physicians—the translator of their "Pharmacopœia," and the contributor of all the chemical articles to the "Penny Cyclopædia"—was too valuable a man to be lost, as curator of a small geological collection. It was therefore proposed that the government and the public should avail themselves of his chemical abilities, and, for this, a laboratory was attached to the young museum, which now, as the Museum of Economic Geology, began to assume a more important form. Analyses of minerals, rocks, and soils were made in the laboratory, and instruction was given to a limited number of students in chemistry and metallurgy. Even at this early period Mr. De la Beche succeeded in obtaining the

sanction of those in authority to the system of lectures, which, after man years, expanded itself into the Government School of Mines.

The original idea of a collection of this purely practical character, fittin itself in a peculiar manner to the wants of a great commercial and manu facturing community, was felt to be a correct and a useful one, and presen flowed in from persons interested in those particular branches of industi which it was intended to illustrate. From these sources, and by purchas the museum swelled beyond the means of accommodation. The geologic survey was extended, and the staff of officers enlarged; the publication "Memoirs" was added to the publication of maps; and, under the dire torship of its originator, it was making important progress. The Briti Association in 1838, at its annual meeting at Newcastle-on-Tyne, recor mended that means should be taken for obtaining records of the mini operations of the United Kingdom; and the result was, the establishme of the Mining Record Office to be connected with this museum.

In 1851, the present building, with its enlarged collections, under tl designation of the Museum of Practical Geology, was opened by his Roy Highness the Prince Consort, with accommodations for,

1st. THE GEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF THE UNITED KINGDOM.

2d. THE MUSEUM OF PRACTICAL GEOLOGY.

3d. THE GOVERNMENT SCHOOL OF MINES.

4th. THE MINING RECORD OFFICE.

Sir Henry De la Beche died in April, 1855, having lived to see his or ginal idea largely developed, and was succeeded as Director-General b Sir Roderick Impey Murchison, whose contributions to geological scienc have established for him a world-wide reputation.

The following list of the principal officers connected with this institutic will show the educational character of the establishment:—

SIR RODERICK I. MURCHISON, LL.D., F.R.S., &c., Director-General.

A. C. RAMSAY, F.R.S., Local Director of the Geological Survey an Lecturer of Geology.

A. W. HOFMANN, LL.D., F.R.S., Lecturer on Chemistry.

WARINGTON W. SMYTH, M.A., F.R.S., Lecturer on Mining and Mine alogy.

JOHN PERCY, M.D., F.R.S., Lecturer on Metallurgy.

T. H. HUXLEY, F.R.S., Naturalist to the Geological Survey and Lectur on Natural History.

J. W. SALTER, F.G.S., Palæontologist.

GEORGE G. STOKES, M.A., F.R.S., Lecturer on Physics.

ROBERT WILLIS, M.A., F.R.S., Lecturer on Mechanics.

ROBERT HUNT, F.R.S., Keeper of Mining Records.

With these directing minds, the collections, which are in every wa educational, are rendered peculiarly intelligible. The lectures given t the students of the mining school and to the working-men; The Memoi of the Geological Survey, illustrative of the maps and sections which ar published; The Decades of Organic Remains, and the Descriptive Guid and Illustrative Catalogues, which have been issued, are all of thei

directed to the diffusion of sound scientific knowledge, and the general improvement of those branches of human knowledge which are within the scope of this institution.

The character of the Museum of Practical Geology will be readily understood from the following description of its contents. The objects of the collection divide themselves into two principal groups.

1. THE RAW PRODUCTIONS OF THE EARTH'S CRUST—*Rocks*—which may be studied as to their lithological forms, their geological order, or their mineralogical constitution. *Minerals*—Earthy or metalliferous, exhibiting the conditions under which they occur, the situations in which they are found, and the crystalline or amorphous characters which they assume. The results of the decomposition of, and the chemical changes which occur in, those minerals producing clays and sands.

2. THE ARTIFICIAL PRODUCTIONS, exhibiting the results of science and the arts in forming the native material into objects for use or ornament. This division, in fact, displays the creative power of the human mind regulated by the guiding hand of science, and impelled by healthful industry. Within these two primary divisions are included three secondary, but still important ones.

(*a.*) THE MECHANICAL APPLIANCES which are employed in obtaining and in constructing the raw materials. Models of collieries and mines, showing the conditions of our subterranean operations, with the appliances which have been brought to bear in relief of human toil, and for the amelioration of human suffering.

(*b.*) HISTORICAL SPECIMENS, which have been added with the view of preserving, in juxtaposition with modern manufactures, the productions of other ages and countries, for the purpose of comparison.

(*c.*) FOREIGN AND COLONIAL MINERAL PRODUCTIONS which are imported into this country in the natural state.

The entrance and the lower hall of the building are devoted to such building and ornamental stones as are produced in the British Isles, and used in this country. These include the best varieties of sandstone, the mill-stone grits, magnesian limestones, oolite, and other limestones. The builder and the architect, by consulting these collections, may learn in a brief space of time, and at no cost, facts of the utmost importance as it regards the appearance, the composition, and the durability of stones. . . . Here we have the clays of Cornwall, of Dorsetshire, &c.; the flints, and other materials employed in the production of pottery; and an illustrative history of this branch of British industry. By way of illustration, the series commences with examples of Assyrian and Babylonian bricks, of Etruscan and Roman ware, with models of the Roman potter's kiln discovered at Castor, near Peterborough, with the bone, ivory, and bronze tools which were found near the kiln, and which evidently were used for ornamentation. British-Roman pottery follows, and vases, bowls, lamps, amphoræ, terra-cotta figures, flue-pipes, and water-pipes, instruct us in the character of the early pottery manufacture of England. Following this, and continuing the links in the chain of illustration, we have a good

series of the works of the potters of the mediæval period, advancing to examples of delft ware and the Meissen porcelain or Böttcher ware.

The true English series now commences with the earliest Staffordshire manufacture, coarse in body and imperfect in form. An interesting variety breaks the almost uniform coarseness of the manufacture, when, in 1690, the brothers Elers, from Nuremberg, established themselves near Burslem. The perfection of the forms which they produced has been referred to the introduction of plaster of Paris moulds, which they adopted from the manufactories of France. The small, but interesting group of specimens in this collection tell the transitory story of these men, who in 1710 were obliged to quit Staffordshire, owing to the persecutions to which they were subjected by their jealous neighbors. No particular improvement took place until Wedgwood brought his powerful mind and good taste to bear on the porcelain manufacture of Staffordshire. For the high perfection to which we have arrived, we are mainly indebted to Wedgwood.

Sand and alkali, manganese and lead, show us the materials of which glass is made. Its history is told by examples of Assyrian and Egyptian glass: some of it, probably as old as the days of Moses, is here preserved. Greek and Roman glass show us the perfection to which these peoples had arrived in the manufacture. One case is devoted to examples of this class, another to choice illustrations of the long-celebrated Venetian glass, and another to such examples of modern manufacture as fully illustrate the ordinary conditions, and what may be regarded as the curiosities of glass-making, in the present day.

This series would not be complete without models of a glass-house and of the various tools employed: those are provided, and the processes of blowing and making by hand, of moulding and pressing into moulds, and of tube-drawing are shown. Among what may be regarded as the curiosities of these manufactures, artificial pearls and gems, engraved glass, millefiore and filigree may especially be named.

There are not many manufactures which tell a more instructive story than those which show the progress by which a rude lump of clay or a mass of sand is converted into objects of great utility, upon which the highest efforts of art may be expended; and where, as in this collection, we have not only the raw material and the finished work, but the substances, as colors, &c., which are employed in ornamentation, its educational character becomes very evident. In addition to the series named, there are also some choice examples of enamel-painting, and of mosaics, which will well reward attention.

The metalliferous minerals necessarily form a very extensive division of the collections in the Museum of Practical Geology. We have not here a mineralogical collection, strictly speaking; the metalliferous minerals selected are those which have a commercial value. The ores of copper, tin, lead, iron, &c., which are of commercial value are well shown: the rare and curious ores of those and other metals must be sought for in the collections of the British Museum.

Keeping the education of the public constantly in view, a series of wall

cases have been devoted to illustrations of the modes of occurrence of those minerals in the rocks. *Mineral veins* or *lodes*, in all their varieties, are shown, and many of the more remarkable phenomena are well exemplified. With the assistance afforded by several models of mining districts, of mines, and of the modes in which dislocations of the strata take place—these dislocations becoming eventually filled in with metalliferous matter—these interesting natural phenomena may be fairly understood.

The method which has been adopted to teach the uses of the metalliferous minerals is, in the first place, to exhibit all the ores which have any commercial value; then to show the processes by which the metal is obtained, as far as it is possible to do so, by specimens selected at each stage of the metallurgical process; and thirdly, to exhibit the uses of the metals in the production of articles for utility or ornament. Thus the metallurgy of copper and tin being displayed, some objects showing the applications of copper and tin in the pure state are shown, and then the alloy of those metals, *Bronze*. In like manner copper and zinc, in the pure state, and the alloy, *Brass*, with all the allied alloys, white metals—as *German silver*, *nickel plate*, *&c.*,—are fully displayed. This arrangement embraces many very fine examples of British and foreign casting, and especially several remarkably good illustrations of the electrotype process, which latter is well explained, by combining the apparatus employed with the specimens in all stages, and in numerous varieties which result from the decomposition of the salts of copper and other metals by the action of a voltaic current. The collection of British iron ores is the most complete in the kingdom, and the variations in the metallurgical results of different districts are clearly shown. The ores have all been analyzed in the laboratory of Dr. Percy, and will, when published with descriptions of the localities from which they were obtained, form a most valuable collection for the iron manufacture.

Starting again from pig-iron, all the conditions of malleable iron manufacture are shown, and the process by which iron is converted into steel illustrated by specimens and models.

A considerable collection of foreign and colonial minerals has been accumulated, for the purpose of showing all the varieties of metalliferous ores which are imported into this country.

It is not practicable to describe here the models, tools, &c., which are exhibited for the purpose of illustrating all our mining operations, and those also of other important mineral districts. It is sufficient to say that the models, &c., are so constructed and arranged, that the conditions of a metalliferous or of a coal-producing country are clearly shown. The modes of commencing and continuing subterranean explorations are exhibited. The machinery employed for draining mines, for winding, and for crushing and dressing ores are illustrated; and to a considerable extent models of the furnaces, &c., which are used for bringing the ores into the condition of merchantable metal; and then we have examples of the uses to which those metals are applied.

In direct connection with these illustrative examples are the collections

of the MINING RECORD OFFICE. Here are preserved the working plans and sections of mines and collieries: a record, indeed, is kept of all our subterranean operations. The object of this is to afford the most exact information as to the condition of British mines. Those plans and sections tell the conditions of the mines up to a certain date, and by consulting such documents the most reliable information may be obtained. It is also the purpose of this office to register the quantities of ore sold from all our mines; and annually there is published the Mineral Statistics of the previous year. From these returns for 1857, we learn that the value of the mineral produce of the United Kingdom, exclusive of clays and stones, was as follows:—

Tin Ore,	£743,508
Copper Ore,	1,560,922
Lead Ore,	1,428,095
Zinc Ore,	30,982
Iron Pyrites,	63,904
Arsenic,	919
Nickel and Cobalt,	219
Iron Ore,	5,265,304
Coals,	16,848,676
Barytes and other Minerals,	12,500
	£25,961,649

The market value of the metals, as obtained from the furnace at the market prices of the year, have amounted to the following sums:—

Tin,	£367,680
Copper,	2,166,900
Lead,	1,523,552
Silver,	133,216
Zinc,	450,000
Pig Iron,	12,938,560
Other Metals,	125,500
	£18,105,708

Adding to this the value of the coal, salt, and building-stones, with that of the miscellaneous mineral produce of this country, we have the enormous total of 80,000,000*l.*, which we annually draw from the soil, this being, of course, an actual yearly addition to our national wealth.

One great object has ever been to furnish instruction to such of our countrymen as were about to emigrate; hence here are collected examples of the gems as they are found in nature, and as they are cut by the lapidary. The knowledge which may be obtained by a careful examination of these cases would prevent many of those errors, the result of ignorance, which have from time to time been committed. In Mexico a very fine crystal of quartz was seized upon by a miner as a diamond, and from its size he fixed a fabulous value on his supposed treasure. It was sent to this country, and proved to be nearly valueless. In Australia one hundred pounds have been given for a piece of quartz, under the idea of its being a diamond, the real value of which was not one penny. The mistakes of a similar character which are continually being made, prove the importance of an instructive collection of true and false examples such as is to be found in the Museum of Practical Geology. This division of the collection, to be found in the horse-shoe case of the large gallery, is arranged in groups. Carbon, for example, includes the diamond, graphite, charcoal,

anthracite, bituminous coal, and coke, and the various hydro-carbons produced by nature, the series terminating with a fine mass of amber. In like manner the simple, or, as they are called, elementary bodies are shown, and all those natural compounds which have any commercial value.

The collection of British fossil remains in this museum is one of the most complete in this country. These organic remains are arranged in the side-galleries. In the lower gallery will be found all the fossils of the older rocks, arranged in the order of their occurrence, the most ancient first. In these old rocks we see probably the very first indications of vital organization. The forms thus preserved, although imperfect, are yet sufficiently intelligible to enable the palæontologist to determine the class to which they belong. Advancing, the forms become more and more distinct, and in many examples the perfection of the preservative process has been such, that the most delicate members have been left uninjured. In the upper gallery the fossils of the tertiary rocks are collected and arranged upon the same system; until, at the termination of the series, we have remains which differ but slightly from those now existing upon this earth.

It may, notwithstanding the advance of education, still be asked by some persons, of what value can a collection of organic remains be as an element of instruction? As a means for enabling the geologist to determine with accuracy the relative ages of rocks, widely separated in space, and thus to form extensive groups—the whole of the members of each group being shown to have an especial relation to each other—these collections are of the highest scientific value. And, commercially, since many are disposed to regard the worth of a thing only by its market value, a knowledge of fossil geology enables one at once to determine whether, in any given district, there is a chance of finding coal or not. Many thousands of pounds have been squandered in the search for coal in districts, the fossil remains of which would at once have informed any one acquainted with palæontology, that it was futile. Thousands have again been saved by persons having even a slight amount of this knowledge.

The Geological Survey of the United Kingdom which is connected with this museum, and to which, indeed, the Museum owes a large portion of its specimens, is carried out by officers who are also, many of them, connected either with the School of Mines, or have some portion of the Museum in their charge. The object of the survey is to map with the greatest accuracy the rocks of these islands, indicating one from the other by a system of coloring. About one-half of England and the whole of Wales has been surveyed, and the maps published, as are also the maps of a portion of Ireland. The Geological Survey of Scotland is now in progress. The value of those maps is shown in a striking manner by the sale they command. To the agriculturalist, to the miner and the engineer, it is often of the utmost moment to determine the kind of rock existing in any district, and among these classes the maps of the Geological Survey are sought for with much interest. In addition to the maps, and serving to illustrate them, horizontal sections across defined lines of country, and

vertical sections of particular spots, are published, and memoirs, explanatory of the different formations and of the peculiar phenomena connected with them, are also issued to the public.

THE GOVERNMENT SCHOOL OF MINES was established for the purpose of affording scientific instruction to young men who were likely to make mining or metallurgy the business of their lives. It is somewhat extraordinary that in a country producing annually a larger amount of mineral wealth than the whole of Europe, there should not have been long previously to its establishment a school of this character. In the principal capitals of the Continent, and in many of the small States, mining-schools have long been established, and many of them have a wide-spread reputation.

Although Sir Henry De la Beche obtained the sanction of the government to the delivery of lectures on sundry sciences in 1839, it was not until 1851 that the Mining School could be brought fairly into operation. In this school are taught all those branches of science which have a direct bearing upon mining or on any of the metallurgical industries. The lecturers have been already named. The subjects taught are chemistry, physics, metallurgy, mechanics, geology, mining, mineralogy, and natural history. The teaching is by lectures and frequent examinations. There is instruction in the chemical laboratory, and practice in the metallurgical one. Mechanical drawing forms also an important division in the educational course of those who devote themselves to the mining department. It is satisfactory to be enabled to state that since 1851 a great number of very intelligent young men have been educated in this school. Many have taken first-class positions in the examinations, obtained the scholarships which are offered for competition, and, having finished the prescribed courses of instruction, they have readily obtained situations of value and importance. Beyond the system of instruction given in the School of Mines, the lecturers have organized sets of lectures which are delivered by them to working-men. This has been one of the most popular movements of the institution. Its popularity is proved by the fact, that the theater limiting the number of men who can be admitted, only between 500 and 600 tickets can be issued. On each occasion of a new course, applications have been made for from 1,000 to 1,500 tickets. It should be stated that every man is compelled to prove himself to be an artisan. The courses consist each of six lectures, and for the admission to each course the fee for the ticket is sixpence. Each night of the lectures the theater is crowded with working-men, and a more attentive audience it is not possible to bring together. That the object is the acquirement of knowledge is proved by the facts, that most of the men are in the habit of taking very copious notes of the lectures, and frequently they correspond with the lecturer upon some points on which they desire further information.

The sums expended in the year 1857–8 on the Museum of Practical Geology in St. Jermyn Street, including its School of Mines, exclusive of the cost of the Geological Survey, was about £30,000.

XIV. JOHANN GEORG HAMANN.

[Translated for the American Journal of Education, from the German of Karl von Raumer.]

JOHANN GEORG HAMANN was born at Königsberg, August 27, 1730. His father was a respectable man, and "a much beloved practitioner, who preferred the family name of an Altstadt surgeon, to all the titles of honor, then so cheap."* He was born in Lusatia, and his wife, Hamann's mother, in Lübeck; they had another son, younger than Johann Georg. Hamann relates that both his parents were "enemies of idleness, and friends of divine and human order."† "They were not satisfied," he continues, "with the mere form of their duty and the ceremonial of education, which, to the shame of too many parents, suffices them in caring for their children; but they had our good for an object, and did as much for it as their circumstances and knowledge permitted. Our instructor had to give account to them of our industry and progress; and our home was a school, under the strict oversight, and with the example, of our parents. Lying, mischief, and stealing, were three capital offenses, which were not to be pardoned. We were rather educated at a profuse expense, than parsimoniously. But it is good economy and management in this matter which is the best policy."

Hamann received his first school instruction from a teacher who tried to teach him Latin without grammar.‡ From a second teacher he learned, as he relates, to translate a Latin author into German, without understanding either the language or the meaning of his author. "Thus," he says, "my Latin and Greek were mere collections of words; compositors' work; conjuring tricks; in which my memory overworked itself, and by means of which the other mental faculties became weakened, proper and healthful nourishment being wanting." By means of drilling, he made much progress in arithmetic; but such a knowledge of it is useless to children who "are made to acquire facility in it, without observation or understanding." "It is," continues Hamann, "as it is in music; where not the fingers only but chiefly the ear and the hearing, must be taught and exercised. One who has learned one piece, or a hundred, ever so fluently and correctly, without a feeling of the harmony, plays like a dancing

* Hamann's Works, 7, 76, 161. † Ib., 1, 153. ‡ Ib., 156, &c.

bear in comparison even with the most miserable fiddler, who knows how to express his own ideas."

Although in this species of study it was Hamann's memory which was mostly put in requisition, he still complains that it was weakened by it. This is an experience well worth remembering; and warns us against pushing the exercises of single mental faculties to the point of wearing out.* "An edge too sharp gets notched."

Hamann makes valuable pedagogical observations upon his statement; for the reason that education "is so important a work;" and because he "feels in his heart a plain call from God to feed his lambs."

"An intelligent teacher," he says, "must enter his school in dependence upon God and himself, if he is to administer his office wisely. He must also imitate God, as he reveals himself in nature and in the Holy Scriptures, and in our own souls, through them both. Almighty God, to whom nothing costs any thing, is a most economical and patient God. The law of economy of time, in accordance with which he waits patiently for fruit to ripen, should be our pattern. It is of importance, not what, or how much, children or men know; but how they know it." "The means used for instructing children can not be simple enough. But they must, besides efficiency, possess the qualities of manifold and fruitful applicability and practicability."

"Learning foreign languages should be a help to the understanding of the mother tongue; and, although it may seem to be a mere exercise of memory, they should be made a preparation and training of all powers of the mind for higher, more important, more difficult, and even religious subjects."

Such and other observations were made by Hamann, at the age of eight and twenty, upon the education which he had received. He remarks, in concluding them, "Complete accomplishment, in the usual acceptation of the term, consists in remoteness from nature. How unnatural have fashions and customs made us, and how difficult would it be for us to return from the present time to the simplicity and innocence of ancient manners?"

Hamann was matriculated at Königsberg, in his sixteenth year, in 1746. He very soon, however, at the age of twenty-two, connected the occupations of the teacher with those of the student. In 1752, he became tutor in the family of a Baroness B., in Livonia, twelve miles from Riga. He describes the family.

Besides a boy nine years old, who looked very shy, awkward, and effeminate, there were a younger sister, and an orphan girl, whom the baroness was bringing up. My beginning in my new calling was difficult enough. I had to manage myself, my pupils, and an uncouth, coarse, and ignorant mother. I harnessed myself to the plough like a spirited horse; with great zeal, sincere intentions, little wisdom, and too much confidence in myself, and dependence upon human weaknesses, in consideration of the good which I was doing or was intending to do. We are naturally inclined to overestimate our own efforts, to expect their efficiency as an unavoidable matter of course, and to estimate the duties of others, and expect the performance of them, by the standard of our own opinions and preferences. The husbandman can not, from his careful husbandry alone, promise himself a hundred fold return. The land, the weather, the character of the seed, some small insect, all of which are things beyond the scope of his powers, have their part to play; and, above all, is the blessing of the divine oversight and government. I expected that my labors would be recognized by men; admired by them; and even that they would redound to their shame. Such are impure de-

* The fact reminds us of the unlimited memorizing of the schools of Jacotot and Ruthardt

sires; they pervert our efforts, and bring disgrace upon them. I wrote two letters to the baroness, upon the education of her son; which were intended to awaken her conscience.

One of these letters referred to has been preserved. Its contents are as follows:—

As I am no longer able to say any thing which makes an impression upon the baron, I feel my resources exhausted, and am in despair of doing him any good. I find myself, in teaching him Latin, under the daily necessity of repeating over again what I said on the first day of my instruction. I see before me a human body, which has eyes and ears, without using them; of whose mind we may well despair, since it is always occupied with childish and silly pursuits, and is thus useless for the slightest serious occupation. I shall not blame your grace, if you shall think this statement calumnious and false. It has cost me enough to find out its truth by hourly experience; and there have been occasions when I have lamented the future fate of the baron, much more than my own present lot. I have no desire that time and sad experience shall prove the truth of my expectations regarding him. I can pay attention neither to arithmetic, in which the baron is so little advanced that I have had to teach him to write and name the numerals, nor to French and other subordinate studies; for the greater the number of things which I undertake with him, the more inattentive does he become. One who can not read a language which is pronounced according to the sounds of its letters, is in no situation to learn another which is pronounced by rules, like the French. I therefore take upon myself the freedom of requesting of your grace some assistance in my work. It will be necessary to apply some compulsion to the baron, since he has not the good sense, or the natural inclination, of his own free choice, to prefer what is for his own honor and happiness. Conscientious parents bear in mind the account which they must one day render of the education of their children, to God and to the world. These young creatures have human souls; and we are not at liberty to change them into dolls, apes, parrots, or something still worse. I have taken occasion to set before your grace the feelings and views of a reasonable and tender mother, for the reason that I am convinced of the profound interest which you feel in the education of your only son. You will not do too much credit to your tutor, if you consider him a man who loves his duty more than he seeks to please.

"My letter was not understood," continues Hamann in his narrative, "and I had poured oil upon the fire." He gives a fuller account of this in the following letter to his father.

"On the 14th of this month, on Friday, when the baroness fasts, I received, after dinner, the following autograph letter from her, by the footman, a quarter of an hour after the young baron had come down, as pale as a corpse. I had eaten below.

Herr Hamann:*—As you have shown yourself altogether unfit for the instruction of children of condition, and as the low letter does not please me, in which you describe my son in so vulgar and disgraceful a manner, perhaps you could not judge of him otherwise than by your own pattern. I see in you only a statue hung round with a great many books, which by no means constitutes a good tutor; and, as you have written to me that you have sold your freedom and peace of mind for a number of years at too dear a rate, I will neither have your supposed skill nor your time paid for in my house; I need you no longer about my children; make ready to journey hence on Monday.

"The young baron had been sent for up stairs, just as I received my letter of dismission. The baroness was bathing; and I did not know

* This note is, in the German, extremely misspelled, mispunctuated, and vulgar in choice of words. These characteristics could not well be accurately given in the English.—(*Trans.*)

why the young baron did not come down. I therefore sent word to him to come. He came to me, crying, and made excuses for himself; he had repeatedly asked the baroness to permit him to come down, but she had forbidden him to see me again. He fell upon my neck, crying, and his affectionate demeanor affected me. I made the best use possible of my quarter of an hour with him; and explained to him all the sincerity and tenderness which I had used in teaching him. He embraced me closely, with tears. The baroness was told that her son was with me. She sent for him immediately, and forbid him anew to see me. He crept secretly through the garden to the window, knocked, and wished me good night, with a sorrow which was evidently sincere. On Saturday he wrote me two letters from his imprisonment, one of which I answered. On Monday I was about departing, and sent my servant to the baroness to request permission to take leave. He brought me back word that she desired to be excused, being occupied; and that she wished me all manner of good. I gave a nod to the baron, who was standing in one of the rooms above; he ran up to me, and I embraced him. After I had taken my seat in the carriage, he came to me again, and again fell upon my neck."

A few months afterward, Hamann obtained a second tutorship; in relation to which he says:—

In 1753, in the most beautiful season of the year, I went into Courland, to General W., whose wife was born Countess de K., and who had two sons. In this place I was the successor of two tutors, who had been employed together; of whom one was a windbag and vulgar, and the other a shallow-minded fellow. I found the two boys to be of a very different character from that of my baron. They needed much more discipline, watching, and keenness, and much more was to be hoped from them; as the eldest had great capacity, although I was never able to take as much pleasure in his natural tendencies, as in those of my first pupil. God granted me many favors in this household, both from parents and children, and, indeed, from all in the family. I presumed too much, also, upon my position, and made too great requisitions in return for my services. I became restless, impatient, and ill-tempered, to an extreme; and had much difficulty in staying out my year, at the end of which I went back to Riga, with much melancholy, ill-will, anger, and some disgrace.

After a little time, he undertook the same appointment again; but the last sickness of his mother called him back to Königsberg, in 1756.* From that city he went to Berlin, Lübeck, Amsterdam, and finally to London, where he remained from April 18th, 1757, to June 27th, 1758, as correspondent of a mercantile house at Riga. Here, by means of a foolish and dissipated course of life, he fell into a miserable and needy condition, both physical and mental. In these

* His correspondence with his two pupils and their subsequent tutor, G. E. Lindner, are of educational value. Hamann himself was, however, afterward not altogether satisfied with his own letters.

circumstances he applied himself to the reading of the Bible, and found himself wonderfully attracted, enlightened, encouraged, and even converted, by it. How profound its influence was upon him is shown by the deep feeling of the "*Biblical Observations of a Christian*," which he wrote in London at that time. From this time forward, the Holy Scriptures were, to him, an immovable foundation, the unconditional highest rule of his thoughts and actions, and of his whole life. "God," he said, "has made me a man fortified by the Bible." Toward the end of his stay in London, he wrote the "*Reflections upon the Course of my Life*;" a confession, written in bitter earnest, and concealing nothing.*

In 1758, Hamann's brother was appointed a teacher in the cathedral school at Riga. Hamann was concerned, and, as the sequel showed, with good reason, about his "indifference." "My brother," he wrote to his father, "has good reason to recognize his inefficiency, like Solomon; to see in himself a child, who knows neither his coming in nor his going out; and to ask for an obedient and understanding heart, that he may be able to feed with faithfulness, and govern with industry, the flock intrusted to him." Subsequently, he repeatedly encouraged, instructed, warned, and reproved his brother. When he was to deliver an address at an examination, he wrote to him as follows: "When it becomes your duty to speak at the examination, speak so that the children can understand you; and have more regard for the impression which you can make upon them, than for the approval of learned and witty dilettanti. You call your work a yoke. It is an excellent thing for a man to bear the yoke in his youth."

At another time he admonished him to perform, conscientiously, the duties of his office; and adds: "You are determined to be better than other people; and will not use the summer for the purpose for which it was given to men,—to behold and enjoy God's friendliness to them. What folly to write that so doing would be to be more inquisitive than God meant; especially when you are capable of understanding and applying that pleasure! In this way, every thing in you remains dead and unfruitful." Hamann's admonitions were, however, little regarded by his brother.

He wrote to him again: "You will not make use of what men put into your hand. Your scholars will always imitate you; they will

* From this work much of the above account is taken. It resembles Augustine's "*Confessions*," in grade and in character; and is, to a corresponding degree, fundamentally different from Rousseau's How entirely it was misunderstood by Hamann's most intimate friends, is shown by a letter from Hamann to J. G. Lindner. Eminent later writers, who have misjudged Hamann, should consider what he says to Lindner: "My '*Course of my Life*' can not be read hastily and superficially. Herr B. must live longer, and have different experiences, from his previous ones, before he can understand large portions of it."

never learn correctly, if you do not teach them correctly. You are as silent with me about your school matters as if they were state secrets. If you were well aware of the importance of your station, would not your pleasure in it, and ideas springing from it, show themselves in a hundred different ways,—in questions, remarks, observations?" Further on, he says: "If it is painful to you to pass your time in teaching, go to your class as a scholar, and look upon your young people as so many actual *collaboratores*, who are instructing you; go among them with a multitude of questions, and you will feel such an impatience of curiosity in the beginning of the lesson, and will carry away home with you such a multitude of scholar's reflections, as if you were comparing and examining the teachings of a whole crowd of teachers at once. He who will not learn from the children, will be unintelligent and mistaken in their conduct to them."

Hamann had recommended to his brother a Greek grammar, by Wagner. His brother answered that "it was otherwise very good, but somewhat too short, and a mere skeleton." To this Hamann replies: "A skeleton must necessarily be dry and uncomely to the eye, being deprived of blood, sinews, and muscles; but otherwise it would be a carcass. The spirit of the teacher must clothe and inspire these dry bones. Such is the office, in instruction, of the *viva vox;* which is the daughter of living knowledge, and not a mere *vox humana*, an organ-pipe. Profound views are not easy. They must be worked for and created."

All Hamann's admonitions were, however, in vain; in 1760 his brother gave up his place as teacher in Riga, and "from that time to 1778 lived at Königsberg, in empty leisure and even in foolishness."

From 1752 to 1787, Hamann lived almost entirely at Königsberg. During four years, 1759–1763, he was occupied in waiting upon his aged and sickly father. In 1767, he received an appointment as secretary and translator in the excise department; in 1777, became a warehouse inspector; and, in 1787, was put on the retired list.

From his marriage (a marriage of conscience,) he had four children; one son, Johann Michel, born in 1769, and three daughters. His children were the occasion of a new pedagogical epoch for him. Clear-minded and conscientious, and deceived by no foolish parental partialities, he was often made unhappy by reflecting upon the prospects of his children. "What a wonderfully poor specimen I am of a father," he writes to Herder, "can not be imagined. A real hen, that has hatched ducks' eggs." In 1776, he writes quite discouraged about himself. "My three children have cost their mother, although she is a pretty tough daughter of Adam, and myself, much real sorrow.

Yesterday my eldest daughter fell down the whole flight of stairs. The holy angels in heaven themselves could not take care of children; let alone educating them. God be praised, she was not injured. With my Hans Michel every thing goes crab fashion; the boy is forgetting his good intentions and his good manners. This is my greatest trouble; which causes me anguish and gray hairs; that I myself can do nothing for his education, and can devote so little means to it. I had, one Sunday, the horrid idea of packing him off, neck and heels, to the *Pontifex Maximus*, at Dessau.* That heat soon cooled; but the worm is still gnawing at my heart, in respect to what I shall do with the boy. I have little enough of family joys, though they are the only heaven upon earth; but family sorrows are, also, a real hell; at least they were so for David and the patriarchs. The Spirit of God and the Son of Man are the only schoolmasters for such things."

Herder encouraged his despairing friend. "With regard to the education of your Hans Michel," he wrote, "do not distress yourself; nothing will be gained by doing so. Have yet a little patience. I have just come back from seeing the *Pontifex Maximus*, in Dessau; and my own boy is growing up. But, if God will, he shall never see him nor have him. His whole establishment is a frightful thing to me; a hot-house, or rather a pen full of human geese. My brother-in-law, the forester, who was here lately, was telling me of a new method to raise oaks in ten years, as large as now grow in fifty or a hundred. By cutting off the tap-root of the young trees, it is said, the whole strength comes up above ground in stem and fruit. The whole secret of Basedow's plans, I believe, is such a one; and, since I know him personally, I would not give him a calf to instruct, much less a man. In short, my dear fellow, let your passion pass off; and wait, as a husbandman does, for the good fruits of the earth."†

But Hamann's solicitude for his children did not leave him. In 1782, six years afterward, he wrote, by way of consolation, to Reichardt, who had lost a son:—

"What abundance of care, vexation, and solicitude, do you escape! The greater the love of a father, the more mortal are his cares, and the more infernal his sorrows. The higher the endowments of our children, the greater the danger of their going astray and being

* Basedow, who was, in 1776, at the culmination of his fame.

† This excellent letter of Herder's is worth comparing with the great hopes which Kant and Oberlin conceived of the Philanthropinum. Hamann himself said of it, "Basedow's Philanthropinum is a most remarkable phenomenon. His laughable Programme to Cosmopolitans yesterday caused me much interest and much reflection. A revolution of mind, and of our earth, or, at least, of the smallest parts of it, seems to be in fermentation."

ruined, in a world which lies in sin; and no enemy is so dangerous as our own tenderness, which is blind in more than one sense; our idle vanity, in managing them as if they were creatures of our own; and our foolish assiduity to impress upon them I know not what ideal of our own likeness and name."*

Hamann saw quite clearly where the faults lay in his education of his son. His own peculiar and remarkable gift at learning languages and at reading books, led him astray into the attempt to "impress upon his son an ideal of his own likeness and name." In 1780, when the boy was eleven years old, he read Plato's Phædon with him; two years afterward, the Æneid, the Iliad, the Pentateuch, in the original, and the New Testament, for the sixth time; in his fourteenth year, the boy learned English, French, and Polish, and read Pindar.

In 1783, at the urgent entreaty of his friend, Privy Councilor Lindner, in Mittau, Hamann consented to take charge of his son, eighteen years old.

"His capacity, or want of it, for languages," he wrote to his father, "I have not examined, nor could I. After some trials of his candor and discretion, his assurance was sufficient, that he had, as yet, made no serious attack upon the learned languages." Afterward he says that young Lindner is to study drawing and mathematics, along with his own son. He is to study, with Hamann, Latin, Greek, if he has opportunity, French, English; and four other languages, when the occasion shall serve. After this a retrogression begins to appear. Hamann writes to his father, "We have this week been especially at work upon Latin, and next to that with French; in which departments, the otherwise strict routine of his training seems to have been departed from. In regard to style, as much care will be taken with reference to the fundamental principles and the genius of his mother tongue, as with any of the other languages. I am not in a condition to meddle with chrestomathies or school exercises; for all that I know about them is contained in this one line, '*Scribendi recté sapere est et principium et fons.*'"

An uncle took the young man to a masquerade, and he found other diversions. Hamann wrote to his father that he would not take away his son's freedom, for that with his own children he used no compulsion, unless necessary. He adds: "Every thing depends upon modifying the tendencies of their characters, by imbuing them with fixed principles; not by means of mere exterior formalities."

* Hamann expresses himself in a more quiet manner, in a letter to Jacobi, in 1785. He says: "If my children will only grow up and prosper, I will willingly grow old and die; and God gives me a full share of pleasure."

In the same letter he says: "Do not judge of your son's progress from his own letters; and if you have occasion to base any conclusion upon them, I beg you to communicate it candidly to me. A good builder does his underground work before the slightest evidence of it comes up into sight. The more he hastens to make a show with the visible part of his edifice, the less sufficient is the foundation of it."

"I know no other mode of proceeding," he continues, "than that which I have used with my own children, whose love is dearer to me than my paternal authority, and whose happiness is the only object which their parents can have for them."

In Hamann's subsequent letters, his hopes for the youth grow fainter and fainter. Latin is the principal pursuit, but he will not decline and conjugate handsomely. "Balls, concerts, the theater, are his element. Can it be expected of a young man that he will at once give up the subjects of his thoughts and wishes, and busy himself with their direct opposites?" The uncle already mentioned paid his expenses to the theater, and had "to be managed with discretion."

A younger sister of young Lindner had taken upon herself to write to him in the style of a governess; a proceeding which Hamann sharply reproved. He says: "To keep what is good within, and to show out what is bad,—to appear worse than we really are, and to be really better than we appear,—I hold to be a duty and an art." Lindner had expressed some feelings in regard to the tone of his son's letters. "These symptoms of frivolity," answered Hamann, "will pass off of themselves, when their source is improved; and must rather be encouraged and brought out, than repressed."

Thus stood the educational undertaking until Easter; but, on the Whitsun-Monday following, Hamann wrote to Lindner: "Neither requests nor inducements shall induce me to keep your son longer than this summer." "He lacked," he says, "the Whitsuntide gift of the mind, spontaneous effort." In another letter, he says of the youth: "Desires after fashion, plays, diversions of society, and the like occupations, have deprived him of all taste for thoroughness or science. On one hand he has no good impulses of his own; and, on the other, he has a precocious power of observing and imitating ordinary ways and methods of getting along. The depth of quiet water is soon sounded; and I must hasten to the end of my experiment."

He had thoughtfully and foreseeingly at first promised the father to make an experiment only. Why it succeeded so ill, the previous paragraphs have shown. But if it be asked whether Hamann himself was not in part to blame, it must be confessed that, from this

young man, who was deficient both in natural endowments and in good will, as from his own son, he demanded far too much. While he was not yet able to decline and conjugate in Latin, Hamann read with him the epistles of Horace, and would have instructed him at the same time in the elements of French, English, and Greek! We have already observed upon the causes which could lead so clear-minded a man into such an error. Comenius says, that a teacher either must not be too intellectual, or he must have learned patience. In this, he was thinking of Cicero's remark, that "In proportion as a man is of a quick and clear mind, just so much the more passionate and laborious will his teaching be; for any one, who sees that learned slowly which he himself learned quickly, is annoyed at it." But Comenius adds, that such a teacher should consider; that his office is, not to transform minds, but to inform them; that neither can he impart to the scholar, nor can the latter learn by himself, what has not been vouchsafed to him from above. These sensible remarks of Cicero and Comenius seem entirely applicable to Hamann.*

We have thus become acquainted with this distinguished man in the most various pedagogical relations; as he was brought up by his parents and teachers, as the tutor of a stranger's children; and, lastly, as the instructor of his own son, and of a ward. His letters to his brother have exhibited his views of the vocation and duties of a school-teacher.

Records remain, also, of Hamann's views on the education of his daughter. "In this single respect," (that of the education of children,) he wrote, "I have too little aid from my honored wife; being able to expect from her nothing more than good will." Thus the very basis of a girl's education was, of course, wanting; and, accordingly, we need not wonder that, in the year 1784, Hamann placed his eldest daughter at a boarding-school. "If she has the good qualities which her instructress attributes to her," he wrote, "she shall not become a woman of society, but shall fulfill her duties as a sister and daughter, so as to become fit for a good wife and house-mother. If she has talents for society and for teaching, her parents and brothers and sisters have the best right to the enjoyment of them." To this same oldest daughter he wrote, in 1787: "Fear God, my dear child, and do not forget your parents and brothers and sisters; just as I carry you all in my feelings and in my heart. Do not read from overcuriosity, but moderately. In the best gardens there are nettles, with which one may get stung. Accustom yourself, dear child,

* "I have worked like a horse," Hamann writes, "until Easter, to accomplish my object in the Latin," (with young Lindner;) and he proceeds to give an excellent description of Cicero's "laborious" teaching; which, at the same time, shows signs of the "passionate."

to read often in good books, rather than in those of harmful amusement." In a subsequent letter he says: "I am rejoiced, from the bottom of my soul, at your eagerness to labor in educating your younger sister. Be helpful also to your good old mother, and make her life comfortable by taking part in her domestic employments."

He seems, therefore, to have reached the end which he sought to attain, by means of the boarding institution.

Besides the pedagogical views above given, which were the natural outgrowth of Hamann's relations in life, there occur in his writings many valuable thoughts upon education and instruction; from which we here add a few:—

1. God is mighty in the weak. But those are not weak who, instead of seeing in themselves shepherds of living lambs, think themselves Pygmalions, great sculptors, whose loving hearts, if the gods will, can breathe the breath of life into their own work.

2. It is true, I deny roundly that there is as little use in wrestling and battling about in the world, as in being let entirely alone.

3. A fund of misanthropy, and rigid mental habits, can not succeed in a teacher, especially a public one. An enemy to men and a friend to this world, both are enemies to God

4. The worth of a human soul, whose loss or harm can not be compensated by gaining the whole world,—how little is the worth of such a soul understood by the delineator of Emile, blind as the son of the prophets (2d Kings, vi: 15–17.) Every school is a mountain of God, like Dothan, full of horses and chariots of fire, round about Elisha. Let us also open our eyes and see, lest we despise some of these little ones, since of such is the kingdom of heaven, and their angels in heaven do always see the face of the Father in heaven.

5. What ignorance is that of the worldly-wise, who dare to talk about education, without the very beginning of wisdom, fear, and divine unction!

To a teacher of worldly wisdom, who was about writing a Natural Philosophy for children, Hamann wrote:—

6. You are, in truth, a master in Israel, if you count it a little thing to transform yourself into a little child, in spite of your learning. Or have you more expectations from children, having found your grown-up hearers unable to keep up with you in endurance and celerity of thought? For, to the execution of your scheme, a great knowledge of children is requisite; which can not be acquired either in polite society nor in academical life.

The blinded heathen had a reverence for children, and certainly a baptized philosopher ought to know that something more is requisite in writing for children than the wit even of a Fontelle, and an amorous style of composition. What will petrify beautiful minds, and inspire mind into beautiful marble, is high treason to the innocence of children.

To prepare for one's self-praise out of the mouths of babes and sucklings, to participate in such a desire and ambition, is no vulgar occupation; it must be commenced, not by robbing birds of many-colored feathers, but with the voluntary putting off all superiority in age or wisdom, and the self-denial of all vanity. A philosophical book for children must appear as simple, foolish, and insipid, as a divine book for men. Examine yourself, whether you have the heart to be the author of a simple, foolish, insipid, Natural Philosophy. If you have, you are a philosopher for children.

The chief law of methods for children is this; to let one's self down to their weakness; to become their servant, where one would naturally choose to be their master; to follow them, where one would naturally lead them; to learn their language and their mind, where one would naturally constrain them to imitate

his own. This practical principle, it is, however, possible neither to understand nor to act fully up to, unless one has become fully absorbed in affection for children.

7. Without the law of complete freedom, man would be fit for no imitation, which is the basis of all education and receptivity; for, of all animals, man is the greatest pantomimist.

8. How much mental quickening have I enjoyed in the Swiss mason's hut of Leonard and Gertrude! How skillfully, in this affecting drama, is the *proton pseudos* of the apostles, of the new philosophy, in respect to legislation, discovered!

In the hut of Leonard and Gertrude, I found indications of a stricter philosophical and political system, than in Raynal's ten volumes of East and West Indian Tales.

The author of Leonard and Gertrude adapted his style entirely to the tone of national feeling. In spite of this fault, as admirers of purity and lucidity of style must find it, it undeniably contains passages of beauty, strength, and power, which one can not become tired of reading.

9. I think of education as I do of all other human instrumentalities, whose success depends wholly upon a blessing from above; I prefer a moderate use of it to a forced and excessive one.*

To Reichardt, whose son was dead, Hamann wrote:—

10. The giver of all pleasure is also the God of all consolation; and both have their source on high, from this fatherly and motherly heart. Man knows not, but God only, the best way and the best time. The best of all educational institutions for our whole race is this dear death; the best Philanthropinum is that spiritual world, full of innocent and perfect souls, that high institution of real virtuosos, and of the mothers of us all.

In a letter to Bucholtz, who had also lost a son, he wrote:—

The natural disproportions appearing upon the census-lists may perhaps have their deepest foundation in the political arithmetic of heaven; which is obliged to recruit itself from these innocent classes.†

"Suffer the little children to come unto me, and forbid them not," said the founder of the covenant of baptism, the living God; therefore they all live with him. The dead boy lives, not only in the feelings and hearts of those who have loved him and seen him, but his life on high will act like a magnet on us, to draw us toward the place and condition in which he is; whither he has gone as our forerunner, perhaps, to fulfill the duties of the first-born toward his brothers and sisters, as a protecting spirit and good angel, better than can be done by flesh and blood. Which of us knows for what the Father of Spirits may destine his "*animula, vagula, blandula?*" And are not his dispensations intended to cultivate in us some heavenly characteristics; to wean us from earthly pleasures, which are only transient food, and do not endure until a better life; and to accustom us to higher enjoyments?

Having thus collected some of Hamann's scattered thoughts upon education, to facilitate a judgment upon them collectively, I return to his usually uniform life. The society of eminent men, whom he met in Königsberg, especially Kant and Hippel, and a correspondence with others,—Herder, F. H. Jacobi, Moser, Klopstock, &c.,—enlivened and seasoned his simple and quiet existence.

* Hamann's views are of great importance, upon the novelties introduced into German orthography, by Damm, (1773,) Klopstock, and Campe, (1778.) See his "*New Apology of the Letter H*," and "*Two Mites added to the latest German Literature.*"

† Of the kingdom of heaven, he says, in a letter to Kraus, "Whose citizens are gathered more from the young, than from philosophers, noblemen, the powerful, or the men of the world. By means of the mortality of the young, it seems, also, that the population of the kingdom of heaven surpasses that of earthly realms; and with good reason."

A variety of causes brought him into troubled and difficult circumstances, until, in the end of the year 1784, Franz Bucholtz, lord of Welbergen, in Westphalia, by a very liberal donation, freed him entirelyfrom all want, and especially from all concern for the future of his children.

At Bucholtz's invitation, he set out, June 21st, 1787, with his son, for Westphalia, tarried for a season with F. H. Jacobi, at Pemplefort, and then at Welbergen and Munster, with Bucholtz. While here he received benefits from Prince Furstenberg and Princess Gallitzin. His letters, during the last months of this year and the first of next, repeatedly allude to his death. "He who has brought me so far, with so many signs and wonders," he writes, Nov. 14th, 1787, "will also bring me home to my real country, with peace and joy, Kyrie Eleison! and will enable me to look with displeasure upon every heaven and elysium on the earth." And again, on the 24th: "The nearer the night of my life approaches, the brighter becomes the morning star in my heart; not through the letter of nature, but through the spirit of the scriptures, to which I owe thanks more than to the former."

March 23d, 1788: "The more the outer man decays, the more the inner grows. The older and more helpless I become, the more restful, peaceful, and happy I am. God has given me an evening of rest, has unyoked me from the labor of public employment, for which I am as little fit as for intercourse with the world. Although it gives me a foretaste of heaven upon earth, yet this hidden treasure is not a reward for my own services and worth, but a grace, a gift from a higher hand, which I am bound to worship. It was needful for me, to purify and strengthen me."

On the 21st of June, 1788, he softly fell asleep. He was buried in the garden of the Princess Gallitzin.*

"It was not the fullness and grace of his learning, not power of understanding, not the wealth of his wit, which seems to me to have been the most valuable characteristic of this man, or his most desirable qualities for the present day; but his straightforwardness, openness, uprightness, and purity; his freedom from vanity and pretense; contented, like the lily of the valley, unseen to give out the fragrance of his wisdom, and living entirely in the spirit of the elevated sentiment which he repeated a little before his death: "It is the truth which makes us free, and not the imitation of it."†

* Compare Jacobi's letter to Lavater. F. H Jacobi's "*Correspondence*," 1, 482. The Princess Gallitzin intended to have engraved on his tombstone the text, 1 Corinthians, i: 23-25.

† This excellent description is by the editor of Hamann's Works, at the end of the preface to Part I.

XV. FRIEDRICH AUGUST WOLF.

[Translated for the American Journal of Education, from the German of Karl von Raumer.]

Friedrich August Wolf was born in 1759, at Hainrode, a village not far from Nordhausen; where his father was schoolmaster and organist. Before the boy could well speak or walk, his father tried to teach him Latin and German. At two years old, long before he could read or write, he knew many Latin words. From his mother, he inherited a pleasant expression, and a love of music.

In 1765, his father removed to Nordhausen. His son, at the age of six, entered the third class of the gymnasium there, and, in his eleventh year, was placed in the first. Fabricius was rector at first, and was followed by Hake, a very able man, who had much influence upon Wolf, but, unfortunately, died after a rectorate of only nine months, in 1771. Under his successor, Alberti, the gymnasium declined. Wolf, at fifteen, detected this man's ignorance in a lesson; and, at a public examination, showed that he had dictated difficult questions and answers to the scholars, in order to a good appearance before the spectators. After this, Wolf attended the gymnasium but little, but studied the classics by himself with great zeal; being bountifully furnished with books by two preachers and a physician in Nordhausen, and especially by Collaborator Leopold in Ilefeld. He also learned, under music-director Frankenstein, as much of English, French, Italian, and Spanish, as his instructor knew himself.

In his sixteenth year, his father placed him with Schroeter, the well-known organist at Nordhausen. Although the young man had studied the organ and clavier with eagerness, he had no wish to devote himself entirely to music. For this reason, Schroeter tormented him with mathematical demonstrations. "I never liked these," he said, "for I observed that the better mathematician a man was, so much the more unfit was he for the best of other studies."

In 1777, he entered the University of Göttingen, where, contrary to all usage, he matriculated as student in philology. Heyne remarked as much to him, to which he answered, "There are, at most, four or six good professorships of philology in the German universities; and one of these I propose to obtain." He was not close in attendance on the lectures; but most zealously pursued his own

studies, with the help of the library. He did not even enter Heyne's philological seminary; but read lectures, himself, to sixteen hearers, on Xenophon and Demosthenes.

On Heyne's recommendation, he was, at the age of twenty, appointed, in 1779, collaborater in the Pædagogium at Ilefeld; and, two years afterward, was unanimously chosen rector at Osterode, after having read a brilliant probationary dissertation on an ode of Horace, and two chapters of Thucydides.*

In 1779, Fredric II. of Prussia, by a cabinet order to his minister, Zedlitz, gave an impulse to the study of the Greek and Roman classics, which occasioned the publication of new editions of them. Wolf was thus induced to publish, in 1782, Plato's "*Symposium;*" and the reputation of this book was the occasion of the invitation† which he received to fill Trapp's place, at Halle, whither he went, in 1783.

Wolf's appointment specifies that he shall "act as professor of philosophy, and in particular of pedagogy, according to his official duty; shall yearly deliver an instructive free course of public lectures upon the art of education; in regard to the pedagogical instruction within the Teachers' Seminary, he must spend as much time as possible in the practical direction of it; and, to this end, must often instruct in the boarding-school, in the presence of the seminary pupils; and must himself have the oversight of the boarding-school."

Trapp seems to have received nearly the same instructions from the minister; but there was as much difference between his conceited operations under them and the remarkable efficiency of Wolf's, that there was between his superficiality and the thorough learning and genius of Wolf.

Not, however, that Wolf found affairs to his mind at his entrance

* While at Osterode he married, and had one son and three daughters. The son died early, and he was divorced in 1802.

† The Prussian minister, von Zedlitz, was an enthusiastic believer in Basedow's pedagogical views and undertakings. This fact was the reason of his inviting Trapp, the teacher at the Philanthropinum at Dessau, to Halle: and of his establishing there a professorship of pedagogy, expressly for him. The new professor was (at the same time,) placed in charge of an educational institution, in which boys were taught, and teachers were trained also.

Trapp was a thorough follower of Basedow, as his "*Attempt at a System of Pedagogy*" shows. This book contains a conceited, shallow, and narrow course of reasoning upon religion, philosophy, and learning; an exaltation of what is vulgar, and a vulgar contempt for what is noble. For example, "the learning of foreign languages is one of the greatest evils which afflict the schools, especially in Germany; and which hinder the progress of men to perfection and happiness." "It is inquired, how many languages, and what, should the teacher learn? Would to God that he was expected to learn none but his own! If education were placed upon the best possible footing, both Latin and French would be banished from Germany."

In 1783, Trapp resigned his appointment, to take charge of an educational institution at Bamburg; and the official successor of this ignorant opponent of classical studies, was the greatest philologist of his age, F. A. Wolf.

upon the professorship at Halle. The reverse was the case. So low a spirit prevailed among the students, that they desired nothing more than to be trained for the course of life which they intended to pursue. They usually reduced the required three years of the academical course to two; so that they had time only for the most indispensable collegiate studies.* Thus it occurred that Wolf found no encouragement at all for his philological lectures. He was quite discouraged from lecturing on logic and metaphysics, when encouraging letters reached him from Biester and Zedlitz. The latter said that Wolf must "help to remove the one reproach under which Halle had labored that no philologists had been trained there." And, he continued "The public will soon do me the justice to confess that I, also, have done what I could to this end, since I have employed for the purpose a man of knowledge, learning, taste, and zeal; and, as far as was in my power, have rewarded him. This confession to my honor I am certain you will wring from the public."

A liking for liberal studies gradually grew up among the students. The philological seminary, established by Wolf's means, in 1787 was chiefly instrumental to this end. Up to this time, teachers had usually been chosen from among the theological students. Wolf endeavored, on the contrary, to build up a class of teachers distinct from the preachers; and, at the same time, to oppose the contempt for classical studies which had been promoted by the philanthropists; in his own words, "to raise up again the steadily failing taste for thorough classical learning." The seminarists not only received theoretical training, but had the opportunity for practice in teaching. The boarding-school was, throughout, organized like that at Göttingen.

Wolf's address to the seminarists, at the opening of his philological seminary, is worthy of attention. He says that he has always labored for the good of the pupils, without any ulterior views. "If," he continued, "I had had the usual collateral views, I should invariably have directed my instructions rather to the ears than to the understanding I am, however, conscious that I have never aimed to attract a multitude of hearers, but only to dispense thorough knowledge; that is, to have hearers, though few, well-trained and desirous of learning This makes my pleasure the greater, to see that a love of classical learning is actually increasing in our university. Four years ago, I should have been much perplexed to find twelve members of such an institution as this; while I have now had the true pleasure of being

* Life of Wolf, by Körte, 1, 122. Wolf repeatedly describes students of this kind. For instance. "Such are fortunate if they find a teacher who will chew every thing for them;" and, in another place, "Be convinced that no one ever taught usefully, who had not beforehand learned well at school."

able to select the present large number of industrious members from a still greater one of candidates."

Wolf might well say that he was free from "the usual collateral views." A man who would give up the rector's salary of seven hundred thalers, at Osterode, and decline the invitation to Gera, where one thousand thalers was promised him, and would accept, instead, the professorship at Halle, with its income of three hundred thalers, must, truly, have been governed by some nobler motive than that of gaining money. He sought honorable success, as a teacher; and was no fool with tinkling bells, to direct his instructions rather to the ears than to the minds of his hearers. He had too much capacity, genius, and learning, to be capable of such arts; a wealthy man does not practice counterfeiting.

With every year, his success, and the number of his hearers, increased. Among these, the writer of this account had the good fortune to be one. At the first of Wolf's lectures, which he attended in 1798, the room was crowded; and the same was the case, in 1803 and 1804, with all the lectures which he attended.

If Wolf, at his entrance upon his professorship at Halle, was forced to make bitter complaints of the vulgar mercenariness of the students, which looked no further than to the procurement of means to earn their bread, his subsequent view of his numerous audience, of whom but a small part were philologistst, was sufficient to convince him that he had conquered in the contest with this ignoble feeling, and that a noble aspiration after truly universal acquirements was awakened among the students. How well he understood how to stimulate this zeal, those who never had the good fortune to be his pupils can learn, from the many academical programmes which he has collected in his miscellaneous works. In the first, he starts from Seneca's proposition, "He who is every where is nowhere," and utters a warning against studying, superficially, too many subjects, without becoming thoroughly acquainted with any of them. In the second, he discusses the contrast between the ancient Greek method of instructing by dialogue, and the present one of lecturing from the chair. In order that the students might, to some extent, enjoy the advantages of the ancient method, examinations and disputations were established. "Do not be afraid of these names," he adds; "these exercises will be of great service to you, not only by developing your facility in language, but your opinions. In a third, Wolf graphically portrays a good teacher. Above all things, he must teach what is true, and do it thoroughly. There must, however, be a second qualification. "You will perhaps, my fellow laborers," he continues, "think

what this is. I have not so low an opinion of your intelligence as to believe that you will imagine that it is sweet words, action, or lively gesticulation. Such meretricious attractions are for the theater, not for the place of instruction; for speeches intended to excite the passions of the multitude, not for a learned discourse intended to teach youths wisdom. Some action is, nevertheless, appropriate even to such a discourse; but moderate and uniform. * * * This second requisite is not so much an outward means of adding to the excellence of the discourse, as something bound closely up with the instruction itself. I mean a mode of teaching appropriate to each subject, which shall display it in an order which shall bring all its parts distinctly out; shall put each in the right place; and in intelligible, pure, clear, appropriate, and, where proper, witty language; such as belongs to educated men."* Every discourse should also be suited to the intellectual capacities of its hearers; and, as some of these are strong, and some are weak, the teacher may, perhaps, adopt a mean, in style, as for a class between these two. Having said so much of the requisites of teachers, he proceeds to consider what should be demanded of the hearers. "Of you, fellow-laborers," he says, "on the other hand, it will be required that you bring to your new instruction (moral) ears which have been well-trained in school to the apprehension of that medium style of instruction, which is, however, such as is appropriate to the university." In a fourth programme, Wolf defends the custom of lecturing from the chair; which must be an art; and must vary much with the qualities of its subjects and hearers. The more learned the professor, the more valuable will be his teaching; and the more will educated hearers give consideration to what he says, and the manner in which he says it. The most learned men have proceeded from the schools of those who merely read from manuscript sheets; while others, in spite of their beautiful delivery, have been but little esteemed among intelligent and learned people.

I would gladly give fuller accounts of these programmes; but these extracts will exemplify the free, clear, and vivid style in which Wolf addressed the students. Some of his academical writings discuss false readings, which have occasioned teachers useless exertions. He usually cites earlier explanations; shows them to be distorted and faulty; and then, in some remarkably simple way, loosens the knot. Even to read these philological programmes enables one to imagine Wolf's oral interpretation of the classics must have enchained his audience.

* He says, in another programme, "The language of lectures should be familiar, changing as subjects vary, but nowhere like a book."

Although, during the first ten years of his labors at Halle, his efforts, both oral and written, had been confined within a narrow sphere, he began about the year 1795 to have a European reputation. In this year appeared his "*Prolegomena to Homer;*" a small work, but which gained a reputation unprecedented in philology, although the greatest minds were at variance even with themselves as to its conclusions. These were, that the Iliad and Odyssey are not by the same author, but that each of them consists of various separate rhapsodies, by different rhapsodists; and that these were put in connection with each other by the *diaskeausts* of the time of the Pisistratidæ, and by later critics.

There was no disagreement in the opinion that Wolf had pursued his undertaking with the greatest acuteness, and with eminent learning, whatever differences may have existed as to his conclusions. Wilhelm von Humboldt, G. Hermann, the two Schlegels, and other celebrated men, supported him. Ruhnken wrote to him, "I have read your Prolegomena more than once, enchained both by the wealth of your distinguished learning and by the acuteness of your historical criticism. In regard to your argument against the antiquity of writing, it is with me as it was with him who read Plato's Phædon. While I am reading the book, I agree with you; but when I lay the book down, the whole demonstration escapes with it." And Boissonade pronounced a similar opinion.

Voss was opposed to Wolf's views, as was Schiller, very strongly. Wieland said, also arguing against him, "The Wolfian method of criticism is very flattering to us poor backward votaries of epic poetry; for, according to it, the ancient singer loses, all at once, his divine splendor, and becomes as one of us." A *naive* simplicity, which reverses the sentiment of John the Baptist, and makes it read "I must increase, and he must decrease."

Göthe's earlier views seem to have agreed entirely with Wieland's, but to arise from a nobler motive. I refer to the well known verses:

> "First, to the health of the man who at last has relieved us of Homer,
> Boldly, and thus he summons us to a higher career.
> For who will contend with the gods, or who with one of them even?
> But to be one, though the last, of the Homeridæ, is grand."

Göthe afterward, however, wrote, referring to his earlier opinion, that he was "more than ever convinced of the unity and indivisibility of the Iliad."

Such an excitement was stirred up among great intellects by the Prolegomena. They have also brought up some very important questions.

With this work began a democratic strife against the aristocracy of the intellectual world. Homeridæ or Homer, is a question often discussed, in the course of it, in reference to the greatest works of antiquity.

Herder's "*Voices of the Nations*," and "*Views of Poetry*," had testified, as Göthe remarks, "that poetry is a gift to the world and to nations, and not the private inheritance of a few refined and educated men."

And Wolf says "Every poetical age consists of one generation and one man. Each such age is but one mind, one soul. And they differ only by the difference of their circumstances."

Who will not rejoice that poetry, instead of being the prerogative of a few highly-gifted men, while all others are deprived of it, is a gift to the people? And above the multitude of the poets stand Sophocles, Dante, Shakspeare, Camoens (Cervantes?) and Göthe, like lofty palms and cedars above the underbrush. But does not Homer rank with them? Or are the Homeridæ princes among the poets of the nations?

A second respect in which Prolegomena constitute an epoch is, the boldness with which Wolf attacked the belief of a thousand years, that one man, Homer, wrote the Iliad and the Odyssey; with which he termed this belief an error, in spite of Plato and Aristotle. By this he inaugurated a style of criticism, which no longer recognized authority, but took pleasure in boldly summoning all before its bar, even the holiest. Especially did Wolf exert this influence upon biblical criticism.* "Holy or profane writers," he says, "are all one to me. Secondary considerations do not make me timid, and I am not inclined to affect timidity. The demonstration, which will not be long delayed, that the Pentateuch is made up of dissimilar portions belonging to different ages, and dates back not further than to a period a little after Solomon—such a demonstration I should put forth without any horror."

Yet Wolf complimented himself as "having preserved himself equally free from credulity and doubt;† and combated the error that the higher criticism could only destroy.

* Körte's "*Life*," 1. 319; and same, 1. 28; where Körte says that, even while a scholar, Wolf had arrived at the remarkable conclusion that, through the ignorance of his teachers, he had learned every thing falsely and pervertedly. "He had even begun to distrust his father. * * In short, he thought it not impossible that, so far as historical truth was concerned, a set of idle tales had been made up and told the scholars." His weak rector, whose ignorance and falsehood he had discovered, caused him these doubts; which were a remarkable premonition of the skepticism and criticism of his later years.

† Körte, 2, 223; where it is stated that the aged Wieland also rejoiced at the Prolegomena, for the reason that the turn of the Bible would "come after that of this idol."

In Wolf's lecture-room stood only one bust, that of Lessing; and, among his colleagues, his connection was closest with Semler. We can readily see what drew him to these two men; and directly he promoted the objects which the former had led in seeking.

Wolf's attacks upon authorities which it had been supposed could not even be attempted, naturally had a great influence upon his hearers. Although mature age easily inclines to take part for what is established, and is displeased at any thing unusual and new, and which is strongly opposed to what is ancient; yet the young are, on the other hand, delighted to shake off all obligation and authority, and to set themselves up above their predecessors. There was, however, one thing which damped the sometimes excessive vigor of Wolf's scholars. The strange attacks which he made, without any notice, were not made merely for pleasure; this would have stimulated youthful minds to similar attacks; but they were the results of the great and comprehensive labors of a man of genius. Thus, in this respect, Wolf awed his pupils, and made them modest; and yet he strengthened them to persevering activity, thorough searches for truth, and emphatic contempt for pretension.

It is well known what distinguished scholars came from Wolf's tuition. The ablest of them have repeatedly acknowledged their obligations to him. Böckh, for instance, dedicated his first work to him, and expressed to him heartfelt thanks. Wolf, he says, introduced him to a new scientific life; and was to him, in advice and admonition, a second father. Bekker has expressed the same heartfelt gratitude to Wolf, as has Heindorf, among his earlier pupils; and this feeling was entertained, not only by such distinguished philologists as came from his school, but by all the great number who had listened to him with a lively interest, and whom he had assisted by friendly advice, giving them access to books, or otherwise.

His efforts were, however, by no means restricted to the universities, but extended also to the gymnasia. He had, indeed, taught in two of them. While rector at Osteróde, he seems to have accomplished, in his short official career of two years, an incredible amount of good in the revival of the institution. The service, however, was far more extensive and important, which he did by educating in his seminary a great number of excellent gymnasium teachers. It was for these that he delivered the lectures on pedagogy, which have already been mentioned, which were especially enjoined upon him, and which were afterward printed. Director Föhlisch, of Wertheim, a worthy pupil of Wolf, first published them, and Körte afterward issued them again; adding many reports, letters, and fragments left by Wolf, of a

pedagogical character.* Before giving extracts of these books, I must remark that many of Wolf's opinions appear to contradict each other, although upon a close examination this variance disappears. Especially must care be taken, in reading him, to observe whether he is speaking of his own ideal, of a philologist for example, or whether he is only referring, with a sort of despairing resignation, to what is possible, or is actually accomplished, under existing circumstances. These ideals are found, as is natural, more frequently in his earlier writings; and the resignation in the later ones. I proceed to give an example. "Although," says Wolf, in a letter, "I so willingly conceived the hope that the study of the ancient languages could be begun with the Greek, and I thus had entertained a dream of a lofty elevation of the German national education, yet I have long ago awaked out of it, so far as regards our public schools. The whole tendency of our modern popular education works against it." Still more striking is what he says in an educational report of the year 1811: "All those might be excluded from the study of Greek, and still more from that of Hebrew, in whom is stirred up no especial pleasure in studying languages.† Learning Greek should be made a reward for distinguished industry in other studies, Latin particularly, rather than a matter of constraint or wearisome recommendations."

A second instance of apparent contradiction, is found in Wolf's views on writing and speaking Latin; to which we shall hereafter refer, in discussing instruction in Latin.

The educational report of 1811, above mentioned, is an extended revision of one which Wolfe had previously, in 1803, presented to the philosophical faculty of Halle. Its subject is, "*Fixation of Limits between Schools, Universities, and Institutions for Practical Instruction.*" Respecting the last named, Wolf remarks that men of business must be trained in business; but, he adds, every means should be used to prevent "any one from entering into practical occupations, without a thorough knowledge of those subjects, upon an application of which such occupations depend; since the contrary would cause the introduction of a mere routine, wholly unintelligent, and, although perhaps useful in some cases, on the whole entirely uncertain."

And again: "Education must begin to be scientific in the universities; in the schools it must be preparatory, elementary, and for general training." "Yet, in modern times, scientific instruction has

* F. A. Wolf's "*Consilia Scholastica*, upon education, schools, and universities. Collected from his literary remains, by W. Körte. Quedlinburg & Leipzig. Becker. 1835."

† Wolf here excepts those intending to study theology.

been introduced into the schools, to the no small injury of youth. * * *. The daily increasing superficiality and multitude of studies in the schools should be opposed by all possible means. In schools, set lessons in Greek and Roman literature, the theory of the fine arts, and the like, are altogether superfluous and harmful. * * * It would be much better for the scholar to know nothing at all of such subjects, than to suppose himself master of them, and to be capable of deceiving even intelligent people for a quarter of an hour, by means of possessing a few insignificant, unseasonable preliminary ideas. Whatever pertains to the memory and the imagination, is the province of the school; while the university deals with what concerns the higher intellectual powers. The pupil should bring to the university only knowledge, and practiced skill in study. And since the transition to the scientific methods of study, proper to the university, can not be made at one leap, the higher classes of the schools should gradually assimilate to it; without, however, anticipating it, either in subject-matter or form."

What a clear view is this of the constitution and relations of the school and the university! how lucid the insight into the natural course of education for the young! how wise is Wolf's advice, and how well calculated to cure the evils which, since he wrote, have so fearfully increased! It is not only the scholars, however, who desire to anticipate the university, and play the student, in the gymnasium; but there are as many teachers who would much rather deliver to their pupils brilliant lectures from the chair, sometimes upon subjects wholly without the province of the school, than moderately and understandingly to train them in the indispensable knowledge and skill in study, for which the scholar's capacity is suited. This is the originating cause of a certain decrepit indifference and insusceptibility in many students. Unseasonable luxuries destroy the sound appetite which a healthy stomach feels at meal-time.

Wolf formed very just opinions on all school-plans, even his own, in respect to practicability and detail. To a rector, to whom he sent some plans, he wrote: "I hope that you and your young assistants will understand these plans—which are not sent as patterns—in the spirit in which I drew them up; and make all the use of them which you can and will. For in every other occupation, and in the school as well, every thing depends on those two auxiliary verbs. Without them, complaints are useless; and it is a most unworthy destruction of stationery, to undertake to operate among your subordinates with paper stimulants and ordinances."

Wolf's opinions were valuable, moreover, not only within the sphere

of his own profession, but on many subjects which would have been supposed far out of his line. But could any subject be reckoned out of the sphere of so great a genius, so classically learned, and so experienced?

We may properly quote such portions of his "*Consilia*" as display his clear views and judicious tact, in opposing some pedagogical absurdities. "Children do nothing well, but what they do willingly. Hence it follows, that all their studies should be so managed as to be pursued willingly. And it is still better to contrive that they shall willingly do whatever they must do."

"Poetry promotes good education more than any thing else; and, in respect to it, no distinction in the rank of the scholars must be observed. Up to the seventh or eighth year, poetry should be the chief occupation. For during this period its influence is most valuable, and likewise the higher beauties of prose are not felt. The same is true of a whole nation; the transition to prose is very difficult."

(Study of language.) "The feelings must go first; and, when they are excited, ideas follow. And this feeling must, in the end, be constituted a rule." "Up to the fourteenth year, forms must be kept quite out of sight. The reasoning faculties should at first not be put into requisition at all; reasoning weakens the memory." "Examples should always go with—even before—principles and rules. The boy must first learn to feel what is witty or acute, and to imitate it; and, at a later period only (scarcely while in school,) what is the real essence of such things."

"In pedagogy, scientific study should be distinguished from artistic; that is, the distinction should be maintained between the teacher and the artist."

"The ancients reasoned less, and did more. Therefore it is that they were more acute, and had less need of a text-book in their hands."

"Only an extraordinary love for the employment, for the young, and a desire based upon a true and profound religious feeling, to labor for the next generation, can make endurable the inexpressible laboriousness of the teacher's vocation. The teacher ought not to reckon upon payment, scarcely upon appreciation."

(From "*General Instructions to a Learned Educator in Germany.*") "Have some love for all the studies which you pursue, and for the youths intrusted to your care; but, if the two objects come into competition, love the latter most." "Always be well; and understand how to go hungry patiently, when necessary." "Require no respect from men, and no gratitude; and do not value the approbation of those who misjudge you."

"It is better often to repeat expressions once well-chosen, and to impress them thoroughly upon the memory, than to select others at random; which often causes the precise point in question to be lost sight of. Only, the questions used in the repetition of what is already learned, must be varied many ways."*

"Every scientifically capable man is naturally fitted for some one particular science, in pursuing which, he insensibly considers the others along with it; but as a strict examination passes upon each of them, many students distress themselves, merely for the examination, with matters useless to them, and thereby waste much time, which they could better employ in their own pursuit."

Wolf repeatedly expresses himself against the foolishness usual at examinations, and in formal opinions and testimonies of all kinds. "These opinions," he says, "are commonly nothing but a specious wishy-washy of modish expressions; mere exercises in style, by the teachers, in which the poor men torment themselves to say the same thing a hundred different ways every year and every day." Wolf declares that he, himself, never made the acquirements demanded of graduates before they can receive the mark "absolutely skilled;" and he does not believe he could find a full dozen of such "absolutely skilled" men in Berlin. And, notwithstanding these requirements from the scholars, he complains that, "every five years, young people come to the university with less training, although it may be rich with various disorderly knowledge—in a kind of splendid misery."

He speaks again, with earnestness, against unmeasured praise or blame at the graduating school-examinations. "The well-prepared," he says, "will grow lazy, too see their superiority so proclaimed; and the ill-prepared receive a frightful brand. Many a one has taken more pains for his "*immaturus*," than another for his certificate of maturity; while his natural endowments receive no acknowledgment; which gives young people false ideas of human worth."

I must, though unwillingly, stop here, and refer the reader to the "*Consilia Scholastica*" itself.

I shall add a few remarks upon the later years of Wolf's life. Unfortunately, they contain little that is pleasant. The unhappy battle of Jena was the fatal crisis of his life. On the 17th of October, 1806, the French took Halle. Napoleon, enraged with the university, dissolved it. Göthe wrote to Wolf an encouraging letter, and advised him to substitute written teaching for oral; to write books.

In the next year, 1807, he went to Berlin, and did not return to Halle, even when the university was re-established there. Thus

* Compare Luther's preface to the smaller catechism.

ended the period of his distinguished academical efficiency. In Berlin, he met with much kindness. His old friend, Wilhelm von Humboldt, especially, in his influential place as minister, made every effort to place Wolf in circumstances where he could exercise his brilliant gifts. But it was as if his life was forever thrown out of its course. A restless and discontented impulse had taken possession of him; no employment suited him. He insulted, in various ways, the friends who had always valued him so highly; and even his most grateful scholars; and thus arose most unpleasant collisions, and literary feuds. Although he published many things of value, yet most of them were the results of his previous labors;* although, to this statement, his excellent translation of the "*Clouds*" of Aristophanes is an exception.

The strongest part of Wolf's existence and efficiency, his great talent for teaching, was paralyzed. In Berlin, perhaps by his own fault, he found few hearers; which deeply mortified him, by the comparison with the successful and enthusiastic efforts of his earlier years. He described himself as "never desiring to be an author, but only to teach;" "who had long been accustomed to the charm of watching the visible growth of his thoughts before attentive hearers; and in the quiet reaction upon himself, which daily and hourly supplies to his mind an intellectual stimulus which the seat before the empty walls, and the senseless paper, as easily quench."

From Berlin, Wolf made various journeys. In 1816, he visited once more the residences of his youth—Hainrode, Nordhausen, and Göttingen. On his sixty-fifth birthday, in 1823, he began an autobiography. It commences with these words: "Here, great Being who rulest the world, and controlest the fate even of the most insignificant, I turn to thee, with sincere thanks for the many unmistakable tokens of thy grace, by which my life has been made happy, honorable, and useful. Oh, how unworthy do I feel myself of thy goodness!" And, further on, "I feel my mental powers still vivid enough, but my body will no longer keep up with them. I am so weary of living."

On the 14th of April, 1824, already sick, he set out on his last journey. He went, by Strasburg and Lyons, in the heat of June and July, without allowing himself any rest, to Marseilles, where he arrived, exceedingly weary, on the 16th of July, and died on the 8th of August.

* Including his "*View of the Science of Antiquity*," in the first volume of the "*Museum of the Sciences of Antiquity*," which he published in 1807 and 1808, together with Buttmann. This was made up from his previously often-repeated lectures on the "Encyclopedia and Methodology of the Studies of the Ancients."

XVI. PUBLIC INSTRUCTION IN BAVARIA.

[Translated for the Journal, from Schmid's Encyclopedia of Education.]

The kingdom of Bavaria contains, in the two separate portions into which it is divided, a population of somewhat more than four and a half millions, upon an area of 29,637 square miles. Nearly three-fourths of these are Catholics; the remainder, except 56,000 Jews and about 8,000 of smaller Christian denominations, being Lutherans. The people are of German blood, descended from three ancient tribes, the Boiocarii or Bavarii, the Franconii or Franks, and a branch of the Suabii; except that a few hundred thousand, in the north-east part, are of Slavonic blood, and there are, besides the Jews, about 3,500 Frenchmen in the Palatinate.

Bavaria was, in the time of the Roman Empire, included in Vindelicia and Noricum; after the fall of that empire, was under the dominion of the Ostrogoths and of the Franconian emperors; was governed by native dukes of the house of Agilolf to the end of the sixth century; then by various descendants of Charlemagne; then by one or another baron; and in 1150 came under the dominion of Otto von Wittelsbach, by the descendants of whose house it is yet governed. They were dukes until 1623; were then entitled electors until 1805, when Napoleon conferred on the reigning elector the title of king, which he has since possessed.

The territory of Bavaria may be divided (disregarding its political organization,) into several regions, *viz:* 1. The southern, a plateau sloping from the Allgau Alps to the Danube; having a rich soil, and being almost entirely agricultural, though containing great undeveloped mineral wealth, and a few good manufactories; having few cities, of which Munich, the capital, Augsburg, and Passau are the chief, mostly Catholic; and with a grade of education comparatively low, and of morals absolutely so. 2. The region north of this, between the Danube and the Maine; hilly, with poor soil on the high ground, and rich valleys; and wealthy and prosperous, from the intelligence, energy, and enterprise of its inhabitants. More than two-thirds of them inhabit the cities, which are numerous, and some of them very old and very celebrated; as Nuremberg, Bamberg, Ratisbon, (in German *Regensburg*,) Würzburg, &c. These are all thickly inhabited, and crowded with industrial and commercial enterprise; and the condition of education is good and progressive. The population is about half Catholic and half Protestant. 3. From the Maine to the northern frontier, the country and people are in general similar to those of the second division; but

the Catholics are more numerous and the cities less so, and the population is thinner. 4. The Rhenish Palatinate, beyond the Rhine, of which the eastern portion, on the river, is a very fertile plain, and the west mountainous, but also having a rich soil. The population is quite dense, and towns are numerous, although there are but few cities; and the occupations are agriculture and manufacturing.

The political division of Bavaria is into eight provinces, called *kreisen* or circles, and under provincial authorities called governments; *viz.*, Upper Bavaria, Lower Bavaria, Palatinate, Ratisbon, Upper Franconia, Middle Franconia, Lower Franconia and Aschaffenburg, and Suabia; varying much in extent, but less in population.

Of the races of Bavaria, the Boioarian or Bavarian have always been farmers and cattle-raisers, little celebrated for commerce, industry, art, or literature; the Franconians are inventive, industrious, and politically active; and the Suabians are the most poetical, philosophical, and artistic race of Germany.

The government is a constitutional monarchy, with two legislative chambers, and an absolute veto in the king.

The system of public instruction may be considered under the following heads:—

I. PRIMARY OR COMMON SCHOOLS;

II. SECONDARY SCHOOLS, including High Schools for Girls, Gymnasia or Latin Schools, Real Schools;

III. SUPERIOR SCHOOLS;

IV. INSTITUTIONS FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF SCIENCE AND THE ARTS;

V. SUPPLEMENTARY SCHOOLS.

I. THE PRIMARY OR COMMON SCHOOLS.

I. *History.*—The common schools of Bavaria may be said to have been based on the electoral ordinance of 23rd December, 1802, which requires all children, from 6 to 12 years of age, to attend school. This was followed, January 13, 1803, by an admonition to the clergy, in which they were called on, in strong terms, to look to the promotion of school institutions, and the organization of the inferior supervising authorities, such as local school committees and inspectors; and a set of instructions for these latter were added. In 1804–6, a scheme of instruction, for the city and country elementary schools, was promulgated which far exceeded any possible attainments. Its subject-matter was divided into six chief heads: God, man, nature, art, language, number and size; in the manner of the time, it distinguished between religion and morals, overburdened the common schools with real studies, confounded heterogeneous subjects (such as hygiene, prevention of sickness, intruction in manners and gymnastics;) and would have every thing begun at once. "A sure and enduring basis is to be laid," it says, "for all the knowledge and skill which are of special importance in the usual civil and scientific life." This is the beginning of *nimium et multa*. This criticism may be confidently made; for, in the year 1811, under the ministry of

Montgelas, a second edition of this plan appeared, with a fuller explanation and instructions, which contained a still keener criticism upon it. In this, the exercises for the memory were restored to their right place, and the heterogeneous elements separated. These two documents, viz., this Explanation and Instruction, breathe the spirit of wise and sound pedagogical principles. They constituted, in the year 1811, a starting-point for the Bavarian common schools. From this seed there sprang many other important ordinances upon the proper scope of the ministry, instructions for the supply departments of the circles, for local district inspection (in 1808,) for erecting teachers' seminaries, and education of common school teachers. In the year 1818, Bavaria received a constitution, which was of significance to the schools, only so far as their rights were required to be secured by edicts, supreme ordinances, &c.; since the sacred rights (*jus in sacra*) of the schools were reserved to the control of the authorities; and, accordingly, by the dismission of the general assembly, May 23, 1846, distinctly refused the co-operation of that body, in fixing the salaries of teachers, and the length of school hours on work days and feast days.

What King Max began, King Ludwig perseveringly continued. The activity of the Wallerstein ministry forms an epoch in the history of the Bavarian common schools. Considering 1802 as the date of their foundation, and 1808 and 1811 those of the most necessary organizations and reforms, the Wallerstein period is pre-eminently one of organization. The appointment of district school inspectors, in 1832, falls within this period. Statistical returns from the common schools (officially called "the German work-day schools,") were required anew, including returns of salaries, school visitation, list of qualifications (of teachers,) and annual report on the school. The *regulative* of 11th June, 1809, on the education of teachers, was repealed, and a new one issued, January 31, 1836. This extraordinary activity has occasioned the reproach of overadministration to be brought against the Wallerstein ministry; more especially with reference to the schools of literature. So much is certain, that, especially in school affairs, the persons employed in teaching are the most important interest; and that too much and too long-continued labor in writing, must interfere with the oral labor, which is the special vocation of teachers. But that ministry is certainly entitled to the credit of having undertaken and skillfully performed a difficult task, whose result is, that we of the present day, can easily comprehend every thing relating to the schools, from the very exterior of the official organization inward.

The decided and severe ministry of Abel, which governed the schools by strict ordinances, and the strict enforcement of those already existing, aroused in Bavaria a controversy on confessions. It required of the schools a distinct position on the question of confessions, for the sake of impressing a religious character on them. It set earnestly about securing a union of schools and church, and an extension of church influence over the schools, but without sacrificing to the church, any of the privi-

leges of the state. It confined the German schools within the limits of their appropriate departments. An interesting rescript is that of March 22, 1842, on the exclusion of instruction in French, from the female burgher schools. "Unfortunately, only children of the higher classes need to understand French; and it is forbidden to teach it in the schools to others. The girls must become German wives, or must remain German maidens." The royal ordinance of 8th May, 1841, refuses to the teachers of common schools, the character of public officials. Instead of the previous sounding name, the term "preparatory teachers" is used; and instead of "*praparanden*," "school apprentices."

Against these and similar repressive ordinances, an opposition was kindled, from the spirit of the year 1848; and here, as elsewhere, there was called for a separation of the schools from the church, an elevation of the position of teachers to an equality with that of officials, as well as a corresponding rate of payment. These tendencies, as they in fact developed, did not certainly come from Christian feeling; but their operation has actually led to a useful result. The consistories, since that time, are earnest in reminding the clergymen of their duty, in exercising a diligent supervision of schools and instruction. The desire of the teachers to be on the footing of servants of the state, has not as yet been granted. The latest rescript, of February 26, 1857, declared anew that they were in the service of the communes, not in that of the state; but the government interests itself with much favor for the increase of their salaries, and this subject is occupying it even now. Thus, we may designate the period last past as that of care for the teachers.

New school-houses are springing up every where, especially for the so-called supplementary schools (*Nebenschulen.*) At every mile, and even at shorter distances, they are found, in some of the circles; and even where want of means prevents new school-houses from being erected, the school authorities have at least procured appropriate dwellings in connection with them; whereas, previously, the school-room was the teacher's only tenement during the day, and the attic at night. The governments have afforded important aid to poor communes, from the funds of the circles. The latest regulation (of May 15, 1857,) which has been published, lays down new principles, for the religious duty of school teachers, in a truly Christian spirit, from the preparatory instruction, up to the age of employment in a regular vocation. Thus, Bavaria, and its present government, are entitled to the credit of having done their duty to the schools, not only on paper, but in fact. We have not here room to discuss the influence of the educators Stephani, Graser, and Niethammer, on the operations of the government, supporting and promoting them, and sometimes hindering them.

II. *General Outline of the School Laws and Organization.*—All children, from 6 to the end of the 12th year, unless coming under some exception, must attend the schools (ordinance of December 23, 1802.) The time of attending the work-day schools, for Protestant children, is up to the day of confirmation. This takes place (since 1839,) in the

13th year, (previously in the 14th,) on the 30th of April. Any one who is 13 by the 30th of the month, may be confirmed, if properly prepared. In extraordinary cases, a private confirmation is given. After the time of attendance at the work-day schools, begins that at the Sunday schools; previously until the 18th year, now until the 16th. No one can receive an appointment, or conclude a marriage, without satisfactory evidence of having attended the Sunday (or feast-day) schools. Such attendance is not required during attendance at a Latin school or a gymnasium. (Law of September 12, 1803.) Neither apprentices nor journeymen are excused from it. Up to the year 1856, proposals for lengthening the attendance at the work-day schools, and shortening that at the feast-day schools, have been decidedly declined. In that year, the former term was extended, for Catholics also, to the end of the 13th year, with as little disturbance as possible of existing relations, and the latter term shortened, for those of all confessions, to two years. The obligation to attend instruction in Christianity to the 18th year, it has thus far been refused to shorten. In order that school attendance may not be evaded by private instruction, real or pretended, this latter is, by a law of March 27, 1806, together with institutions for it, placed under strict control. Permission to give private instruction, is to be granted by the inferior authorities. In order that no child may evade attendance, by going into another school district, even for a short time, there is a legal examination, at which certificates are required.

School attendance being a universal obligation, the necessary steps for the organization and maintenance of sufficient schools, must naturally be taken. These, for primary instruction, are required of the school communes, which often include several political communes. Private obligations to make such provision (of foundations, patrons, &c.,) remain in force. The State is also bound to fulfill promptly its own obligations, under special laws (Law of February 18, 1843;) but it endeavors to free itself from responsibility for primary instruction generally. A school fee of two kreutzers weekly (and more in the larger towns,) is required from parents, where there are no free-schools or special foundations. Each parish must pay for poor scholars, from the poor's funds. It also provides all school necessaries (wood, &c.;) pays the taxes on the dwelling, ground, and landholders' taxes, whenever the income of the teacher does not exceed, if in a village, 300 florins, and, if in a city, 400 florins; and it is responsible for erecting buildings, wherever special rights and obligations do not vary the rule. For the tenement of the schoolmaster and sexton, in special localities, the school funds are holden; elsewhere, the school funds pay three-fourths, and the church funds one-fourth of the amount. This partition, however, is made only where the school-room is in a separate house; the division being equal in other cases. The parish must also provide a proper salary for the teacher. But where the means of the parish render it impossible to provide such an income, there only may application be made for aid, to the funds of the circle; and if the assistance granted

from the central funds of the circle is not sufficient, then a tax may be levied upon the vicinity. If a tax on the parish is necessary, to procure school necessaries, it is laid in the proportion of the ordinary taxes; but the rate for school utensils is laid according to the number of children. The parishes are not always large enough to support a school apiece, and several are therefore sometimes consolidated into one school-parish; a plan which is often a hindrance to successful co-operation, especially when the several parishes, thus joined, are under the jurisdiction of separate courts and pastors. The increase of population every where, and especially in the manufacturing districts, has caused a disproportion between the number of pupils and teachers. The regular proportion is 60 to one, and that of 100 to one must not ordinarily be exceeded; but it has often risen to 150 and 180, chiefly because the expense of the first assistant has to be borne by the teachers themselves. Peculiarities of location and climate, again, often render it necessary to have small schools, of not more than 25 pupils. In neighborhoods mingled of those of different confessions, confessional schools are organized, whose expenses are borne by those of the respective confessions, so far as extraordinary ones are incurred; or, if there is a communal fund, the necessary funds for all parties are derived thence. A law of May 10, 1810, provides for the obligation to attend school, in one's own school district. The district is bounded by the limits of the parish, and all school children living within it, are bound to attend in that district. Where there is only one school, this is true, without regard to their confession; religious instruction being, in that case, intrusted to a separate teacher. In order to avoid hurting consciences in such cases, special permission will be given to attend a confessional school, if there be such in the neighborhood.

The organization of the higher authorities of school inspection has been repeatedly changed. A royal ordinance of March 16, 1849, re-established the ministry of the interior for church and schools; which consists of a managing minister, 3 ministerial councilors, 2 high church and school councilors, and the necessary office force. One of the ministerial councilors will fulfill the duties of general secretary, by appointment of the minister. Under the charge of this department, are all matters relating to religious and moral training, and national education, institutions of science and art, the common schools in particular, institutions for educating teachers, the preparation of documents relating to the finances, and (within the limits of the fixed appropriations,) the grants of public money for these purposes.

Under this ministry are the eight governments, within as many circles, whose duties are defined, by the ordinance of December 17, 1825, to be, the charge of promoting the school and educational system; maintenance of the existing laws and ordinances; supervision of all schools within the circle, except the higher institutions in the capital, and the universities; oversight of the funds devoted to instruction (revision and super-revision of the accounts;) appropriations under the fixed amount of

funds for the schools; procuring of proper school buildings; organization of new common schools, discontinuance or consolidation of those already existing, determination and rectification of school districts; procuring proper school returns; examination of all persons desiring the office of common school teacher; appointment of all teachers of common and burgher schools, as well in the preparatory schools, unless the right of presentation belongs to a third person; necessary removals, pensions, &c.; supervision of conduct of persons employed, and over school conferences; inspection; enforcement of discipline. Appeals from decisions of controversies between teachers and pastors or parishes, as to the relations of the schools, school regulations, charge of building, &c., were formerly put in charge of designated school councilors of the circle; at present, however, they are referred to such councilors as the president may think most suitable. As, however, the jurisdiction of referees over school affairs in the circle seemed inadequate, a circle school inspection was appointed in 1832—consisting of four circle school inspectors, unpaid, and removable—chosen by the presidency of the circle, from the rectors, professors, district and local inspectors, &c., residing in or near the capital town of the circle, and confirmed by the ministry of the interior. These attend the sittings of the governments of the circle for the chief questions relating to instruction, having a vote therein; and as a special committee, presided over by the president of the circle, and with the aid of the circle referees, they determine what resolutions shall be published upon the annual school reports. The common schools of every two (by a late order four,) school inspection districts, must be visited annually, either by a school referee, or by one of the school inspectors.

The district school inspection (usually including the schools of the jurisdiction of a provincial court, from 10,000 to 25,000 inhabitants,) together with the district police, are the immediate subordinates of the government. (Instruction of September 15th, 1808.) The district school inspector, usually a dean, or some other ecclesiastic, has the following duties: enforcement of the external school ordinances; improvement of the internal condition of the schools; direction of the local school inspection. They inform themselves of the condition of the schools by an annual journey of inspection. For larger towns, whose size requires several city inspection districts, is appointed a city school commission, (or joint school commission,) composed of the ordinary members of the city school board of inspection. These are, however, only appointed in cities of the first and second classes, which are under the immediate control of the government. The immediate subordinates of the district board of school inspection, are the local boards of school inspection. In each parish, or its dependence, having its own school there, is such a board; composed, in parishes without a magistrate, of the clergyman, the overseer (*Ortsvorsteher*,) and two or three delegates from the parish committees; in parishes containing magistrates, (that is, town authorities, or the corresponding officers in the county,) of the mayor, the

clergyman, and from one to four deputies from the councilors of the magistracy. Where several boards are needed for city districts, they are made up of the clergyman of the district, or another inspector, and a councilor of the magistracy, to whom may be added from one to three district overseers, as extraordinary members. All the ordinary members of the city district boards of inspection together constitute the joint school commission. The authority of the local authorities extend to every thing relating to the internal or external relations of the schools; in internal affairs, as to discipline; in external ones, relating to school land, buildings, furniture, inventory, order of premises, proper arrangement of the school-room, local school funds, situation of the teacher, means of supporting poor children, prizes. In charge of the local boards of inspection are teachers, assistants, and other subordinate assistants, parents of pupils, and all residents of the place who stand in any relation to the school; and they may summon all such to meet together before them. They have the right of blaming or praising the teacher, and of rewarding him from the school funds. Their regular duties are, 1. Monthly school conferences, on the first Monday in the month (to attend to occurrences of importance, neglects in relation to the schools, complaints, ordinances from superiors, &c.,) of which reports are made; 2. Annual reports on the schools; 3. Repeated and diligent visitation of the schools, of which reports must be entered in their note-books.

The united operations of the school inspectors and police of the district are so arranged that the former have charge of the strictly technical management of instruction; but school affairs of a mixed character, as those relating to the bounds of the district, attendance, building, funds, &c., are referred to both together; and the inspectors, except in reference to buildings, have the initiative.

The supervision of the schools is especially conducted by the legal visitations, which are, *a*, of the circle authorities and circle inspectors. The schools of at least four of the circles must be visited thoroughly, with reference both to their internal and external affairs, in the months of February, March, and April. The proceedings for the visitation are most fully prescribed (by a law of 1833,) even down to the form of the report. They are made by the commissary, in presence of the chief police officers, the district and local school inspectors, teachers, assistants, and friends of education. The wish of the king is, that the principal effort of the inspectors shall be "to bring back the course of instruction from the tendency which has of late crept in to mere training of the understanding, and superficial overknowledge, to a proper development of the soul and heart, and something of real and permanent value;" *b*, annual visitations by the district police authorities and inspectors. These are bound by a form of visitation prescribed in detail, which includes, in a tabular form, 1. Examination on subjects of instruction; 2. Their result; 3. Further observations; 4. Defects; 5. Inspection of school localities; 6. Suggestions, requests, difficulties; 7. Special observations not proper for publication. The local school inspectors report on

1. Variations in school statistics; 2. History of the period past; 3. Condition of school, and attendance; 4. Personal matters; 5. Order and arrangement; 6. Discipline and instruction; 7. Resources; 8, 9. Wishes and suggestions of inspectors and teachers; also to be in a tabular form, and made at least four weeks before the examination. There are, also, additional visitations at least four times a year, since 1851; for which about one thousand florins a year is allowed from the funds of the circle.

It is to be questioned whether so many visits operate favorably on the schools. It is a constant state of examination, which does not permit the schools to do any quiet work, tends to cause forcing of the powers of the pupils, and leads to a system of driving, for the sake of shining with knowledge rapidly taken on, instead of acquiring it by methodical acquisition. Among the supervising authorities must also be reckoned the central school-book printing establishment, which dates even from the last century, and which is intended to furnish for the common schools, and latterly for the higher schools also, "systematical" books. A ministerial edict of July 21st, 1849, diminishes the privileges of this establishment, by declaring that it has no monopoly. It is obliged to distribute, if its profits allow, one hundred and fifty florins' worth of books to each circle; and its further profits go to the support of widows of school teachers.

An important department of supervision relates to the qualification of teachers, and of subordinate supervising authorities. The table of qualifications dates from 1836, and includes statements of personal, official, and domestic relations, and opinions on fitness, knowledge, activity, official efficiency, general deportment, according to the following scale of six grades:—Class I., distinguished attainments; being, *a*, remarkably good, and *b*, very good; Class II., sufficient attainments; being, *a*, good, and *b*, tolerable; Class II., deficient attainments; being, *a*, slight, and, *b*, bad.

In this decision, reference is made to the record of qualifications, at the close of preparatory instruction, at leaving the teachers' seminary, at the examination for appointment, and during actual service. The qualifying authorities are: local and district inspectors, district police authorities, and the circle government. To obtain an alteration of the decision, a special government permission must be had; and the examination must be repeated at the end of five years. The form for qualifying local school inspectors goes into the utmost detail, and includes seventeen heads. This full organization of supervising authorities secures to the state a very complete control.

Thus far, nothing has been said of the rights of the church over the schools. The schools are considered state institutions, for the supervision of which the church is made an instrument, although the church authorities have no right as such to that office; and while, as a general rule, the district school inspectors are chosen from among the deans and pastors, still no ecclesiastical dignitary has, as such, a seat as school inspector; nor has he in the higher school council. The edict upon the internal church affairs of the united Protestant congregations

gives to the high consistory and the consistories the supervision of Protestant religious instruction in the schools. All other instruction is in the department of state police, and in charge of the governments and of the ministry of the interior. But in circles where the Protestants are most numerous, the school referee is to be a Protestant, and one of the high councilors of studies must be a Protestant. (See consistorial ordinance of 1809, in the Pastor's Manual.) The bishops stand in a similar relation to the school. By appendix 11 to the constitution, they have the right of supervising religious and moral instruction, and the religious condition in institutions of religion and instruction. Their wishes will be ascertained by questions on the training of teachers, and conformed to as far as possible; and the same in the publication of important laws relating to the schools, so far as concerned with instruction in religion and morals. Text-books of religious instruction are, also, to be subject to their approbation. See ministerial rescript of 8th of April, 1852.

III. *Number, and Attendance of Schools.*—There are in Bavaria, (according to Hermann,) 4,810 Catholic schools, with 5,796 teachers, and 307 female teachers; 2,150 Protestant schools, with 2,669 teachers, and only 8 female teachers; 153 Jewish schools, with 157 teachers: in all, 7,113 schools, with 8,622 teachers, and 315 female teachers. These schools are attended by 284,788 male work-day scholars, and 290,426 females; by 178,713 male Sunday-scholars and 192,348 females: in all, 946,275. Their income is 2,912,500 florins: being, from the state, 404,877 fl., from the parishes, 1,103,789 fl., from foundations, 596,089 fl., from private sources, 807,745 fl.; with an expenditure of 2,543,340 fl. to persons, and 356,108 for property. Non-attendance at school, by any child, can only happen by great negligence. Thus, in a population of about four and a half millions, those attending the work-day schools are about 1 soul to 7 3-5, and the Sunday schools 1 to 12; being 13 1-4 *per cent.* of the former, and 8 1-4 *per cent.* of the latter: in all, 21 1-2 *per cent.* There are 80 work-day scholars per school, and 67 scholars to one teacher. In the year 1835-6, the number of Catholic schools increased by 476, and of the Protestant by 383. The expenditures in that year, of state money (from funds of circles) increased, by 194,594 fl.; from parish funds, by 656,535 fl.; from foundations, 133,894 fl.; and, from private sources, it decreased by 26,295 fl. Total, an increase of 958,729 fl. The number of school children increased by 64,438. The proportion between county and city schools, is stated only so far as the cities are immediately under the circle governments. There are in Bavaria, east of the Rhine, in 29 "immediate cities," 197 schools; and, in 239 police districts, 5,478. In the Palatinate, there are, in 12 land-commissariats, 1,438 schools. Poor-schools exist, commonly, only in the large towns. The fact that the poor-children are penned up in separate rooms, and that the basis of a caste distinction is thus laid, even in the school world, may indicate a saving in the money accounts, but, educationally, it is certainly of evil tendency. All the children of the people ought to be educated together, without any such early distinctive impress

upon part of them, of public paupers. Schools of mechanic trades have not yet spread much in Bavaria, even where manufactures are most prosperous. The ordinance of January 15th, 1840, modified in August 1854, determines the factory hours of children of the work-day school age, exercising a Christian care over their health and bodily development. The working hours of the youngest children (of ten years old,) are, at most, nine hours, between 6 A. M. and 8 P. M., with two hours of intermission, in three separate portions. The same law requires their attendance upon a public or private school; which is not to begin before 6 A. M., or to last after 6 P. M.; and which must not contain more than fifty children each. But the concession is made to the manufacturing interest, that only three hours daily are required for school inspection. But how short is the whole school life of a factory child! It is thus that the extension of manufacturing hinders the symmetrical development of common school instruction.

Under so favorable a condition of schools, it can only exceptionally happen that any individual, immediately after leaving school, shall be unable to read or to write as much as is absolutely necessary. But the attainments made at school, often very good, (and of the city schools even more might be said,) are preserved only where the graduate's occupation is such as to furnish continued practice. Where the external senses and physical powers are chiefly occupied, much knowledge and many attainments are lost. Even the Sunday schools show a continual retrogression, which their few hours' duration can not prevent. The greatest loss, however, is of real knowledge; which is often hurriedly crowded in upon the memory shortly before an examination, before the external or internal faculties are well developed; in which case, all such acquisitions very soon become confused together. Wherever a religious life prevails, maintained by a steady attendance upon divine service, reading God's word, &c., the remainder of the school acquisitions are found to be more fully preserved. Military authorities complain of the number of recruits who lack the most indispensable knowledge; but this will not represent an average for Bavaria; because the sons of families which expend the most care upon instruction, often avoid military service, their places being filled from the lowest class of people. Many complaints are also made from jails and houses of correction of the entire destitution of school knowledge of the criminals; but these are quite as frequently abandoned men, who defy both the discipline of the schools and the punishments of the prison. Ought not the statistics to show that there are as many educated criminals as uneducated? These defects of education show that the common schools can not accomplish what is in some quarters required of them. Thorough practice in reading, writing, and arithmetic, is better than wandering at pleasure in the labyrinth of real studies. If the present extent of studies is not the right one, even under the best organization and methods, still it is evident that they produce too much good to allow of wishing them circumscribed.

IV. *Interior organization of the schools*—The basis of the school subdivisions is a triple classification of city and country schools: namely, preparatory class, and class I., (the separation of which gives a division into four classes,) and classes II. and III.; the latter three being more often named high, middle, and lower class. These are subdivided as the number of scholars and of teachers may admit. In the larger cities, the three higher classes are divided into seven, one for each year; and these, again, into boys' and girls' classes; so that we have the following table of classes in a city school:—

A. I. preparatory class, usually both boys and girls, 6th to 7th year.
II. lower class, boys, girls, division a, 7th to 8th year.
" " " " " b, 8th to 9th "
B. III. middle " " " " a, 9th to 10th "
" " " " " b, 10th to 11th "
C. IV. higher " " " " a, 11th to 12th "
" " " " " b, 12th to 13th "

On this plan, for instance, are organized the schools in Augsburg. In Nuremberg there are 74 school-classes, with 63 definitive teachers, and 11 assistants. In Fürth there are supplementary classes for the weaker scholars, who can not keep up with the rest. But, in many schools, one teacher has to instruct all three classes in one room. The time of instruction is five hours daily, in the so-called whole schools. Wednesday and Saturday afternoons are vacations. In the section, or half-day schools, which, however, are established only exceptionally, each section must be instructed three hours daily, in which case the teacher loses his golden rest of Wednesday afternoon; and, on Saturdays, two hours each: in all, thirty-four hours a week. Two or three hours of instruction are required, daily, in the summer schools in the country; and in sectional schools, the higher section has two hours, and the beginners one—beginning, where practicable, at 6 A. M. The summer school begins May 1st, and ends November 1st. The vacations of the country schools come in harvest; two weeks for the early harvest and two for the later, as the locality may require. City schools have only fourteen days' vacation. The regulation course of instruction of 1804 and 1811 gives a special course of instruction and a time-bill, which are given out at examination, and must not be varied from. Single city school commissions and district boards of inspection work after a uniform plan, arranged on the basis of the regulation course, and approved by the king. Every course of instruction must include the following subjects.

1. Religion. Within the Lutheran church, the limit of this is a knowledge of the six chief portions of Luther's small catechism. Text-books are, Luther's small catechism, with texts as comment and explanation for teachers; Dr. Bockh's Guide; Löhe's House, School, and Church Book; H. Caspari's Luther's small Catechism explained, (this for the children;) Irmischer's Guide, and Extracts from Spencer's Catechism; Wucherer's Guide through the Catechism, &c. The united

Palatinate uses Ebrard's Catechism, compiled from the Heidelberg Catechism and Luther's The Catholic church uses the Diocesan Catechism, by a Jesuit, which is usually called the German Catechism, and whose usefulness is highly spoken of.

2. Biblical History. From Zahn's Biblical Histories, and the Calw "Twice two and fifty;" the Catholic church, after Christoph von Schmid.

3. Memorizing; of matter from the Bible, catechism, and hymn-book. The number of texts to be learned is 485; of hyms, 40; J. F. E. Buchmann's Plan for Learning Texts by Heart. For the preparatory classes is used the so-called God manual; or, True·First Instruction about God.

4. Reading; which, by the law of April 24, 1811, holds the first place, and is taken as the especial measure of the periods of instruction; technical reading belonging to the first class, logical to the second, and æsthetic to the third; the latter, however, being pursued only where the children are within an æsthetic circle at home. Manuals; Bavarian Instructor and Reading-book; Ludwig and Heinisch; Instructor and Reading-book. Poland; Häberlein, Schmidt; First Instructor for Children; Krumbacher's Reader, &c.

5. Writing. In the first class is required the writing of single letters, syllables, and words; in the second, continued technical instruction, with special reference to calligraphy; in the third, especial reference to calligraphy, after the model copies prescribed by the law of Bavaria.

6, 7. Orthographical exercises (spelling by writing, written sentences,) in connection with practical grammatical exercises (without any special text-book,) beginning in the 2nd period, and extending up to separate written documents (letters, accounts, receipts, &c.) The subject-matter is prescribed in detail for the three classes. The required books are, Guide to Calligraphy and Dictation Exercises, Danheimer's Kempten. Parts of the calligraphy from the former, with copies, may be had in Bayreuth and Nördlingen, and copies at the central book establishment. The instruction in German is based upon the Manual of Heinisch and L. Offinger, Engelbrecht, Pflug, F. X. Klass of Munich, &c.

8. Arithmetic. As far as the rule of three, the chain rule, and the easiest fractions. Manuals; Arithmetic for the Bavarian Schools, from the central book establishment; Henner's Head and Mental Arithmetic; Erhard's Scholar in Arithmetic; Collection of Problems for the Nuremberg Common Schools; Arithmetic for Home and School, &c.

9. Geography. The law says of this, and particularly of that of Bavaria, that "It is no recommendation to a teacher, that he promotes instruction in geography at the expense of other studies." The present king is much interested in the study of Bavarian history. For this purpose prizes are given, being copies of Twelve Pictures, from the Lives of Bavarian princes, and (more for the Catholic schools,) History of Bavaria in Pictures, by Thomas Driendl. Many histories of the country, for common schools, have lately been produced, both in prose and verse;

but a well-arranged chronological series of clear narratives, from th history of Bavaria, is yet needed.

10. Singing. The love of music, especially for church music, an strictly national popular song, is required to be maintained and pro moted as much as possible. Manuals are, Church Choral Book; Kraus sold's Collection of Songs; Small Collection, by several teachers i Erlangen, &c.; Hohmann's Practical Course of Instruction in Sing ing, &c.

11. Drawing, formerly obligatory through all three periods, is no carried only far enough to afford a means of distinguishing talent; an is studied only on Sundays and feast days. There are about 26 specia drawing schools, in which are employed, at present, about 266 teacher

Industrial schools are organized in connection with the commo schools, but as yet most advantageously in the cities. At present ther are 1,550 industrial schools, with 1,963 teachers. Each school must hav its industrial garden. The course of instruction is the same for both cit and country schools; and, "although this is arranged chiefly for the cit and burgher schools, their larger scope has not at all interfered wit their application to the country schools." Different courses would be a great an evil as a different education for city and country school-teacher This would bring about an unfriendly distinction between the city an country population; and, moreover, the great spread of manufacturin establishments would make it difficult to fix a line of distinction. On course of instruction, one mode of training teachers, is the rule, and, i practice, careful reference to the very various circumstances of the lif of the people. No course of lessons is prescribed, but only genera principles are laid down. According to the original plan, four hour should be employed in instruction about God, three on men, four on na ture, three on art, six on language, four on number and size; in a twenty-four. According to the plan, as modified in 1811, the lessons, i Nuremberg for example, are arranged as follows:—

	Preparatory Class.	Lower.	Middle.	Higher.
Religion	1	2	2	2
Biblical History	2	2	2	2
Reading	5	6	4	2
Writing	5	4	3	2
German Language	—	3	4	6
Arithmetic	4	5	5	4
Singing	1	1	2	2
Geography	—	3	2	2
Natural History	—	—	2	2
History	—	—	-	2
Intuitional Instruction	2	—	—	—
	20	26	26	26

The methods of instruction vary, according to the theories whic have prevailed. The views of Stephani and Graser still have influence

but a careful eclecticism finds favor with the authorities, who judge by results, without compelling the use of any method. It is a rule that every school shall begin and end with prayer, according to the formula. The "*Ritual for a Complete Morning Service*," (not very much used,) contains, 1, salutation; 2, singing; 3, reading the Bible; 4, prayer and biblical instruction; 5, singing; 6, benediction, and a short pause. This is commonly shortened. Religious instruction is given two hours a week, by a minister, and four by the teacher; the arrangement being such, that the latter has charge chiefly of exercises in memory, biblical history, and explanations of words, and the former of the religious instruction proper. Punctual attendance at church is most strictly enjoined upon children of school age, and they have a separate place in church, with a teacher. The children in the common schools are but little employed in studying at home; the schools being to be made not audience-rooms, but instruction-rooms; and the hardest of the work not being to be put off on home. School diaries, for the entry of any ideas which may occur, are used here and there, but not generally; the note-books contain the history and chronology of each school, and the regulations made in it. The scholars are graduated after a regular examination, held once a year, by the district board of inspection; and is evidenced by the certificate of graduation, which must be produced at marriage, taking possession of property, &c.

The efficiency of the schools is to be felt outside the school-room, but without interfering with domestic rights. It is not the domestic misdemeanors of the scholars, but those committed in their intercourse with each other on the public highways, in a sphere as near to the schools as to the home, that the schools are to have cognizance of. The schools possess a portion of police authority, in order that the children may not fall into the hands of the police. Parents who take their chilren to dances, &c., are warned by the local school inspection board; and, in case of a repetition, they may either be punished by the same authority, or handed over to the police. The school discipline is not a pedantical application of a school code carried into detail. The school ordinances are only single disciplinary determinations, on tavern-haunting, &c. While a Draconian strictness is not used, that false philanthropism is avoided which would manage the often very unrestrained body of scholars by allurements and caresses. Corporeal punishment is permitted, but the utmost caution is enjoined. Boxes on the ear are forbidden, and punishment by blows is to be resorted to only in the extremest necessity, upon an order from the school authorities, and in the school; the school discipline being a branch of the disciplinary, not of the police, penal authority. It was a former fashion to operate upon the minds of the scholars by public commendations, with public parade; and the result, in the country schools, was harmful. The choice of takers of prizes is now a much more delicate affair, as they are chosen from a general estimate by the teacher, not on special prize exercises. Common people do not understand how rightly to estimate such

rewards; and they make discords at home and in the village. In some places *bretzels* (a kind of pastry) were distributed to all.

The Sunday and feast-day schools are mainly intended, according to the plan of instruction of 1811, to continue the school instruction, and to fill out such studies as remained incomplete. The studies are arranged with this view; and are the same as those in the work-day schools. In most places they can be no more than a repetition of what was learned in the work-day schools. By a ministerial order of April 22nd, 1847, they are "in the most critical period of youth, to direct their development into moral independence, and to confirm them in it; to preserve the young men from coarseness and licentiousness, to preserve in the young women a sense of modesty and honor, and to protect and strengthen the religious element in both." A difficult task! The sexes are to be kept separate, and instructed two hours each; so that, where there is only one teacher, he will have four hours work. The time is arranged in 1 hour instruction in Christianity, (in the church,) and 1 1-2 hour in Sunday-school. The mode of instruction is chiefly by lecturing. The results of the Sunday-schools (for whose benefit not much pedagogical provision has been made,) are on the whole not great; the teacher sees, from year to year, the attainments of his scholars decreasing from year to year, and the edifice, which he has built with so much pains, falling down again. While this fact ought to lead to a more effective organization of the Sunday-schools, the steps taken by the chamber during 1856, have only resulted in abridging the period of the Sunday-school course to the sixteenth year, in order to avoid interference with the domestic and industrial relations. Instead of applying a reformation, the knot has been cut. The victory is one of materialism.

V. *Condition of the teachers.* The teacher is the soul and life of the schools; and his situation therefore demands special attention. Bavarian teachers are entitled "school-teachers," or "German teachers." The common people, however, mostly use the names cantor, rector, or choir-rector, which are not officially known. The "German teacher" is either of boys or girls; of the 1st, 2nd, or 3rd class, there being no distinction of rank. The names of principal school and supplementary school (the former for the parsonage school,) are not officially recognized. Every school with a minimum income of 250 florins is a "definitive" school, and has a definitive teacher. In schools with only 200 florins of income, are employed substitutes, permanent and unmarried. There are also permanent and temporary assistants employed for sickly teachers and overburdened ones. All such substitutes and assistants are provisory only; the organization of a definitive school being always the object aimed at. The class of schoolmasters, (*schulhalter*) in what are called unorganized schools, of which the incorporated and unincorporated trades have been deprived, is almost extinct. They have mostly been admitted into the regular organization by a special examination. But few of them were removed, and those for financial

reasons. The regulation of 1836 for the training of teachers was subjected, by the ordinance of 13th of May, 1857, (of which we can only give a partial account,) to a revision which will have the effect of causing those educated for the office of teacher, not only to be furnished with the necessary knowledge, but to be subjected to a thorough training of the character. The mere instruction is to be reduced in proportion, and the new training to be rendered more permanent in effect. The design of the whole course of instruction is, to educate teachers true to their faith and their church, devoted to the king and the throne, obedient to the laws, simply yet thoroughly taught, interested in their calling, and fond of the young. The education of teachers includes the preliminary, that in the seminary, and the continuation of it, after the seminary. The preliminary course is to begin at the end of the thirteenth year, or not later than the end of the fifteenth, and is three years long. The pupils, or school-apprentices, are admitted to it upon an examination by the joint commission for the district; and are taught, partly in the preparatory seminaries of the district, which are under a clergyman or school-teacher as principal, and partly put in charge of teachers authorized for the purpose, and mostly in the country or in smaller cities, that the school-apprentices may be accustomed to simple habits. The course of instruction includes, besides the studies of the German schools, music, drawing, and agricultural economy; all upon a strictly prescribed plan. Between the ends of the sixteenth and twentieth year, the school-apprentice who is physically sound, and who has the means of support, either his own or from assured sources, and also the necessary testimonials of preparation, may be admitted into the seminary, upon an especial examination, before a government commissary, a delegate of the church authority, an inspector, and a teacher of the seminary. Here he passes through a two years' course, whose chief studies are religion, language, arithmetic, writing, music, the subordinate church services, and the theory of education, with the secondary ones of general useful knowledge and drawing; all according to a strictly prescribed plan, there being eleven hours daily of instruction and exercises. The pupils all live in the seminary buildings, except Jews. The seminary has an inspector, at a salary of from 800 to 1200 florins, (the salary having recently been somewhat varied,) who is to be a clergyman; a prefect, with salary of from 500 to 800 fl.; a second teacher, with from 400 to 600 fl, who is to be a professional teacher; besides assistants from those in training for teachers, monitors from the pupils, a farmer, and a steward. With each seminary, a school of practice is connected. There are ten seminaries: in Straubing, Freising, Speier, Kaiserslautern, Bamberg, Altdorf, Eichstädt, Schwabach, Würtzburg, and Lauingen, having 13 fixed teachers and 65 assistants. There are no private teachers' seminaries. The number of pupils is as follows: 1st, Catholics, in first course 187, in second 167, in all 354; 2nd, Protestants, in first course 84, in second 80, in all 164. Total, 518; of whom seven are Jews. Expenses, 89,000 florins. About the year 1832–33,

the number of institutions, teachers, and scholars increased. But there has been an increasing demand for assistants, in consequence of the hasty general organization of the schools, and the increase of attendance—there being from nine to ten years before definitive employment as a teacher. There is a want of such assistants, not very definitely felt, but leading to the reorganization of some occasional schools. The circle governments use all the means in their power to increase the number of candidates by supporting preparatory students, teachers, and pupils, and by important aid to those in the seminaries; as much as 2,500 fl., for example, being given to those of the seminary at Schwabach. The allowances are as high as 80 florins. At the same time, the supply of teachers from teachers' families, their most natural source, decreases; a large number of pupils coming from the poorer class of small mechanics. An increase of salaries will not increase the number of teachers as rapidly as is desired, for there is a feeling among the people which desires and will have a degree of material prosperity impossible in the the station of teacher. The seminaries have fourteen days' vacation at Easter, and six weeks in autumn; and there is a graduating examination before the same commission as at entrance. But few are marked I. 1; from a quarter to a third of all the candidates, I. 2; the mark III. 1, necessitates a repetition of the course; and III. 2, dismission. Pupils receiving a certificate of capacity are termed "school-service expectants," and may be employed, after one year's practice, as assistants, and, after two years more, as substitutes. All teachers in office must attend the institutions for continued instruction, under the charge of a district school inspector, or of a local school inspector, named by the circle government. These operate by conferences (at least six in a year,) written tasks, (four a year,) criticism on them, conversation, catechetical and musical exercises, books, and periodicals. The reports, with a private report are made to the circle governments. In each school inspection district, a school library is to be founded. There are no other teachers' associations. The examination for situations takes place, usually, after four years, at the seminary, before the same commission; except that, for seminary teachers, selected school inspectors are substituted. There are no examinations for promotion. An appointment is received after from nine to ten years of provisory service, unless the candidate has had the good fortune to obtain a place under some patron. About a fourth of all the places are at the disposal of such; in some cases under the parish, (in the Palatinate in most cases,) and in others under the landed proprietors.

The appointment of teachers, as well as their suspension and dismission, is in the hands of the circle government; and presentations to places must be confirmed by it. Presentations can be made only of teachers who have passed examination; and, for cities, only of those marked I. Appointments to united school and church appointments, must have the consent of the circle government and of the church authorities; but the government is the determining and appointing

body. An appointment to the ministry must be answered within eight days. The tax on appointments is about 10 per cent. of the income, exclusive of what is paid for assistants. Appointments must be made within the circle. The teacher, when appointed, is "definitive;" that is, he can be removed only on account of special misconduct, or confirmed unfitness. A definite appointment does not remove any liability to public service, and gives no claim to the privileges of public service. The minimum salary is, at present, 250 florins. The scale of October 12th, 1852, is:—

In cities of 1st class, with 2,000 families,	400 fl.
" " " 2nd " with 500—2,000 families,	300 fl.
" " " 3rd " and towns, under 500 families,	250 fl.
In country parishes,	200 fl.
Assistants and coadjutors, (of old teachers,)	150 fl.

An increase of the salaries of from 200 fl. to 250 fl. has been made, which required, in Middle Franconia alone, 8,149 fl. The council of Middle Franconia fixed in 1857 a graduated increase of salaries, based on a number of years of service; which, however, has gone into effect only in single cities, as, for example, Nuremberg. The legal salaries range between 250 and 400 to 500 fl., or, in cities, as far as 600 fl. The numerous patronage appointments hinder any regular advancement. The tax estimate for teachers reaches, in cities, 400 fl., in the country, 300 fl. For those having the smaller salaries, the parishes pay taxes for house and ground, and dominical taxes, (that is, landholder's taxes, as titles, &c.) The school buildings are taxed among real estate, and also permanent additional services, as cantor, organist, sexton. An allowed additional employment is that of parish clerk, reference to which is had in the teachers' seminaries. Teachers also have a portion of land from the parish commons. Thus, the average of income of Bavarian teachers is 325 fl. Although the definitive service as teacher gives in itself no right to a pension, each teacher, when appointed, is obliged to enroll himself in the pension institution for widows and orphans of teachers, which is sustained by contributions of members and assistance from the circle funds. From this, each widow of a teacher receives an annual pension of 40 fl., and in some circles more, and (up to the end of the fifteenth year,) each half-orphan 8 fl., and each orphan 12 fl., annually, as aid in support. The circle of Middle Franconia pays for this purpose a regular sum of 2,000 fl., as much for the support of disabled teachers, 1,600 fl. for extraordinary aid, 500 fl. for support of poor widows having no claim on the pension institution, 2,144 fl. pensions and payments for support of teachers, their widows and orphans; and in like manner the other circles. The system for pensions of teachers' widows needs revision and improvements; as, although the parishes are bound to make up deficiencies in these pensions, they do it with an ill will and a bad grace. A teachers' orphan-house, where orphans of sufficient capacity may be trained into school-teachers, is much needed. The wretched prospects for their widows prevents many from becoming

teachers. *Emeriti* teachers receive a retiring pension from their last place, which is increased from the circle funds. The old and sick are commonly allowed an assistant, and thus occupy their places until death.

Female teachers are scarcely at all employed, except in the Catholic church. Of a total of 313, there are at present only 8 Protestants; there being no call for them in that confession. There are no public institutions for the education of female teachers; and the orders are interesting themselves in them. In the Institution of the English Ladies at Augsburg, twenty-four young women prepared themselves, for the competitive examination in 1855–6. The ministerial ordinance of January 31st, 1836, regulates the private instruction of female teachers, and their examination for employment.

To be continued.

FRANCE.

XVII. STATE OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION IN FRANCE

The Westminster Review for October, 1858, contains a summary of the state of public instruction in France under Louis Napoleon—which we gave somewhat abridged.

Education in France is divided into three grades—primary, secondary, and superior instruction.

I. The first grade is sub-divided into three degrees, (dégrés) each represented by separate schools. The first, existing formerly in most hamlets, affords instruction in writing and reading, arithmetic, geography, some notions of French and sacred history, and a little practical geometry. The second degree, consisting in schools of average sized villages, merely affords the same instruction carried in each branch to more proficiency; but the third degree, existing in towns of any consequence, is worthy of attention, as providing a sound practical education that can turn out young men fit to enter on any of the usual walks of industrious life. In addition to the elements enumerated in the first degree, its teaching comprises the whole of the French history, and geometry, algebra, in connection with the latter, natural history, and the elements of drawing and music. Two establishments of this category in Paris, the Ecoles Turgot and Chaptal, have attained considerable eminence; and it was a favorite object with the most enlightened men in France, while they had any influence on government, to encourage the spread of similar institutions, by them regarded as the best nursery for sound popular education. These primary schools in their different degrees fall under two heads, commercial and private (*libre.*) The former have a master named by the municipality on the recommendation of a superior dignitary of the educational establishment, entitled rector of academy. The masters thus appointed are functionaries entirely dependent on authority, and their salaries are miserably small, with few exceptions not exceeding 50*l.*, while they often are less. The latter are of course managed by their owners, who, however, are always subject to the supervision of an inspector, resident in the capital of each department. But this is the least of the fetters laid on private instruction. No individual can open an establishment of the sort, without having first handed in to the proper authorities a certificate that he has passed the examination incumbent on schoolmasters, and given notice in due form of his desire to open a school in a given locality. It then rests entirely with the authorities whether they will grant a permission, which they can withdraw whenever they may think fit, without assigning any other reason than the general one of consideration for public interests and morals. Now, against both these kinds of establishments the government has been waging an unrelaxing and destructive warfare. * * *

The congregation of the Frères de la Doctrine Chretienne, solely devoted to popular education, is the ecclesiastical corporation chosen by the government as its agent on this occasion. This brotherhood, indefatigable, zealous, and most efficiently equipped, both in education and money, is rapidly extending its establishments under favor of government support. Not only does one of its houses take the place of the suppressed commercial school, but the brethren, by their funds and the economical habits of their monastic organization, are able to give the same education at half the price of an establishment which must pay masters who live upon their salaries. And this competition has been attended by the result that many communities, already struggling under difficulties, have relieved themselves, with the assent of government, from further burdens of handing their school over to the brethren, who willingly took on themselves its entire expense. Thus an attempt is now going on to spread noiselessly a network of ecclesiastical education for the lower classes over France, in the room of that secular one which was producing admirable results. The *private* institutions are naturally still more exposed to destruction, there being nothing whatever to ward from them a judg-

ment against which there is no appeal. The coalition between government and the Catholic clergy has specially involved a stern persecution against Protestantism, which, in its limited community, has continued to manifest in France all the fervor of Huguenot devotion, and has shown great activity in the cause of education. Such institutions have been visited with peremptory interdictions, on the score of public welfare; and we subjoin one of them to show their manner.*

II. While primary instruction is confined to elementary and practical education, secondary instruction is distinguished by its completeness, enforcing a scientific efficiency in the matters taught in the inferior grade with practical succinctness, with a thorough course of Latin and Greek, English or German—the choice between these two languages resting with the student—rhetoric, philosophy, French literature, mathematics, and the elements of natural sciences, thus affording a perfect classical and literary education, along with the rudiments of science. The establishments bestowing it are the *Lycées*, formerly royal colleges, the communal colleges, and private institutions. With reference to them, France has been mapped out, for the purpose of educational supervision, into a number of districts called *Academies*, presided over by a dignitary called rector; just as, for administrative purpose, it has been divided into departments, presided by the préfet. The term academy does not, therefore, express an educational foundation, but merely the collective existence of the lycées, colleges, and private institutions within the jurisdiction of a rector—a singular use of the term, which has often led to error on the part of persons insufficiently acquainted with France.

The lycées are all entirely supported by government, and their teachers consequently functionaries, in the strict sense of the word; but many of the communal colleges are on a mixed footing, the commune supplying the homestead or a subvention to some individual, who then takes in boarders on his own account. No one can open a private institution without a certificate of his having taken the degrees of Bachelor and Licentiate of Letters, passing a special examination, and afterward depositing for approval, with the secretary of the academy, a prospectus of his intended classes, which, though they may be extended, must strictly comprise the studies indicated by government, together with *a plan of the interior arrangement of his house*. This last provision is eminently characteristic how deeply French mind has contracted the habit of subjecting every trifle to the uniform decision of supreme authority; for it is not a recent encroachment, but existed under Louis Philippe.

At the age of eleven, the pupils enter these schools in the eighth and lowest form; and before the recent modifications, afterward to be mentioned, they all proceeded systematically through the whole course of training, advancing year by year a form, until they reached the second, from which they entered, in the following year, the eighteenth of their age, the highest of their ordinary forms, which is called the one of rhetoric. After the completion of this prescribed course, a supplementary, though obligatory, class of another year affords special instruction in philosophy, without neglecting the subjects of former study; and beyond this, an extra class again of a year exists for those who seek to master the depths of mathematics. Thus a pupil, who goes through the entire course of study, can not finish it before the end of his twentieth year; nor can he be entitled to compete for that degree of Bachelor of Letters, formerly an indespensable condition for admission in a profession, and the supposed natural termination of secondary instruction, unless he has persevered through the class of philosophy. In France there are two kinds of Bachelorships, of Letters and of Sciences, but

* "THE ACADEMIC COUNCIL OF THE VAR.—Seeing that the Sieur Guilbot, in coming to La Gaude for the purpose of opening there a private Protestant school, in a 'commune' where there was not one person *being a Protestant by origin, born and recognized as such*, has introduced such a leaven of discord that the 'commune' has since been constantly agitated and divided;

"Seeing that the closing of this school is demanded on all sides, and *especially by all the magistrates invested with the right of taking care of order and public morals*, as the only and necessary means of re-establishing calm and quiet in the 'commune;'

"Considering it both necessary and *advisable to interpret and apply in this sense* the right of opposition to be exercised *in behalf of public morals*.

"The accused being present, the council judges, without appeal, by Art. 28 of the law of 15th of March, 1850, and unanimously decides—

"I. The opposing injunction to be kept in force.

"II. The aforementioned to be immediately and forever closed (13th January, 1851.)"

the latter, of a special nature, was formerly dependent upon the former; in fact, no *degree* or *diploma* whatever could be obtained by any one who had not previously received that distinction. For it the candidate was required to have made his studies in an establishment *subject to government inspection*,* technically called *établissement universitaire*, an exception being only made for instruction under the parental roof with an authorized professor, the fact being testified by the father and the *maire* of the locality; nor could any one be admitted to the examination who had not attended the classes of rhetoric and philosophy, each during a whole year. The examination was proportionate in its strictness to the severity of the studies exacted. It comprised Latin, Greek, the modern language chosen by the scholar, rhetoric, philosophy, general history, arithmetic, the first four books of geometry, algebra, and the elements of physics and chemistry. In England, where the organization of our system exposes even the humblest individual to the enlarging influence of general interests, by directly bringing home and assigning to him in his private capacity some share in the management of the community, much reasoning has been spent on proving the futility of loading the young mind with theoretical and classical matter affirmed to be of no practical use in after life. In France, on the contrary, whose constitution affords no such element to refreshen and recruit the maturity of its citizens, where a man pursuing a profession must subside into a functionary, or confine himself to some specific calling, as of medicine or the law, a strong infusion into the early mind of those large principles and liberal tastes whose richest and purest fountain-heads reside in ancient philosophy and classical literature, has been considered the only inspiration capable of counteracting the narrowing and stagnating influence of later life. The best thinkers in France, therefore, prize this secondary instruction as the ark of their country's intellectual salvation, providing each youth, on his start in life, with a stock of principles which alone can prevent his vigor from expiring under the leaden atmosphere of official subserviency, or at least from dwindling into mere specific aptitude.

The government, alive to the fact that here lies the stronghold of the country's intelligence and spirit, has consequently been indefatigable in prostrating it. In 1848, men, who understood liberty to mean freedom, abolished the necessity of authorization for the foundation of a private school, and the restriction excluding pupils of other establishments than those called "universitaires" from the degree of Bachelor. The first of these alterations was soon revoked, but the second is still maintained. The object of Louis Napoleon being to break the spirit of independence and self-respect supposed to animate the members of the teaching body, and to reduce their influential position in the country, his government, in 1849, precipitately gave its support to a proposal of Montalembert, who was perfectly correct in believing that it would only serve the interests of the clergy. France, which till then had been divided into twenty-seven academies, was henceforth to have one in each department. In this measure the government was blind enough merely to perceive the opportunity it offered for inflicting degradation on the existing rectors and educational officers, without observing that it would defeat ends equally dear to itself. Louis Napoleon's object was not centered in the humiliation of a troublesome set of men, but in compelling education and enlightenment to figure with all the pomp and weight attached to their natural representatives in loyal attendance upon his government. But as soon as the rector was reduced to a jurisdiction limited by the department, presiding often over only a few unimportant establishments, receiving a salary diminished in proportion to his reduction in authority, he at once fell from a dignitary into a second-rate functionary, utterly incapable of reflecting upon government any tinsel of consideration. While the official representative of instruction was thus lowered, an ally of the government was assuming a position which gave umbrage. As the rector sank the bishop rose; in the first instance patronized with indiscreet favor, then supported by ample means, and finally disposing of a zealous cohort of assistants. What the Imperial Government, however, can not abide is any power acquiring a consistency of its own. It sought the clergy merely as its minister, and its jealousy was at once awakened at its possible emancipation. Therefore, in 1852, a new law was issued annulling the one just enacted, though masking the acknowl-

* This proviso, which will seem useless to the reader, will be understood when we come to the ecclesiastical seminaries.

edgment of a mistake by decreeing sixteen academies instead of the twenty-two originally existing. The rectors, from their humble conditions, were then lifted to the very pinnacle of official splendor; their salaries raised from 15,000 to 25,000 francs, and the power intrusted to their faithful keeping extended to a pitch which would enable government to control every independent opposition.

III. The third grade, or superior education, comprises the Faculties bestowing the higher honors. They are five in number, letters, sciences, theology, jurisprudence, and medicine; and, as the metropolitan seat of the three first is the building of the Sorbonne, this name has often been misapplied as expressing an university, in our sense of the word. These faculties are scattered over France, nor does any one town, except Paris, possess them all. The salaries of the professors average 5,000 francs, which are increased by examination fees from 6,000 to 8,000 francs in provincial seats of learning, and from 10,000 to 15,000 francs in Paris.

These three grades of instruction considered collectively form what is technically called the University of France, which, however, comprises still some other establishments for special purposes, of which only the Ecole Normale need arrest our attention. It is intended as a nursery for professors, and should consequently, according to the design of its founders, be endowed with every means of ample instruction. Its pupils, admissible only with a certificate of Bachelorship, and after a competitive examination, leave the establishment at the end of three years, with no other privilege than the distinction naturally attaching to a youth who has shown his capacities. The pupil, if desirous of entering on the profession of instructors, has to compete on equal footing with every other candidate; but the excellence of this school is so widely appreciated, that many youths frequent it merely for the benefit of its education. To extend the advantages derived from this foundation, and secure an efficient class of masters for the lower grade, primary normal schools began to be founded under Louis Phillippe, and their propagation was formerly regarded as an object of paramount importance.

At the head of this extensive but thoroughly dependent educational establishment there figures a supreme council, presided over by the minister of instruction, and appointed year by year.

In addition to these nurseries for education, France possesses two learned institutions of an exceptional character and free constitution, which have endowed them with singular importance. These are the *College de France*, and the *Institut;* the former a place of training, the latter intended to be a senate of sages. Founded by Francis I., the College de France is a privileged establishment, not considered within the university; and its halls were long eminent not only as a school for youth, but as the scene of the best efforts of French thought. There were first communicated to the world, in the shape of lectures, those brilliant and erudite productions which have made famous the names of Guizot, Michelet, Cousin, Quinet, &c., &c., and which, published in a collected form, have become the literary glories of contemporary France, and text-books with students throughout Europe. Under such circumstances this college attained a proud and illustrious eminence, in the acknowledgment of the country, and the dignity thus attached to its professors in their private capacities was paid homage to in the special privileges accorded to their rank. The head of the college, entitled its administrator, was formerly elected by the professors, who themselves were indeed appointed by the minister of instruction, but subject to a choice from two names presented to him on a vacancy, the one by the vote of the professors themselves, and the second by that of the Institut. The college had likewise the right of appointing substitutes in the place of those professors who might be unable to perform their duty.

The Institut de France, grown out of the academy founded by Richelieu, is, by its position and privileges, the only institution of the kind in Europe; being, in fact, recognized by the state as the accredited independent representative body of learning and intellect. As such, it is completely emancipated by its constitution from sovereign jurisdiction, being endowed with the right of self-election, and was formerly acknowledged one of the integral elements of the state, for the charter of 1830 expressly included the Institut among the bodies whence were to be drawn the members of the chamber of peers.

XVIII. WILBUR FISK.

Wilbur Fisk, late president of Wesleyan University, Middletown, Connecticut, was born at Brattleborough, Vermont, August 31st, 1792. His parents were highly intelligent and respectable, though not wealthy, and traced their pedigree to the early pilgrim stock. He was, from early infancy, afflicted with scrofula, which laid the foundation for a peculiar cough, which troubled him through life. At a very early age he exhibited remarkable precocity of intellect and aptitude for learning. While yet young, his father removed to Lyndon, Caledonia County, some forty miles south of the Canada line, then a new country. Here, amid the grandeur and beauty of mountain scenery, with a heart keenly alive to the glories of nature, young Fisk grew up, with but few opportunities of education, except from parental teachings, till his sixteenth year. Up to this time he had had, as he himself states, not more than three years' schooling in all. His parents, however, were well qualified to teach him, and his father possessed a small but well-selected library, which, in his fondness for books, he read and re-read many times. He was not, therefore, behind other boys of his age in general education, and in many particulars he was in advance of them. His ardor in the pursuit of knowledge was such that, when engaged in attending the lime-kilns, of which there were several on his father's farm, as well as when engaged in agricultural pursuits, he always kept his book with him, and this not a story or novel, but some text-book for study, and not unseldom did he become so much absorbed that the fire in the kiln had gone out long before he discovered it. When he was about seventeen years of age, his father, finding that he did not possess sufficient vigor of constitution for the arduous labor of a Vermont farmer, and that his thirst for knowledge was unquenchable, sent him, for three months, to the county grammar school at Peacham, some twenty miles from Lyndon. Here he made up his previous deficiencies in grammar and arithmetic. After his return home, he resumed his labor on the farm, studying, however, at all the intervals of toil,

* For a narrative of the many and important services rendered by Dr. Fisk to the large and influential denomination of christians with which he was connected, other than the promotion of their institutions of learning, we must refer our readers to the able and extended memoir of him by Professor Holdich.

till the autumn of 1810, when he again attended the grammar school for six weeks, and then took charge of a district school for the winter. His ambition was now roused to obtain a collegiate education, but his father's circumstances were not such as would enable him to support his son through a college course. Wilbur was not, however, to be denied on this ground. He offered to support himself through college by his own exertions; and having, by much entreaty, gained his father's permission, he commenced his Latin grammar in May, 1811, being then in his twentieth year. He fitted for college at Peacham, having among his classmates and intimate friends the Hon. Thaddeus Stevens, of Pennsylvania, and several other men who have since highly distinguished themselves. In August, 1812, just fifteen months from the time he commenced the study of Latin, he had fitted himself to enter the sophomore class of the University of Vermont. He seems to have distinguished himself here as a writer and speaker, but Burlington having become, in 1813, the head-quarters of the army, in the war with Great Britain, the college buildings were wanted for barracks, and the classes were broken up. After spending nearly a year at home, young Fisk entered the junior class of Brown University, in the summer of 1814. Here he won high reputation for the brilliancy and variety of his talents; in every study he ranked high, but exhibited a special fondness for belles-lettres. As an orator or a debater he had no equal in college. His extemporaneous powers were of a very high order. In addition to maintaining his position in his class, he found time for considerable reading, and the authors he read were such as made their impress upon his after life, and his style as a writer. Burke, Addison, Shakspeare, Johnson, Milton, Young, Beattie, and Scott, were the authors with whom he became most familiar; and a taste for legal study led him also to make himself acquainted with Vattel, Burlamaqui, and other expounders of international law. He was graduated in August, 1815, having one of the highest appointments in his class.

Having received his degree, and returned home, the next question to be determined was, what profession he should pursue. His parents were anxious that he should enter the ministry, but to this he was, for several reasons, averse, though strongly impelled to it by the convictions of duty. He finally commenced the study of law in the office of Hon. Isaac Fletcher, at Lyndon, and devoted all his energies to the attainment of a thorough knowledge of its great principles. He was still ill at ease, however, and dissatisfied with himself; and being, moreover, considerably in debt, he availed himself of a liberal offer, obtained through President Messer, of Brown University, to

become private tutor in the family of Colonel Ridgeley, near Baltimore. He did not, however, abandon the study of law, but continued it at his intervals of leisure. The large and well-selected library of Colonel Ridgeley, also afforded him opportunities for intellectual improvement. In the midst of these advantages, however, his health became seriously impaired. His lungs, always irritable, had been twice seriously affected while in college, and in March, 1817, he had a third attack, accompanied with alarming hemorrhage. His physicians recommended his return to his native climate, and in May he attempted the journey, but at Burlington was again prostrated by hemorrhage, and for some time little hope was entertained of his recovery. At length his symptoms became more favorable, and in June he reached home, though in a very feeble state. A revival, then in progress in Lyndon, was the means of deepening and intensifying his religious convictions; and, with returning health, he came to the decision to devote himself to the work of the ministry, and in connection with the Methodist church. The step was one requiring no ordinary courage and self-denial. That denomination, now so large and influential, and so active in the promotion of education, had then very few educated ministers in its ranks, and its membership, though active, devoted, and pious, were not generally composed of the more intelligent classes of society. Mr. Fisk, on the other hand, was an accomplished scholar, of refined tastes, and studious habits; he had already attained some reputation as an eloquent speaker and writer, and was not naturally devoid of ambition. To bury his brilliant talents in the Methodist connection, his friends urged, was a sacrifice to which he was not called. The struggle was a severe one, but the sincere and conscientious desire for usefulness, and that in the direction in which duty seemed to point, prevailed, and in March, 1818, he was licensed by the Quarterly Meeting Conference of Lyndon circuit, to preach. His first field of labor was Craftsbury circuit, some twenty-five or thirty miles from his father's residence. The succeeding year he was assigned to Charlestown, Mass., where he labored for two years with marked ability and success. His eloquence and earnestness attracted large congregations, and were the means of increasing the influence and strength of the society of which he was pastor. In the second year of his ministry at Charlestown, he was again prostrated by pulmonary hemorrhage, and for five months there seemed little hopes of his recovery. In May, 1821, he left Charlestown, and by slow and easy stages was conveyed to his father's house, which he reached in about a month. It was nearly a year from this time before he again ventured to preach, and then he was under the necessity of re-

straining any considerable emotional expression, in order to avoid a recurrence of the hemorrhage. But entire rest from public speaking, and constant exercise in the saddle, had so far restored his health that he was again anxious to be at work. During this period of forced inaction, his attention seems to have been specially turned toward the importance of establishing schools of high grade, and colleges, among the denomination with whom he had identified himself. The only academy at that time under the charge of the New England Conference, was one at Newmarket, New Hampshire, which had been founded some years previous, and had been dragging along a feeble and sickly existence since that time. Mr. Fisk, whose health did not yet admit of his taking a charge, was returned superannuated, and directed to do what he could toward raising funds for this Newmarket academy. This, however, he did not attempt; but finding himself, after some months, able to preach, supplied the place of a minister who was ill. On the 9th of June, 1823, he was married to Miss R. Peck, of Providence, Rhode Island, whose acquaintance he had formed while in college. At the next meeting of the New England Conference, the subject of the agency for the Newmarket academy was called up, and the inquiry made, why the agent has not raised funds? "Because," was his reply, "my conscience would not let me." Inquiry having been made into the cause of these conscientious scruples, and a change being suggested in the location of the academy, a committee, consisting of Mr. (afterward Bishop,) Hedding, Mr. Lindsey, and Mr. Fisk, were appointed, with authority to investigate the subject, and to adopt such measures as might be deemed expedient or necessary. The result of the action of this committee was an entirely new organization of the school, and its removal to Wilbraham, Mass.

For two years ensuing, Mr. Fisk acted as presiding elder over the Vermont district, a very laborious and, usually, a thankless post, since the necessary supervision over the ministers of the district, and the official report relative to the assignment of charges, very often gave real or fancied cause of offense; but the winning manners, the ready tact, and the evident interest in the welfare of each minister, which Mr. Fisk manifested, caused him to become very popular in this trying position.

The removal of the Newmarket academy to Wilbraham, Massachusetts, had been effected mainly through Mr. Fisk's influence. The people of North Wilbraham had offered to erect suitable buildings there, and to use their influence to promote the prosperity of the school, if located among them. An act of incorporation was obtained

from the legislature, in 1825, and the buildings commenced the same year. Amos Binney, Esq., of Boston, pledged $10,000 toward the enterprise, and Rev. John Lindsey was appointed agent to secure the remainder by subscription. In November, 1825, Mr. Fisk was elected principal of the academy by the trustees, having a short time previously delivered the address at the opening. During the winter, as he was still presiding elder of the Vermont district, he did not remove to Wilbraham, but left the academy under the charge of the assistant, Mr. N. Dunn, spending, however, such time there as he could spare from his other engagements. In the spring of 1826, the Conference recognized Mr. Fisk as principal of the academy, and, in May, he removed to Wilbraham with his family. Here he found ample employment for every moment. "The school," says Prof. Holdich, "was new, most of the persons concerned were inexperienced in their business, and the plan of the institution novel; facts which excluded, in no small degree, the advantages of a division of labor. Mr. Fisk was chief director every where. All looked up to him for counsel,—steward, teachers, and pupils. In addition, he had frequent calls abroad to preach, deliver addresses, and the like, besides conducting a very extended correspondence."

During the earlier part of Mr. Fisk's term of service at Wilbraham, the institution labored under serious pecuniary embarrassment. At one time the indebtedness was so heavy and so pressing, that some of the trustees feared that they should be imprisoned for the debts of the seminary. From this incumbrance it was relieved by the determined and persevering efforts of Mr. Fisk and Mr. Lindsey. Yet, during the five years in which he was at the head of the institution, his salary, owing to its limited income, was barely sufficient to defray his expenses, even with the most rigid economy. Yet, small as this pittance was, it did not prevent his laboring with all his powers for the promotion of the interests of the seminary. He organized and taught a theological class in addition to his other duties, and for two years supplied the Methodist church in the village, that the trustees might have funds enough for the salaries of the other teachers. Meanwhile, his reputation was constantly increasing. Humble and laborious as were his duties, his mode of performing them was so attractive, and his talents so evidently superior to the position he occupied, that numerous efforts were made to induce him to accept a higher post. In 1826, he was appointed to preach the election sermon to the legislature of his native state, and, immediately after its delivery, was chosen chaplain to the legislature. In 1829, he received the appointment of preacher of the election sermon to the

Massachusetts legislature. During his residence at Wilbraham, he was offered the presidency of Vermont University, and of La Grange College; was elected a professor in the University of Alabama, with a large salary and a prospect of the presidency of the university; and was also chosen bishop of the Methodist church in Canada. Of minor appointments, some of them with liberal salaries, there were not a few; but none of them could draw him from his favorite work as a teacher. The appointment of bishop, in Canada, the most laborious and least lucrative of the whole, was the only one he seriously considered, and this he finally declined, though regretfully, from a conviction that the interests of the academy would be periled by his leaving it. In 1829, Mr. Fisk received the degree of D. D., from Augusta College, Kentucky, and in 1835, it was also conferred by his alma mater, Brown University.

In addition to his other duties, Dr. Fisk, while at the head of the seminary at Wilbraham, was twice elected to the General Conference, the highest court of the Methodist church, and was a leading member of its most important committees, and an active debater and counselor in its discussions. As a member of the committee on education, he rendered great service in urging the necessity and importance of the establishment of schools of high grade throughout the connection, and the organization of colleges where they could be sustained.

Theological and reformatory controversies also occupied a considerable share of the age. The temperance movement was then commencing, and he entered into it with all the ardor of his nature; and some of his sermons and addresses on this subject are, to this day, among the most effective temperance documents in circulation.

Yet, amid these multifarious labors, he found time, or, rather, by his perfect system and order, he made time, to become one of the most accomplished teachers of his time. The seminary had opened with but seven scholars; during the first term the number rose to thirty, and the next year to seventy-five. At the end of three years the number in attendance was between two and three hundred. To all these he was a friend in whom they could confide; a parent on whose love and tenderness they could rely. He seldom used the rod, and the winning and affectionate manner he always manifested toward his pupils rendered its use almost unnecessary. Yet he never failed to maintain order and obedience in the schools. Like Dr. Arnold, he sought to inculcate a high standard of honor in his scholars, and few teachers have been able to rely with more certainty on the influence of moral principle in restraining and controlling their pupils. A lady,

who was associated with him as a teacher at Wilbraham, writing to his widow after his decease says: "He bore all our burdens, and was consulted on every occasion. All matters were referred to him, moral, intellectual, or physical. No circumstance, however trifling it might appear, if connected with the interests of the institution, was beneath his notice."

But the way was preparing for his entrance upon a higher and more extensive field of usefulness. He had toiled faithfully in his humble sphere, and now his opportunities for molding and influencing the moral character of the youth of the country were to be enlarged. We have already seen that, in his report as chairman of the committee on education at the General Conference, he had urged the establishment of two other colleges, to be under the patronage of the denomination. At that time (1828,) there were under the patronage of the Methodist church in the United States, seven schools in successful operation, and three more in an incipient condition; and there were also two colleges, viz., Augusta College, Kentucky, chartered in 1822, and Madison College, at Uniontown, Pennsylvania, chartered in 1827. Two others had been attempted, and failed.

As yet, however, the New York and New England Conferences had no institution of learning within their bounds, and as their membership was rapidly increasing, both in numbers and intelligence, the necessity of a college for the education of their children, and especially for the training of those who contemplated entering the ministry, was beginning to be evident.

In 1829, the buildings erected for the literary, scientific, and military academy, under Captain Partridge, at Middletown, Connecticut, became vacant. Overtures, at first made in jest, by the trustees, to some leading members of the Methodist church in Middletown, finally led to correspondence, to action on the part of the New York and New England Conferences, to overtures from other cities, and finally to the offering, on the part of the trustees and stockholders of the military academy, of the entire property, valued at about $30,000, and to an additional subscription of $18,000, on the part of the citizens of Middletown. This liberal offer was accepted, the organization effected, and the name of The Wesleyan University agreed upon. A charter was granted by the legislature of Connecticut, in 1831, granting university privileges and immunities, and making provision for placing the institution, should it become desirable, under the direction of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal church.

In all these measures Dr. Fisk had taken an active part, incited not less by his zeal for the promotion of education generally, than by

the desire to provide the means of such education for the sons of the Methodist clergy, very few of whom could now obtain it, on account of the expense. Another object on which his heart was set, was to initiate efficient measures for the thorough training of young men who might engage in the work of foreign missions, which were now beginning to occupy a large place in the hearts of the members of the Methodist church.

At the first meeting of the Joint Board of Trustees and Visitors August 24th, 1830, Dr. Fisk was elected president of the Wesleyan University. The appointment was not at all of his seeking; he hesitated for some time about accepting it, and was, indeed, on the point of declining; but, at last, convinced that it was a post of usefulness which he was called to occupy, he addressed the following letter to the Board, announcing his acceptance.

To the Joint Board of Trustees and Visitors of the Wesleyan University now in Session in Middletown, Connecticut.

GENTLEMEN:—With a high sense of the confidence reposed in me by a majority of your Board, in electing me president of your proposed university, I tender you my sincere and grateful acknowledgments. I have a deep conviction of my own inability to perform the important and responsible duties connected with this appointment. In accordance, however, with the judgment of my friends, and in reliance upon the cordial and united aid of the Board, and of the colleague which have been or may be appointed, and especially in an humble reliance upon Almighty God, without whose assistance the most gifted labor in vain, I will engage to the extent of my ability in the service of the Board, in the discharge of the duties assigned me, so soon as I can, in honor and justice, disengage myself from my present relation to another institution. W. FISK.

Dr. Fisk remained at Wilbraham till December, 1830. At the close of the autumn term, he delivered a farewell address, in which he reviewed the five years of his connection with the school. We subjoin a few paragraphs from this address, as exhibiting the spirit of the man and the progress of the institution.

Five years of labor and anxiety have deeply enlisted and closely connected every feeling of my heart in its (the institution's,) behalf. Such have been the variety and extent of my labors, that, contrary to general experience with respect to past time, the period seems, upon the review, like half an age, instead of *five years*. But in this retrospect I have nothing to regret, with respect to my connection with the school, but my own imperfections and mistakes; of these I have had an abundant share, and have needed the forbearance of the trustees and the charity of the public; aside from these, the review is, on the whole, pleasant.

My experience has been profitable. I have had an opportunity of taking many interesting lessons in studying the unsophisticated character of childhood and youth; I have become more interested in the improvement of the rising generation, and have gained a fixed purpose of devoting to this work, in connection with my ministerial duties, the little I have of talent or influence, and the remainder of a feeble constitution and short life.

I had rather have my name embalmed in the memory and affections of the rising generation, than to gather military honors in the field of battle, or civic wreaths in the senate house, or to have it emblazoned on the proudest escutcheons of this world's glory.

At the opening of this school we had seven scholars, since which time we have entered upon our books one thousand one hundred and fifty different scholars.

Of these, about thirty have entered the sacred ministry, a number are pursuing the study of law or physic, from twenty to thirty are now pursuing a college course, and from a hundred and thirty to a hundred and fifty have gone out of our seminary at different times as teachers.

Dr. Fisk came to Middletown himself in December, 1830, but did not remove his family there till the ensuing spring. For several months he was engaged in efforts to raise funds for the endowment of the university.

On the 21st September, 1831, the college was formally opened by public exercises. On this occasion Dr. Fisk delivered his inaugural address, in which he developed his views in regard to collegiate education. This address was published and widely circulated, and attracted much attention, from the vigor and originality of its positions. He proposed a different classification of students from that usually adopted; dividing them, not into classes according to the length of standing, but into sections according to their advancement. The diploma was to be received whenever the candidate was prepared for it, without reference to the time spent in college. Students who had passed that period of life when the ancient languages could be pursued to the greatest advantage were allowed to take a special or partial course in science and English literature, and to receive a certificate, or modified diploma, testifying their attainments in the branches they had studied. The study of ancient languages did not receive as high a comparative rank as in some colleges.

Here, as in Wilbraham, he found ample employment for every moment. "All called upon him for advice or other aid," says Professor Holdich, "and his supervision extended every where. He draughted rules for the university, and framed the regulations of the boarding department; he superintended the studies in the college, and the pecuniary arrangements of the prudential committee; he heard classes recite in Greek, Latin, and metaphysics, and listened to the petty details of the students' personal concerns; and while he aided the professors in the higher regions of mind, he often came down to the examination of the accounts of the institution in dollars and cents. He was remarkably fitted for this multiplicity of business, by his peculiar tact in management, his readiness and flexibility of mind, his knowledge of men, habits of order, and facility in executing his plans. He was never embarrassed, never out of temper. Skill in securing co-operation in his plans was one of his peculiar qualifications. All had confidence in his judgment, and, in most things, readily yielded to his views. His own mind seemed the center of light and influence, and its radiations illumined all who were about him."

In 1831, in connection with Rev. W. C. Woodbridge, Rev. E. Rob-

inson, and Rev. Dr. Gallaudet, Prof. Woolsey, and Drs. Milner and Maclay, he was engaged in a correspondence with distinguished friends of education in England and this country, on the use of the Bible, both in the original and in its English version, as a classical text-book.

The invitations to more lucrative fields of labor, which had been so frequent during his residence at Wilbraham, were still more numerous in his new position. Unsought by him, often regarded, indeed, in his humble estimate of his own powers, as far above his abilities, few men have had occasion to decline so many stations of honor and usefulness. But, waiving all other considerations, his convictions of his duty to the Wesleyan University forbade his leaving that post for any other, whatever might be its superiority in honor or emolument. Once and once only did he propose to resign the presidency of the university; but it was to go on a mission to Liberia; and so urgent were the friends of the college that he should not leave it, that he yielded to their wishes.

The college meanwhile was making good and satisfactory progress under his care. The number of students had increased to a hundred; and the standard of scholarship was equal to that of the other colleges of the northern states. In the government of the students, Dr. Fisk was remarkably successful. We often read, in catalogues or announcements of colleges and literary institutions of a high rank, that the government is strictly paternal. Yet, what judicious parent would institute, in his own family, the regulations and the strict surveillance which marks the government of many colleges? It can be said to the honor of Dr. Fisk that he *made* his government strictly paternal. The young men looked up to him with the affection and confidence of children to a parent. He took an interest in their concerns; if they erred he reproved them, but in a manner so tender and affectionate as to win them to penitence, not to harden them in crime. The number dismissed was remarkably small. The self-respect of the students was not wounded, and in time of trouble, sickness, or sorrow, they always found in him a warm and sympathizing friend.

It was a favorite idea with Dr. Fisk to connect theological with collegiate education in the case of those designing to enter upon ministerial or missionary labor, and he was opposed to the organization of separate theological institutions, as contrary to the Methodist policy.

Dr. Fisk's position and talents, not less than the earnestness and deep convictions of truth and duty which always actuated him, plunged him often into controversies, foreign to his genial nature, yet forced upon him by the circumstances in which he was placed.

These, in connection with his official duties, and his almost constant labor as a preacher, impaired his health, and compelled him, in the autumn of 1835, to seek for rest and relaxation in a voyage to Europe. He spent some fourteen months abroad; and, though suffering a part of the time from severe illness, he visited most of the prominent educational institutions of England and the continent, and, ever mindful of the prosperity of his beloved university, collected large additions to its library, cabinet, and apparatus, and noted whatever he thought might improve his own instructions, or add to the efficiency of the college.

During his absence in Europe, he was elected, by the General Conference, one of the bishops of the Methodist Episcopal church. This office he declined, in a letter so characteristic of the man in its modesty and self-sacrificing spirit, that we regret that our necessary restriction of this sketch to his educational career compels us to omit it.

Refreshed and invigorated by the season of rest and relaxation he had enjoyed, Dr. Fisk returned to his labors with renewed zeal and energy. He published one or two articles on the relations of the conference seminaries and academies to the colleges, urging the necessity of sending those students who were fitted for college to college, instead of retaining them in the academies, with a view to their entering some of the higher classes, and thus often preventing their taking a college course at all, or, at least, their deriving full benefit from it. This led to considerable correspondence with the principals of these academies. On the question of distinct theological schools, too, his opinion was again solicited, and given. The writing out a narrative of his travels, and one or two controversies, engaged all his leisure from his professional duties. His attendance upon the general and local conferences, was a heavy addition to the labors of a life already too busy. The strength temporarily restored by his European tour, began to give signs of yielding again, amid the pressure of duties so onerous. He returned from the New England Conference, at Boston, in the summer of 1838, sorely jaded in body and spirit, but after a few days rest he was again at work as diligently as ever. An extract from a letter, written about this time to a graduate of the university, who had been elected to the presidency of a southern college, will explain, in some degree, the secret of his success in the management of literary institutions.

> I have another thought to suggest. You are aware, I presume, that southern colleges have suffered more from the officious interference of the trustees than from any other source. This is especially true of the state institutions. When Mr. F. first wrote to me on the subject, I informed him I thought a man might be obtained who would suit them, provided they would permit him to have a controlling voice in the organization of the faculty and in the internal arrangement of the school. The reply was, that they should certainly be willing to do that, pro-

vided they had a man in whom they found they could confide. This is all we could expect.

Now the perfection of management in a principal or president, is to manage with such prudence and judgment as to be able to secure the co-operation of the Board in carrying out *his* plans. The truth is, a public institution will never flourish when the president is merely the instrument to carry out the details of the Board. The Board must be his instrument in carrying out *his* plans. I speak, of course, with respect to the government, the course of study, the organization of the faculty, &c. In money matters, of course, they are the legal organ. But even here the president must keep a good look-out, and assist in all matters of economy and finance, as far as he can. In short, the president must be the *head and soul*. A man that can not govern the faculty, the trustees, and the students, and all without seeming to *aspire to rule*, is hardly qualified for the place. This he will always be able to do, if his plans are wise, and are executed with prudence and moderation. And although your youth, and your northern birth and education, may prevent you from speaking and acting with so great freedom at first, yet you will have a countervailing advantage in the fact of its being a new institution, and of its coming into existence under your care. I would advise, then, that you get young men for your colleagues, so that you may mold them to your will; that you have few regulations in the form of trustee statutes. Require them, if they are inclined to make laws (except what relates to terms, &c.,) to let you experiment a little at first, and find out what you need; and, when you think you have gained their confidence, always evade, in the least offensive way possible, any interference of the Board in the government.

The commencement of the first of August, 1838, was the last which Dr. Fisk ever attended. To perform its duties, taxed sadly his waning strength, and roused the fear in the hearts of many, a fear which events justified, that he would not be able to participate in another. From a letter, addressed by him to Zion's Herald soon after, we learn that the whole number of students was one hundred and fifty-two, and that sixty entered the new class.

Still intent upon occupying his time, though very feeble, he addressed an appeal to the citizens of Connecticut in behalf of the university, which aided materially in procuring for it, at the next session of the legislature, a grant of $10,000. He also commenced two works, one on Mental and Moral Philosophy, and another on the Philosophy of Theology. Though unable to stand more than a few minutes, from weakness of his limbs, he preached three or four times, sitting in his chair, the last time being on the night of the new year. He also visited New York, on business relative to the Oregon and Liberia missions, and, though extremely feeble, delivered an eloquent and thrilling address in behalf of the latter. In January he wrote a series of letters for the press, on Protestant missions in France, and commenced a review, which he was unable to finish, of Dr. Bangs' "*History of the Methodist Church;*" and, with all his old ardor, entered into the plans for the celebration of the centenary of Wesleyan Methodism. But, with all the other objects which called for his attention, feeble as his health was, he did not forget or neglect the interests of the university. On the 14th of January, he was engaged nearly all day in sketching a plan for the new boarding hall; and, though suffering almost constantly from obstructed respiration, he visited, so late

s the 30th of January, a graduate, who was lying ill two or three niles distant. On the 5th of February, he dispatched thirty letters, ll relating to the affairs of the college. This was his last labor. He was evidently sinking rapidly, and a consultation of physicians, eld on the 8th of that month, gave a decision unfavorable to his re-overy, or his long continuance in life. From this time, and, indeed, or some weeks previous, he was a great sufferer. Owing to his diffi-ulty of breathing, he was obliged to remain in a sitting or standing osture nearly the whole time; and thus he became greatly wearied, vhile the paroxysms of difficult respiration would often involve the nost intense suffering; yet amid it all he was ever patient, considerate f others, kind, and calm. For more than two weeks the spirit of the good man seemed pluming its wings for its departure, but the summons vas delayed; and, though able to speak but slowly, and with great pain nd difficulty, he summoned to his dying chamber, in turn, the friends f the university, its faculty, and the students, and expressed his views nd wishes, and, in the tenderest manner, bade each adieu. To the New York Conference he sent, by his friend, Dr. Bangs, the message: 'I give it as my dying request, that they nurse the Wesleyan Uni-ersity, that they must exert themselves to sustain and carry it for-ward." When the wandering of that noble intellect but too surely betokened that the final hour was approaching, his incoherent ex-pressions indicated that it was still the college which was the subject f his thoughts; at one time he seemed to imagine himself arrang-ng a class; at another, discussing some metaphysical point with his lass. Thus was "the ruling passion strong in death." On the morning of the 22d of February, his spirit was at last released from he suffering and shattered body it had inhabited.

His funeral was attended by a vast concourse, and his virtues and abilities eloquently portrayed by Rev. Dr. Means, of Emory College, Georgia, who delivered the funeral address. He was buried in the college cemetery, where one of his fellow professors had preceded him. His age was forty-seven years and a half. A plain monument-al shaft marks the place of his repose, bearing on one side the simple inscription

WILBUR FISK, S. T. D.,
FIRST PRESIDENT OF WESLEYAN UNIVERSITY,

and on the reverse the dates of his birth and death.

Besides his travels, an octavo volume of seven hundred pages, Dr. Fisk published a very large number of essays, reviews, controversial pamphlets, sermons, and addresses; some of which have been preserved in more permanent form by the Methodist Book Concern. His educational publications are all, however, it is believed, out of print.

EXTRACT from a letter, by Rev. Dr. Cooke, president of Lawrence University, at Appleton, Wisconsin, October, 1858.

"To say that Dr. Fisk was a leading spirit in directing the educational efforts of his own denomination, or to say that he was an excellent president of a college, is not to present him as an inventor or originator of any thing useful. He should stand before the world, as the originator and father of a distinct class of literary institutions, now so very useful and widely extended throughout the Eastern, Middle, and Western States; I mean that grade of mixed schools, for the education of both sexes, generally known among the Methodists as "Seminaries"—and which might with propriety be called, *The People's Colleges.*

Prior to his time, there had existed two, and but two, classes of institutions of learning above the common school—the college and the old fashioned New England academy. The former, without exception, excluded females from the advantages they afforded, and besides they were not sufficiently democratic to reach very effectually the masses of the people. Higher education was confined almost exclusively to the learned professions. The other class, with but few exceptions, had sunk into a remarkable degree of inefficiency, and accomplished little more than to prepare a few boys for college.

Discovering at once the wants, not only of its Methodist public, but of the people generally, early in his ministry, he commenced the work of establishing an institution that should be better adapted to the masses, and be open to both sexes. His first efforts in that direction were, I think, put forth at New Market, N. H., but other portions of New England Methodists soon waking up to the importance of having literary institutions under the denominational control, Wilbraham, by a sort of compromise, was finally agreed upon as the more central location; thus arose the first institution of its grade, with Dr. Fisk as its head.

Under his skillful management, its experience proved sucessful beyond the expectations of friends; and a few years only sufficed to renew the experience at Readfield, Maine, and at Cazenovia and Lima, in the State of New York.

Up to this period, the new movements to cheapen and popularize higher education to the masses, have been almost exclusively confined to, and directed by, the rising zeal of the Methodists; but other denominations soon saw the success attending these mixed higher seminaries, and were not slow to imitate, in this particular, the original leaders of this new enterprise. And now, under the various denominations, and bearing the public sanctions won by the marked success that has attended them, these institutions are scattered through not New England alone, but also the Middle, Western, and North-Western States. They are every where cheapening education, stirring up the people to its importance, and reaching the masses, who would otherwise have been entirely overlooked.

Some of these institutions have an average attendance of five or six hundred pupils, have endowments and other facilities for imparting instruction scarcely inferior to many of our old and respectable colleges.

We by no means claim for these institutions, that they have been the best for all purposes, or that they have in all cases, like Old Phillips' Academy and others that might be named—*par nobile fratrum*—imparted the most thorough classical training to their pupils; but we do claim that they have specifically met the wants of the people as no others have, and that they are now accomplishing the greatest good for the greatest number.

For whatever of value this class of institutions has been, or shall be, to the cause of cheap and popular education, the world is indebted to the Methodists, who preceded other denominations by several years in their successful management. To the lamented Dr. Fisk, especially, does the world owe a debt of gratitude, not only as the founder of two of the most useful institutions of New England, but also as the originator of that class of seminaries, so deservedly popular, for the co-education of the sexes."

XIX. CRIME, PAUPERISM, AND EDUCATION IN GREAT BRITAIN.

[From the British Almanac and Companion for 1859.]

CRIME AND PRISONS IN ENGLAND AND WALES.—The total number of persons committed for trial in 1857 was 20,269, of whom 15,970 were males, and 4,299 were females; of these 15,342 were convicted: 1,442 for offenses against the person, 1,752 for offenses against property with violence, 10,850 for offenses against property without violence, 101 for malicious offenses against property, 880 for forgery and offenses against the currency, and 332 for offenses not included in the foregoing classes. There were 54 sentenced to death, of whom 20 were for murder, and of these 13 were executed; the punishment in all the other cases being commuted to transportation or penal imprisonment.

The number of persons committed to them in 1857 was:—

	Males.	Females.	Total.
For trial at assizes or sessions,.....	15,958	4,254	20,212
On summary conviction,.....	62,170	24,625	86,795
For want of sureties,.....	2,318	845	3,163
On remand and discharged,.....	10,631	4,022	14,653
For debt and on civil process,.....	13,499	840	14,339
Under the Mutiny Act	2,808	.....	2,808
	107,384	34,586	141,970

Of re-committals for crimes or offenses, there were 42,169, of which 18,374 had been previously committed once, 8,128 twice, 4,400 thrice, 2,970 four times, 1,857 five times, 2,276 six and seven times, 1,700 eight to ten times, and 2,464 above ten times. Of the commitments, 1,877 were of children under twelve years of age, 10,624 were between twelve and sixteen, and 29,949 were between sixteen and twenty-one. Omitting prisoners for debt, and the military, there were 124,823 persons in confinement: of these 97,054 were English, 2,903 Welsh, 2,399 Scotch, 18,067 Irish, 652 from British colonies and the East Indies, 2,016 foreigners, and 1,732 not ascertained. Of the whole, 44,291 could neither read nor write, 72,387 could read or read and write imperfectly, 6,348 could read and write well, 409 had had a superior education, and 1,388 were not ascertained. The amount of prison accommodation is stated to be sufficient on the average; but some of the prisons of populous places are occasionally over-crowded—such as Middlesex, Westminster, Wandsworth, Durham, &c. The daily average number of prisoners was about 19,686, and the total cost for the year was 567,804*l.*; but this includes 120,799*l.* expended on new buildings, alterations, and repayments, leaving 447,004*l.* as the ordinary annual charge for prisoners, an average of 23*l.* 10*s.* 8*d.* for each, divided thus: for repairs, furniture, &c., 5*l.* 0*s.* 5*d.*; for officers' salaries, pensions, &c., 9*l.* 17*s.* 8*d.*; for prisoner's diet, clothing, medicine, &c., 8*l.* 12*s.* 2*d.*

The government prisons now provide for the treatment of convicts sentenced to long terms of detention, the great proportion of whom it had been the practice to transport to the penal colonies, or to confine on board the hulks. They are:—

1. The Millbank prison, now chiefly used as a general receiving prison and depôt for convicts of both sexes, including a penal class for both, but appropriated also in part for a class of females undergoing the first stage of their punishment.

2. The Pentonville prison, adapted for the preliminary period of separate confinement and instruction of adult male convicts.

3. Portland prison, for able-bodied male convicts undergoing the second stage of their punishment, and employed upon the public works.

4. Dartmoor prison, principally for infirm and sickly male convicts, who are employed in farm labor, and partly in manufacture.

5. Portsmouth prison, and 6, Chatham prison, for able-bodied male convicts in the second stage of their punishment, who are employed in the heavy unskilled labor of the naval yards and arsenals.

7. Brixton prison, exclusively for females in the second stage of their punishment, employed in needlework and the domestic labor of the prison.

8. The hulk "The Stirling Castle," at Portsmouth, used chiefly as a receiving ship for prisoners sent from the convict establishments at Gibraltar and Bermuda for release in this country, and for a small number of invalid prisoners.

9. Parkhurst, used as a reformatory for boys, who are employed in farm labor, and partly in manufacture.

10. Fulham Refuge, for females under reformatory treatment in their second stage of discipline.

In these various prisons, there were at the commencement of 1857, male prisoners 6,171, females 830, and 6,236 males and 758 females were received during the year; of the whole, 1,032, all males, were sent to Western Australia, Bermuda, and Gibraltar; 2,871 males and 333 females were removed from one prison to another, including those removed from the abolished hulks, and removed to lunatic asylums; and 178 females were sent to reformatories; 162 males and 6 females were discharged on the termination of their sentences; 886 males and 86 females were discharged on tickets of leave; 9 males on commutation of sentence; 53 males and 15 females were pardoned; 68 males and 17 females died; 2 males committed suicide and 6 escaped; a total of 5,675 disposed of, and 8,320, of whom 7,368 were males and 952 females, remained in the beginning of 1858.

CRIME IN IRELAND.—In 1857 the total number of persons committed or held to bail was 7,210, of whom 3,285 were not convicted. Of the number committed, 5,458 were males and 1,752 were females. Of the number convicted, 1,086 were for offenses against the person; 314 for offenses against property committed with violence; 1,641 for offenses against property without violence; 61 for malicious offenses against property; 57 for forgery and offenses against the currency; and 1,816 for other miscellaneous offenses. Only 8 were sentenced to death, and none were executed; 40 were sentenced to transportation, 396 to penal servitude for various periods, 2,674 to various terms of imprisonment, and the remainder whipped, fined, discharged on sureties, or pardoned. In the year there had been 23,563 summary convictions before magistrates or at petty sessions, and 9,557 committals for drunkenness.

CRIME IN SCOTLAND.—In 1857 the total number of offenders committed for trial or bailed was 3,840, of whom 2,743 were males and 197 females. Of the whole, 920 were acquitted on trial, discharged without trial, or found insane. Of those convicted, 1,440 were for offenses against the person, 408 for offenses against property committed with violence, 1,903 for offenses against property committed without violence; 53 for malicious offenses against property, 89 for forgery and offenses against the currency, and 207 for other offenses not included in the foregoing classes. Of the total, 557 males and 316 females could neither read nor write; 1,625 males and 697 females could read and write imperfectly; 467 males and 75 females could read and write well; and 82 males and 7 females had had a superior education; 14 are unaccounted for. Of the punishments, 3 were sentenced to death and executed for murder; 28 sentenced to various periods of transportation; 280 to various periods of penal servitude extending from three years to life; 460 to various periods of imprisonment from three years to more than six months; 1,877 to imprisonment for six months and under; and 287 to be whipped, fined, and discharged.

REFORMATORY SCHOOLS.—At the end of 1857 there were forty of these certified

in England, and twenty-two in Scotland. The number of inmates in those land on December 31, 1857, was 1,866; of whom 1,609 were boys and 257 Several of the institutions are for Roman Catholics, of whom there were 411 nd 97 girls; and of Protestants there were 1,198 boys and 160 girls. In Scot- veral of the establishments are of the nature of industrial schools, and are nfined to offenders, but are open to paupers and even to day-scholars. Alto- there are 22. The houses of refuge at Glasgow provide for 394 boys and 131 nd upwards of 2,000 children are under careful superintendence. The scheme, ing to the report of the Rev. S. Turner, promises well. In England habits of y and application are formed, and at Redhill the agricultural operations of r 1857 produced a net profit of 300*l*. In Scotland parents send their children own accord to the industrial schools, to keep them from idling in the streets, . Turner says, "they seem to offer the cheapest and most effective means venting the evil which the reformatory can only cure." He notices likewise rked freedom of Aberdeen from that "large class of neglected and disorderly n so abundant in most large towns." In the year ending March 31, 1858, nber of cases of proceedings against parents and step-parents to compel them ribute towards the maintenance of their children in reformatories was 605; mber of such parties under contribution on March 31, 1858, was 292; and ount of money received in the year from parties thus proceeded against was s.

HS, DEATHS, AND MARRIAGES.—In the year 1856 there were registered in Eng- e births of 657,458 children, a rate of 3·452 per cent. on the population, the t birth-rate on record, and an increase of 22,410 over 1855; and the Regis- neral remarks that the births are always under-stated, as many are not reg- . Of the total number, 335,541 were boys and 321,912 were girls; of these, boys and 20,996 girls were illegitimate, 6·5 per cent. or nearly 1 in every 14. rland and Westmoreland are highest in the list of counties, showing 10·5 t., while Surrey and Middlesex (out of London) are lowest, only 4·7 and 4·9, ndon itself gives only 4·2; but the Registrar observes that probably many of registered are in this class. In the same year, there were registered 159,337 ges, an increase of 7,224 over 1855, but still a little below 1854. Of the total r, 133,619 were according to the rites of the Church, 9 by special license, by license, 104,280 by banns, 4,045 by superintendent-registrar's certificate, 949 the distinction not recorded. Of the 25,718 not married with the rites of urch of England, 7,527 were of Roman Catholics, 9,710 at dissenting places p, 8,097 at the registrars' offices, 312 of Jews, and 72 of Quakers. Of persons 21 marrying, there were 9,120 men and 29,218 women. Of the total, 113,487 nd 99,204 women wrote their names, and 45,900 men and 64,133 women made narks in signing the marriage register; which gives 71 per cent. of the men per cent. of the women who could write. In 81,542 marriages both parties their names, an increase of 4,808 over 1855, and in 32,238 marriages both par- gned with marks. The deaths in the year were 390,506, a decrease of 35,197 he previous year: of these deaths, 196,034 were males and 194,472 females, males to 100 females; and on the whole a little more than 20 in a thousand population, the lowest rate yet observed. The increase of the population by ess of births over deaths was 731 daily; and on an average of 19 years it is that there is 1 in every 61 of the population married, 1 to every 30 born, and very 45 dies.

PER RELIEF.—On January 1, 1858, in 627 unions and single parishes, there 902,032 persons in receipt of relief, an increase of 25,377 over the same date in or 2·9 per cent.; of these 165,770 were able-bodied adults, an increase of , or 8·9 per cent.

Poor Relief, Scotland.—On May 14, 1857, the number of registered poor who had been relieved in the year was 88,622, a decrease from the preceding year of 10,741; and the number of registered poor at that date was 69,217, also a decrease of 10,756. The number of casual poor relieved during the year had been 36,545. The cost of the poor-relief, for registered and casual poor, was 506,522*l.* a decrease of 2,356*l.* The adult casual poor relieved on January 1, 1857, was 3,113, and on July 1, 2,898, in both cases a considerable decrease from the numbers in 1856. The number of poor-houses continue to increase, and 209 parishes, either singly or in combination, either have poor-houses or are about erecting them. In 729 parishes the principle of parochial assessment has been adopted, and in 154 parishes the principle of voluntary contributions for the support of the poor is in use. The total sum expended on poor-law purposes was 627,605*l.*, of which 4,012*l.* were spent on buildings not authorized poor-houses; 23,265*l.* on authorized poor-houses; 1,122*l.* on sanitary measures, and 23,781*l.* for medical attendance, besides some miscellaneous items, and the amount expended on the poor as mentioned above.

Workhouse and District Schools.—In the half-year ending Lady-day, 1857, the average number of children attending the schools was 37,340, of which 34,369 were in workhouse-schools. In the workhouse-schools there were 8,759 boys under 10 years of age, and 8,611 above that age; and 9,641 girls under 10, and 7,358 above. In the district schools there were 431 boys under 10 years of age and 1,088 above; and 510 girls under 10 and 842 above. The sum paid to Boards of Guardians out of the parliamentary grant in respect of the salaries of workhouse and district school-teachers, for the year ended Lady-day, 1857, was 29,398*l.*

Workhouse National Schools, Ireland.—On December 31, 1856, the number of workhouse schools was 137, and the number of children on the rolls was 22,674; a decrease from the previous year of 2 schools, and 8,067 children.

Pauper Lunatics, England.—On January 1, 1857, the number of pauper lunatics in county and borough asylums, hospitals, and licensed houses, amounted to 16,657, and on the 1st of January, 1858, the number had increased to 17,572, showing an increase during the year of no less than 915 persons. The number of admissions of lunatics of all classes, in 1857, was as follows:—In county and borough asylums, 4,781; in hospitals, 790; in metropolitan licensed houses, 1,071; and in provincial licensed houses, 1,253; making a total of 7,895 persons. During that period, 2,865 were discharged as recovered, and 2,148 were released by death.

Lunatics, Scotland.—The number of pauper lunatics in Scotland on May 14, 1855, was 4,642, of whom only 2,644 were in confinement, the others either living with friends or at large. There were also 29 criminal lunatics in jails. The total number of lunatics was 7,403, there being 2,732 private lunatics, of whom only 932 were in confinement; and of the whole, 3,736 were males and 3,667 females.

Lunatics, Ireland.—On December 31, 1856, there were 1,281 lunatics in union workhouses, of whom 518 were males and 763 females. In various asylums and in jails there were 4,721 persons, and 5,441 were reported at large. Of the whole, 5,565 were females, 4,495 males, and 102 not stated.

EDUCATION, SCIENCE, AND ART.

Education, Science, and Art.—Sums granted for such objects in 1857 and 1858.

	1857.	1858.
Public Education, Great Britain,	£541,238	£663,485
Science and Art Department,	73,855	83,730
Public Education, Ireland,	213,080	223,000
Commissioners of Education, Ireland, Office Expenses,	605	680
University of London,	8,602	8,654
Universities, &c., in Scotland,	7,510	7,510

Queen's University in Ireland,.....	2,425	2,328
Queen's Colleges, Ireland,.....	4,800	4,800
Royal Irish Academy,.....	500	500
Royal Hibernian Academy,.....	300	300
Belfast Theological Professors, &c.,.....	2,500	2,500
British Museum (Establishment),.....	66,400	79,275
Ditto (Buildings),.....	43,314	26,887
Ditto (Purchases),.....	6,944	5,000
National Gallery (including purchases of Pictures),.....	28,165	16,474
Scientific Works and Experiments,.....	5,039	5,039
Royal Geographical Society,.....	500	500
Royal Society,.....	1,000	1,000
Total,.....	996,722	1,126,607

EDUCATION.—In the year 1857 there were expended in Great Britain from the Education Grants 559,974*l.*; of which 117,771*l.* were spent in building, enlarging, repairing, and furnishing Elementary Schools, and 1,898*l.* for the same purposes on Normal Schools; 5,462*l.* in providing books, maps, and diagrams, and 2,846*l.* for scientific apparatus; 64,491*l.* in augmenting salaries of certificated schoolmasters and schoolmistresses, 5,544*l.* in paying salaries of assistant teachers, 192,248*l.* in paying stipends for pupil-teachers and gratuities for their special instruction; 89,362*l.* in capitation grants; 57,221*l.* in annual grants to Training Colleges; 19,104*l.* to Reformatory and Industrial Schools; 717*l.* in pensions; 84,434*l.* for inspection; 16,731*l.* for administration; 1,710*l.* poundage on Post-office orders; and 938*l.* for agency for grants of books, maps, &c. The recipients were:—In England, Church of England Schools, 357,597*l.*; British and Foreign School Society, 50,022*l.*; Wesleyan Schools, 32,890*l.*; Roman Catholic Schools (Great Britain), 25,894*l.*; Parochial Union Schools, 5,224*l.* In Scotland, to schools connected with the Established Church, 36,825*l.*; with the Free Church, 28,414*l.*; with the Episcopal Church, 4,875*l.*; administration and scientific apparatus make up the balance. In addition to the money granted for the erection of schools, 188,181*l.* had been subscribed, and 203 school-houses had been built, 239 enlarged or improved, and 169 residences provided. There were 35 Training Schools for teachers; and there were 4,369 separate schools visited on account of annual grants, and 1,029 for simple inspection only. Of the first class there was accommodation provided for 871,993 children; there were present at examination 633,750, and the average attendance was 574,887, of whom 325,886 were boys and 248,501 were girls; the number of certificated teachers was 4,414, and of pupil teachers 10,943. Of schools visited for simple inspection only there were 1,029; the number of children for whom accommodation was provided in them was 82,578; the number present at the examination was 61,122, and the average attendance was 52,309. The average ages of the children in the first class (the returns in the second are imperfect) were 6·15 per cent. under four years, 7·36 between four and five, 9·35 between five and six, 11·76 between six and seven, 12·72 between seven and eight, 12·26 between eight and nine, 11·45 between nine and ten, 7·8 between ten and eleven, 5·71 between eleven and twelve, 3·16 between twelve and thirteen, and only 2 per cent. over fourteen. Of the whole, 42·89 per cent. had been at school less than one year, 22·42 one year, 14·91 two years, 9·47 three years, 5·68 four years, and 5·63 five and upwards.

NATIONAL SCHOOLS, IRELAND.—On December 31, 1856, the number of National Schools in operation was 5,245; the average number of children in daily attendance during the first half-year, to June 30, was 269,410; during the last half of the year, 254,011. The Government aid, for salaries, books, &c., was 127,467*l.*, and school-fees and local subscriptions amounted to 37,135*l.* There were 3,659 male teachers, and 1,796 female teachers, with 282 male and 224 female assistants; there were also 407 female teachers of embroidery, and 627 male and 373 female monitors; a total of 7,368 persons employed in teaching. The number of Agricultural National Schools in the same year was 168, of which 37 were model schools, 51 ordinary

schools, 3 school gardens, and 77 workhouse schools. The number of pupils is not stated, but the sale of farm and garden produce in the year brought 4,950*l.* to the general fund. The total receipts for the year for purposes of National Primary Education, including 213,200*l.* from the Treasury, was 247,664*l.*

National Collections.—Sums expended in the year 1857–8.

	£.	s.	d.
British Museum (Establishment),	50,847	12	9
Ditto (Buildings),	88,814	2	7
Ditto (Purchases),	17,425	5	0
National Gallery,	29,469	14	2
Scientific Works and Experiments,	3,672	10	7
Royal Geographical Society,	500	0	0
British Historical Portrait Gallery,	1,240	9	8
Science and Art Department,	66,011	12	11
Museum of Practical Geology (Establishment),	6,092	18	10
Royal Society,	1,000	0	0
Total,	214,574	6	6

The amount expended in 1857 on the South Kensington Museum, on the buildings and in laying out the grounds, was 39,586*l.*

British Museum.—The total expenditure on the British Museum in the year ending March 31, 1858, was 67,772*l.*; of which 16,919*l.* were expended on purchases and acquisitions, 11,860*l.* on bookbinding, cabinets, &c., including the expenses for a photographic room; 2,919*l.* for printing catalogues, taking casts, &c., and the remainder for house expenses, salaries, and miscellaneous outlays.

In the year 1857 the number of visitors to the General Collection had been 621,034, the largest number for any year since 1853. The total number of visitors to the Reading-Room for the purpose of study had been 92,870; of whom 19,242 visited in the first four months of the year, and 75,128 from May 18th to the end of the year, after the new reading-room was opened; the total being a great increase beyond the preceding years. The visits of artists and students to the Sculpture Galleries numbered 2,613, a less number than in previous years. The visits to the Print Room were 3,315, and to the Coin and Medal Room 2,316, numbers about equal to the average.

Marlborough House.—The total number of visitors in 1857 was 111,768, of whom 107,192 were free admissions.

South Kensington Museum.—The total number of persons admitted on 265 days, from June 22, 1857, to April 30, 1858, was 418,703, of whom 52,700 paid, the remainder were free. The average free admissions are on the mornings of Monday 1,317, of Tuesday 1,127, of Saturday 1,266; the evening free admissions average on Monday 2,707, on Tuesday 1,896.

Hampton Court and Kew.—In 1857 the number of persons visiting Hampton Court Palace was 173,310, of whom 44,794 visited on Sundays; at Kew Gardens the total number of visitors was 361,798, of whom 185,599, or considerably more than half, were Sunday visitors.

Savings' Banks.—In the United Kingdom, in the year 1587, the total amount received from Depositors was 7,581,415*l.*; the amount paid out was 8,375,095*l.*; but this includes the interest. The amount of capital deposited was 35,108,596*l.*, while in 1856 the amount was only 34,946,012*l.* From Nov. 22, 1856, to March 7, 1857, there was a surplus of deposits over the withdrawals every week, amounting in the whole to 307,716*l.*; from that date till the completion of the year, Nov. 20, 1857, the withdrawals exceeded the deposits every week, and the total excess amounted to 1,265,870*l.* Of the total (on November 20, 1857), 1,738,026*l.* was for Ireland, and 1,944,991*l.* on account of Friendly Societies.

INDEX TO NUMBER XVI.

OF

BARNARD'S AMERICAN JOURNAL OF EDUCATION.

Abbot, Dr., 77, 78.
Abbot Jubilee, 80.
Academies, 66, 70, 76.
  meaning of word in France, 294.
Accidental education, 108.
Accomplishments, Locke on, 213, 221, 222.
  female, 140.
Agriculture, S. Van Rensselaer's efforts for, 232.
  Irish schools of, 315.
Algorism or Algorithm, 22.
Alfort, university, 10, 11, 49.
Andover, Mass., town fund in, 71.
Andover Philips Academy, account of, 70 to 74.
  constitution, 73.
  endowments, 72, 76.
Andover Theological Seminary, 71.
Andrews, Lorin, 91, 92, 94.
Arets'us, Meyfart's, 47, 59.
Aristotle, at German universities, 22, 54, 55.
  at Wittenberg, 34.
Arithmetic in order of studies, 183.
  mode of teaching, 191.
Astronomy, in early German universities, 22.
Athens, 157.
Attendance, in Bavaria, 277.
Atwater, Caleb, 83.
Augustine, St., on students' morals, 30.

Bachelor's degree, duties, &c., 23 to 28.
Barnard, H., articles by, 66, 75, 101, 107.
  labors of, 90, 160.
Barney, H. H., 93, 94.
Basedow, 253, 261.
Bavaria, school system of, 273 to 292.
Beani, synonyms of, 59.
Berlin (Conn.,) schools, 128, 131.
Berlin, university, founded, 10.
Bible, in German universities, 25, 26.
Blatchford, Rev. S., 142, 224.
Blocks in geometry, 191.
Bohemian nation at Prague, 19.
Bolivar, 157.
Bologna, university, 9, 11.
Bonn, university, founded, 11.
Book-keeping, Locke on, 222.
Breslau, university of, founded, 10.
British Museum, cost, 1857, 312.
British Museum of Practical Geology, 239.
Brothers of Christian Doctrine, 263.
Bulls of Popes to universities, 12, 60.
Burlington, Vt., 135.
Burrowes, T. H., portrait and memoir, 107 to 124.
Bursaries, at German universities, 32.
Burschenschaft, 52.

Cambridge, (Eng.,) university, founded, 11.
Canon and civil law, *see* Faculty of, &c.
Carelessness, children's, Locke on, 217.
Carthage, university, morals at, 30.
Chancellor of German universities, 15, 20.
Charitable education, of Greek teachers, 157
  by Mrs. Willard, 153.
Charitable endowments, Andover, Mass., 71.
  in German universities, 10, 21, 32, 55.
Children, Locke on training, 209 to 222.
Cincinnati College of Teachers, 85, 89.
Classification of knowledge, 181, 185.
Clinton, Gov., and Mrs. Willard, 136, 143, 145, 146.
Coggeshall, W. T., article by, 81.
College education, Dr. Fisk on, 305.
College de France, 296.
Colleges, Dr. Fisk on managing, 307–8.
  in German universities, 10.
  in Pennsylvania, state aid to, 123.
Cologne, university, 10, 11, 33.
Colored children taught in Ohio, 95.
Common School Advocate, 89.
Common schools, history of, in Ohio, 81.
  history of, in Pennsylvania, 107.
  Mrs. Willard's labors for, 160 to 165.
  see Primary Schools; School system.
Common sense, Locke on, 218.
Communication of knowledge by pupils, 134.
Contentedness, 172–3.
Contents of No. XVI., 5.
Convents, property of, to universities, 14.
Cooke, Dr., letter on Dr. Fisk, 310.
Corporeal punishment, Locke on, 212, 214.
  Mrs. Willard on, 130.
Count palatineship of university, rectors, 17, 63.
Course of study, Bavaria, 284.
  early German universities, 22, 54.
  Pennsylvania, 114, 123.
  Wittenberg, 34.
Cowdery, M. T., and Institutes, 90, 91, 92, 102.
Cox, C. C., poem by, quoted, 155.
Cracow, university, 10, 11.
Crime, statistics of, in Great Britain, 311.
Crying of children, Locke on, 217.
Curiosity of children, Locke on, 217.
Cutler, E., efforts for schools, 82 to 85.

Dancing, at German universities, 35.
  Locke on, 213, 221.
De la Beche, Sir H., 239.
Dean of faculty, in Germany, 10, 20, 27.
Degrees, in German universities, 14, 20, 24, 26 to 28.
Deposition of German students, 37 to 42.
Development, order of human, 180–1.
Dialectics, at German universities, 21–2, 34, 54.
Dillingen, university, founded, 10.
Discipline, at German universities, 27, 29, 52, 56, 59.
  see Corporeal punishment; Monitors.
Disputations at German universities, 24.
Doctor's degree, rights, &c., 26, 27, 28.
Domestic economy, 140, 151.
Duelling in German universities, 57.
Duisburg, university, founded, 10.
Dummer Academy, 66.

Eaton, Prof. Amos, 233–4.
Education, accidental, *see* Accidental Education.
  bodily, *see* Physical Education.
  female, *see* Female Education.
Education, Hamann on, 257.
  Rev. T. Hill on, 193.
  superficiality in, 192.
  Wolf's views on, 268.
Educational appro. in Gr. Britain, 1857, 314 to 316.
Educational biography; Burrowes, T. H., 107.
  Fisk, W., 297.
  Hamann, J. G., 247.
  Herder, J. G., 195.
  Locke, J., 209.
  North, S. J., 101.
  Phillips, J., 75.

Educational biography, Phillips, S., Jr., 66.
Van Rensselaer, S., 223.
Willard, Mrs. E., 125.
Wolf, F. A., 260.
Educational endow; in German univ., 10, 13, 14, 20, 21.
Educational meetings; Kensington, Conn., 161.
Ohio, 85, 87, 89, 90, 91.
Syracuse, N. Y., 165.
Troy Female Seminary, 154.
Abbot Jubilee, 80.
Educational periodicals in Ohio, 87, 91, 95, 100, 102.
Educational statistics; Bavaria, 282.
Great Britain, 311.
Pennsylvania, 111, 117.
Educational systems; Locke's, 209 to 222.
Mrs. Willard's, 137.
Erlangen, university, 10, 16, 17.
Erfurt, university, 10, 11, 14, 20, 23, 29, 32, 39.
lectures in arts at, 1449, 54.
Euclid, 22.
Evening Hour of a Hermit, 169 to 179.
Examinations, Mrs. Willard's, 141, 153.
Wolf on, 271.
for degrees, in Germany, 24 to 29.
of teachers, Bavaria, 281, 289.
Exeter Phillips Academy, 75 to 80.
Experiment by people's vote on schools, 113.
Explanation, office of, 134.

Faculties in German universities, 14, 19, 21.
Faculty of arts, " " 21, 54.
courses of lectures in, 54.
Faculty of civil and canon law, in same, 26.
medicine, in same, 28.
theology, in same, 25.
Faith, Pestalozzi on, 174.
Mrs. Willard on, 159.
Female education, in Bavaria, 276.
Columbia, 157.
Hamann on, 256.
poem on, quoted, 155.
Mrs. Willard's labors for, 124 to 168.
her plan of, 137 to 142.
Female seminary, essentials of, 140.
at Santa Fé de Bogota, 157.
at Troy, N. Y., 142, 160.
Female teachers, in Bavaria, 292.
vocation of, 141.
Findlay, James, 112.
Fine Arts in education, 141, 206.
Fisk, Wilbur, portrait and memoir, 781.
Fowler, Prof. H., memoir of Mrs. Willard, 125.
France, public instruction in, 293.
Institut and College de, 296.
University of, 296.
Frankfurt, university, 10, 15, 16, 17, 19, 49.
Free School Clarion, The, 91.
Free schools in Pennsylvania, 111.
French, their language and writings, 197-8, 201.
Fryksell, on deposition, 37.

Galloway, S., labors for Ohio schools, 90 to 94.
Geography, in Ohio schools, 95.
Mrs. Willard's instruction in, 135, 149.
Geometry, in early German universities, 22.
modes of teaching, 147, 185, 191.
place in order of studies, 183.
German universities, Raumer's history of, 9 to 61.
Germans in Pennsylvania and education, 119.
Giessen, university, 10, 49, 50.
Gilman, J. T., 78.
Gilman, Nicholas, 76.
God, faith in, 159, 174.
Locke on fear of, 218.
Gottingen, university, 10, 16, 17.
Grammar, in German universities, 22, 35.
in Ohio schools, 95.
Gratz, university, founded, 10.
Great Britain, crime, pauperism, and education in, 311.
Greece, Mrs. Willard and female education in, 157.
Greek, studied at Wittenberg, 35.
Greifswald, university of, 10, 39.
Guilford, N., efforts for Ohio schools, 83 to 85.

Haberkorn, Dr., on Pennalism, 50.
Halle, university, 10, 16, 17, 41.
charter of, 60.
Wolf's philological labors at, 262.
Hamann, G. H., memoir of 247.
Hart, Emma, (Mrs. Willard,) *see* Willard.
Hart, S., and wife, (Mrs. Willard's parents,) 125-6.
Harvard College, rank of students in, 67.
Health of children, Locke on, 211.
Hegius, influence of, on grammar, 34.
Heidelberg, university, 9, 10, 18, 19, 20, 24.
Helmstadt, university, 10, 17, 42, 49.
Herborn, university, founded, 10.
Herder, J. G., memoir of, 195.
on Basedow, 253.
Heyder, Prof. W., on student morals, 42, 56.
Hill, Rev. T., on true order of studies, 180.
Hippocrates' oath, 29.
History, mode of teaching, 186.
order of, as a study, 186.
subdivision of, 184.
Mrs. Willard's teaching of, 150.
Hoge, Rev. James, 83.
Home education, Pestalozzi on, 173.
of Mrs. Willard, 126.
Homer, Wolf on, 265.
Hooker, Thomas, 125.
Hurd, Rev. Isaac, 78.
Hurty, J. N., 91, 92.
Huss, John, 19, 23.

Idleness, Locke on children's, 217.
Illustration, office of, 134.
in geometry, 147.
Whewell and Willard on, 147.
Index to No. XVI., 253.
Industrial schools, Bavarian, 286.
Ingolstadt, university, 10, 11, 14, 15, 17, 20, 24, 31, 32.
charter of, 11.
lectures on arts at, 14, 72, 54.
Pope's bull to establish, 52.
Innspruck, university, founded, 10.
Institut de France, 296.
Instruction, at early German universities, 23.
Rev. T. Hill on, 191.
Jacotot's system of, 206.
Mrs. Willard's modes of, 134, 145, 151.
Wolf on, 264.
Intellectual education, 193, 212, 218.
Ireland, 315.

Jacotot's system, 206.
Jena, university, 10, 17, 42, 46, 49, 56.
Jerome of Prague, 19.
Jesuits' property given to universities, 14, 20.
Jews' property given to Heidelberg University, 20.
Journal of Education, A. D. Lord's, 95.
Justice and freedom, Pestalozzi on, 179.

Kelley, Alfred, 86.
Kensington, Conn., schools of, 160 to 165.
Kiel, university of, 10, 17.
Kindness to children, 217.
Knowledge, classified, 181 to 194.
Königsberg, university, 10, 17, 49.

Landshut, university, 10.
Landsmannschaften of 17th century, 48, 50, 52.
Lane, Judge, and Ohio schools, 90.
Languages, Locke on, 219.
mode of teaching, 187, 270.
Hamann and, 254.
Wolf's study of, 262.
see French, Greek, Latin.
Latin, compulsory at German university, 24.
Herder on study of, 196, 197, 207.
Latin, Locke on study of, 219, 221.
at Wittenberg, 35.
Law, instruction in, 187.

niversities, 21 to 26, 27, 35, 54.
of Geology, 246.
s, Ohio, 93.

s, 20.

, 14, 15, 18, 19, 20, 49, 51.
Halle, 17, 60.
hio schools, 85 to 89.

inary, 140.
hts, &c., 20, 24, 26, 27, 28.
led, 10.
system, 209 to 222.
, 26.
schools, 90, 91, 93, 94.
, and Ingolstadt, 53.
ducation, 295.
5.
39.

n in Geography, 149.
ocke on, 213.
ies. 17th century, 37.
n, 221.
m relating to, 241.

0, 17.
&c., 23, 24, 26.

of studies, 182.
ing of, 146–7.
versities, 15.
, 16.
g, 16.
lmstadt, 17.

87, 89.
Salerno, 9.
education, 24, 33 to 37.
, 134.
ounded, 10.
f, 242–3.
ies, &c., 299 to 310.
us, by, 59.

Willard's school at, 132, 133.
teacher, 128, 129, 132.
London, 244.
n, 245.
of Tübingen University, 29.
l's, 154.
l, 86.

cke on, 216.
iv., 29, 30 to 32, 35, 44, 56.
.
ania, and schools, 118.
unded, 10.
versities, 22, 35.

nd, statistics, 315.
iversities, 10, 18.
y, 50.
to 172.
n Rensselaer's efforts for, 233.
rth's usefulness to, 104 to 106.
nstitutes in, 165
Academy, 300.

ts, 24.
io, 90 to 102.
.
ow, quoted, 75, 80.

North British Review, quoted, 318.
North, S. J., portrait and memoir, 104.
North, S. J., gift to Connecticut Normal School, 104.
Notaries public, university rector may appoint, 17, 63.

Observation, cultivation of, 191.
Ohio, history of school system, 81 to 103.
Ohio School Director, 87.
Olmutz, university, founded, 10.
Order of studies, Rev. T. Hill on, 180.
  Pestalozzi on, 171.
  table of, 188–9.
Ordinance of 1787, 81.
Ornamental studies, 140.
Osnabrück, university, founded, 10.
Over-education, 256.
Oxford, university, 11, 23.

Paderborn, university, founded, 10.
Parents' intercourse with children, 216.
Paris, university, 9, 10, 18, 19, 21, 30, 32.
Patapsco Female Institute, 128.
Pauperism in Great Britain, 317.
Pearce, D., 88.
Pennal, synonyms of, 59.
Pennalism, at German universities, 40 to 52.
Pennsylvania, history of school system of, 107 to 124.
Perceptive powers, 181.
Pestalozzi's *Evening Hour of a Hermit*, 169.
Pestalozzian, The, 88.
Phelps, Mrs. Lincoln, 128.
Phillips, Rev. George, 75.
Phillips, John, memoir of, 75 to 80.
  mentioned, 71.
Phillips, S., portrait and memoir of, 66 to 74.
  mentioned, 76.
Phillips Academy, Andover, 70, 73.
  " " Exeter, 76, 78.
Philology, Wolf's labors in, 260 to 279.
Phonetics in teaching language, 187, 191.
Physical education, Rev. T. Hill on, 193.
  Locke on, 210, 222.
  Mrs. Willard on, 151.
Physics, order of, among studies, 182, 184, 186.
Pickett, Albert, 85.
Pius II., bull for university of Ingolstadt, 14, 52.
Playthings, Locke on, 217.
Poets laureate, appointed by university rectors, 17.
Poetry in education, 220, 270.
Politeness, Locke on, 218.
Poor schools in Pennsylvania, 111.
Popes and German universities, 14.
  oath of students to, 53.
Portraits; T. H. Burrowes, 107.
  Fisk, W., 297.
  North, S. J., 104.
  Phillips, S., Jr., 66.
  Rensselaer, S. Van, 223.
  Willard, Mrs., 125.
Prague, univers., 9, 10, 14, 15, 18, 19, 20, 23, 31, 39, 55.
  lectures in arts, 1366, 54.
Precepts, how to give, 213.
Primary schools, in Bavaria, 273.
  in France, 293.
Princes, educational duties of, 170, 175, 177.
Princeton College, 76.
Priscianus, 22.
Prisons, statistics of, in Great Britain, 311.
Private schools in France, 293.
Private tutor, Locke on, 213, 214.
Privileges of German universities, 13, 21.
Procurntor in " " 10, 18.
Psychology, order of, among studies, 182.
  sub-divided, 185.
Punishment at German universities, 57.
  and reward, Locke on, 211.

Quadrivium, 21, 22.
Quakers, and schools, 118.

Rank of students at Harvard, 1769, 67.

Ratisbon, diet of, on Pennalism, 48.
Raumer, K. von, articles from, 9, 195, 209, 247, 260.
Ray, Dr. Joseph, 85.
Reading, Locke on teaching, 219.
Reading-books, bad, 163.
Realists and Nominalists, 24.
Reasoning powers, 181.
Rector, in German univers., 10, 13, 17, 19, 20, 21, 63.
Reformation, educational influence of, 14, 20, 317.
  see Huss, Jerome, Luther, Melancthon, Wittenberg.
Reformatory schools in Great Britain, 313.
Religious educ. in Bavaria, 275 to 278, 281 to 283, 284, 287, 288.
  in German universities, 10, 11, 13, 30, 32.
  Hill, Rev. T., on, 194.
  Locke on, 216 to 218.
  Pestalozzi on, 179.
  Phillips, J., on, 78.
  Willard, Mrs., on, 158.
Rensselaer Institute, 234.
Rhetoric at Wittenberg, 34.
Rinteln, university, 10, 17.
Rome, university at, morals of, 30.
Roncaglia, diet of, 9, 11.
Rostock, university of, 10, 49, 51.
Rousseau, Herder on, 197 to 200.
Royce, Mrs., 131.

Sabinus, rector at Königsberg, 17.
Sacrobusto, J., 22.
Salerno, school of medicine at, 9.
Saltonstall, Leverett, 76.
Salzburg, university, founded, 10.
Santa Fé de Bogota, female seminary at, 157.
Sawtell, E. L., 88.
School age, in Bavaria, 276–7.
  in Pennsylvania, 114, 122.
School celebration, *see* Educational Meetings.
School Friend, The, 91, 95.
School Journal, A. D. Lord's, 90.
School lands, Ohio, 81.
School laws, of Bavaria, 276.
  of Ohio, 81 to 101.
  of Pennsylvania, 111 to 117.
School tax, Ohio, 85, 87.
School and university, Wolf on, 209.
Schöttgen, on Pennalism, 45, 48, 50, 51, 59.
Schröder, " " 43.
Schuppius, " " 47.
Secondary schools in France, 293.
Self-control, 212, 216.
Self-instruction, Herder on, 205.
  Mrs. Willard's, 147.
Selfishness, 216.
Seven liberal arts, 21.
Sexes, disparity of education for, 133.
  relations of, 139.
Shannon, Gov. W., 87.
Sigismund of Poland, and Königsberg univ., 18.
Sittewald, Philander von, quoted, 44.
Sloane, John, 89.
Smith, Dr. George, 116.
Smith, H. K., 88, 92.
Social relations, Pestalozzi on, 173.
Sorbonne, 10.
Spelling, 187, 191.
St. Clair, Arthur, and education, 82.
Statutes of German universities, 10, 18, 20, 23, 24, 25, 28, 30, 31, 33, 35, 37, 39, 41.
Stowe, C. E., 85, 87.
Students, early German, 9, 13, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 37 to 52, 56, 59.
Sunday schools, Bavarian, 282–3, 288.
Superficiality in education, 192.
Superior instruction in France, 296.
Syracuse, N. Y., educational convention at, 165.

Tangrams, in geometry, 191.
Tappan, Rev. J. L., quoted, 66.
Teachers' association, Kensington, Conn., 163.
  Troy Female Seminary, 154.
Teachers, condition of, Bavaria, 288.
  France, 294–5.
Teachers, education of, in Bavaria, 280.
  Greece, 157.
  Ohio, 85, 101.
  Pennsylvania, 115, 121.
  by S. Van Rensselaer, 233.
  by Mrs. Willard, 146, 153, 154.
Teachers' Institutes, New York, 165.
  Ohio, 90, 92.
Teachers' pensions, Bavaria, 291.
Teachers, requisites of, 206, 248, 251, 263, 27
Teachers' salaries, Bavaria, 291.
Teachers' seminaries, Bavaria, 289 to 290.
  Ohio, 85 to 101.
Teachers' seminaries, Pennsylvania, 115, 121.
Teachers' vocation, Hamann on, 251.
Teachers, women as, 141.
Teaching, as a profession, 122.
Text-books, Bavaria, 284.
  early German universities, 22, 54.
  faults in, 163, 192.
  qualifications for writing, 257.
  Mrs. Willard's, 135, 152.
Theological education, Herder on, 203–4.
  " seminary, " " 203.
  " students, morals of early German
Theology, no faculty of, at Vienna, 14.
  mode of teaching, 187.
  in order of studies, 182.
  sub-divided, 185.
  at university of Paris, 9.
Thompson, Rev. J., 108.
Thurston, B., 77, 78.
Time-maps, Mrs. Willard's, 150.
Town, Salem, 90,
Traveling, Locke on, 222.
Trevitt, William, 89, 102.
Troy Female Seminary, 142 to 156.
Troy Society, 157.
Truth, natural desire for, 169.
Tübingen, university, 10, 11, 20, 21, 24, 49, 4
Tuition fee, Bavaria, 277.
  early German universities, 54, 55.
Tutor, private, requisites of, 215.
  Hamann's life as, 248.

Union schools, Ohio, 93.
United States, school lands given by, 81.
Universities and schools, Wolf on, 208–9.
Upsala, deposition at, 37.

Van Hook, W. B., 86, 87.
Van Ness, Gov., 135.
Van Rensselaer, S., portrait and memoir, 225
Vienna, university, 9, 10, 11, 13, 14, 15, 18, 1
  24, 25, 28, 31, 39, 53.
  lectures on arts at, 1389, 54.
Vitry, Jacques de, on morals of Paris student

Waterford, N. Y., Mrs. Willard at, 135 to 14
Wesleyan University, 204.
Western School Journal, The, 92.
Westminster Review, article from, 293.
Whewell, on illustration, 147.
White, M. H., 95.
Wiclif, influence in Germany, 23.
Wilbraham, Mass., Academy, 300.
Willard, Mrs. E., portrait and memoir, 125 t
Willard, Dr. J., 132 to 151.
Willard, Mr. and Mrs. John H., 145, 156.
Williams, Milo G., 85, 87, 89, 94.
Wittenberg, university, 10, 16, 24, 42, 49.
  compared with other universities, 32.
Wolf, Gov. George, 111.
Wolf, F. A., memoir of, 260 to 289.
Woodbridge, Rev. W., 78.
Workhouse schools in Great Britain, 314.
Worthington, Gov., and schools, 82.
Written school exercises, 205.
Wurzburg, university, founded, 10.

THE

American Journal of Education.

No. XVII.—JUNE, 1859.

CONTENTS.

	Page.
PORTRAIT. James Hillhouse	321
I. JAMES HILLHOUSE. By Rev. Leonard Bacon, D.D.	325
Origin of the Hillhouse family	325
Birth and education	328
Dr. Dwight's influence on his mental development	329
Marriage	330
Military service	334
Elected to the Legislature	336
Treasurer of Yale College	336
Congressional experience	337
Proposed Amendment to the Constitution of United States	340
Opinions of Marshall, Kent, Madison, &c.	346
Commissioner of the School Fund of Connecticut	349
Disinterested and unpaid service to the State	354
Evidences of public spirit in local improvements	357
Services to Yale College	359
Character	362
II. HISTORY OF THE SCHOOL FUND OF CONNECTICUT	367
1. Claims of Connecticut to Western Territory	368
Charter of 1631, and of 1660	368
Conflict with New York	368
Conflict with Pennsylvania	368
Decision of Commissioners in 1782	369
Claims to territory beyond western limits of Pennsylvania	370
2. Cession to the United States	372
Resolution of Congress	372
Deed of cession	373
3. Sale and appropriation of avails	374
Grant of "*Fire Lands*"	375
Bill to pay over avails for support of public worship	376
Act establishing Funds for support of the ministry and schools	376
Popular dissatisfaction	376
Discussions in the press, town meetings, &c.	377
"Last Will" of the General Assembly	381
Picture of the Common Schools in 1793	382
Encouragement of Agriculture, Science, and the Arts	382
Discussion in the General Assembly in 1794	385
Repeal of the Act of 1793	406
Discourse of Dr. Dwight	408
Act of 1795—appropriating to common schools	412
Sale for the sum of $1,200,000	414
Report of Commissioners on sale	414
List of original purchasers	418
Debate in Senate of United States in 1850	419

Remarks of Senator Mason of Virginia....
Reply of Senator Baldwin of Connecticut....
4. Management and Apportionment of Income....
First apportionment of dividend of Fund....
Permanent policy in management established by Mr Hillhouse....
Statement of dividend of Fund from 1799 to 1859....
III. Early School Codes of Germany. By Karl von Raumer....
School Codes of Wirtemberg, ordained in 1559....
Teutsch (German Schools)....
Latin Schools....
Cloister Schools....
University....
School Regulations of Elector of Saxony—1580....
Teutsch Schools....
Private Schools....
Royal Schools....
Revised School Code of 1773....
IV. Letters to a Young Teacher. By G. F. Thayer....
Rewards in school....
Franklin medals....
Health of school-boys....
V. The True Order of Studies. By Rev. Thomas Hill....
Mathematics....
Geometry should precede arithmetic....
Use of "*little blocks*"....
Geometrical Puzzle....
Idea of number....
Mental Arithmetic—the time for....
Logarithms....
Algebra....
VI. Progressives, or School Reformers, at the beginning of the Seventeenth Cen
The Jesuits....
John Sturm....
Ratich and Comenius....
General Aims of the Progressives....
Pelagianism in Education....
VII. Lord Brougham. By Edward I. Sears....
Birth, and home education....
Edinburgh High School—testimony to its social value....
University—Speculative Society....
Edinburgh Review....
Elected to Parliament....
Abolition of slavery....
Labors in behalf of popular education....
Inquiries into Charitable Trusts....
Sir Robert Peel....
Counsel for Queen Caroline....
London Mechanics' Institution....
Practical Observations on the Education of the People....
Discourse as Lord Rector of University of Glasgow....
London University....
Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge....
Law Reform....
Lord Chancellor....
Reform Bill and Catholic Emancipation....
Admission of Dissenters to the Universities....
Speech in House of Lords on Education in 1835....
Address at Manchester, and Liverpool....
Tribute to the Schoolmaster....
Speech in House of Lords on Education in 1837....

PAGE.

Letter to the Duke of Bedford 501
Canada Affairs 505
Association for the Advancement of Social Science 505
Complimentary Resolutions at Liverpool 507
Note. Educational Resolutions of 1854 513
SCHOOL ARCHITECTURE 515
1. Plans of Newberry Public School, Chicago 515
Illustrations. Fig. 1. *Perspective* 518
" Fig. 2. *First, Second, and Third Floors* 516
" Fig. 3. *Fourth Floor* 517
2. Plans of Lincoln Public Grammar School, Boston 519
Illustrations. Fig. 1. *Perspective* 519
" Fig. 2. *Ground Plan* 522
" Fig. 3. *First and Second Floors* 523
" Fig. 4. *Third Floor* 523
3. Plans of Waterbury Public School, New York City 524
Illustrations. Fig. 1. *Front Elevation* 524
" Fig. 2. *First Floor* 525
" Fig. 3. *Second Floor* 526
" Fig. 4. *Third and Fourth Floors* 527
" Fig. 5. *Class rooms in half story* 527
4. Plans of Public School No. 20—New York City 528
Illustrations. Fig. 1. *First Floor and Play-grounds* 528
" Fig. 2. *Second Floor* 529
" Fig. 3. *Third and Fourth Floors* 530
HISTORY OF COMMON SCHOOLS IN THE STATE OF OHIO. By Wm. T. Coggeshall .. 532
State Teachers' Association in 1853 532
McNeely Normal School 536
State Reform Farm School 538
Library Law 540
Progress of Subscription List of Ohio Journal of Education 544
Summary of Progress of School System 545
School Funds 545
Taxation 545
School Inspection 546
Teachers' Institutes 547
Table of Statistics from 1837 to 1859 548
THOMAS H. BURROWES AND THE SYSTEM OF COMMON SCHOOLS IN PENNSYLVANIA 555
Report as Superintendent of Common Schools in 1838 556
Establishment of the system by the people 556
Plan for extending the system upward 557
Improvement of teachers 557
Statistics of schools 560
Plan for Agricultural School in 1839 560
Schools of Lancaster 561
School Convention in 1850 562
Lancaster Teachers' Association in 1851 564
Pennsylvania School Journal in 1851 564
State Teachers' Association in 1852 564
New State School Law 1854 566
Pennsylvania School Architecture 567
Plan of Normal School 568
Statistics of Common Schools for 1858, and progress since 1835 570
SYSTEM OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION IN BAVARIA 571
1. Common Schools—*continued* 571
Testimony of Joseph Kay to their condition in Nuremberg, Munich 571
Social equalization of good public schools 573

PAGE.

XII. DR. GRASER'S COURSE OF INSTRUCTION FOR COMMON SCHOOLS..... 575
General principles of, according to Prof. Bache..... 575
Example of, in a primary school of Bayreuth..... 576
Instruction of the lowest class—age 6 to 7 years..... 576
The paternal mansion, and its associated objects..... 577
Life in the community..... 579
Life in the kingdom..... 579
Institutions required..... 580
XIII. METHODS OF TEACHING LATIN. By Karl von Raumer..... 581
1. Changes within the last three hundred years..... 581
2. The opponents of the old grammatical methods..... 581
3. New methods..... 584
A. To learn Latin as the native language is learned..... 584
B. Latin and scientific subjects taught together..... 585
C. Combination of methods A and B..... 586
D. Particular methods..... 586
(*a*) Ratich..... 585
(*b*) Locke..... 586
(*c*) Hamilton..... 586
(*d*) Jacotot..... 595
(*e*) Rutbardt..... 600
(*f*) Meierotto..... 610
(*g*) Jacob..... 612
The method of study to be determined by the object in view..... 613
XIV. EDUCATIONAL MISCELLANY AND INTELLIGENCE..... 615
The Jesuits and their Schools. Remarks of Raumer, omitted in No. 13..... 615
INDEX TO NUMBER XVII..... 623

PAGE.

XII. DR. GRAFER'S COURSE OF INSTRUCTION FOR COMMON SCHOOLS..... 575
General principles of, according to Prof. Bache..... 575
Example of, in a primary school of Bayreuth..... 576
Instruction of the lowest class—age 6 to 7 years..... 576
The paternal mansion, and its associated objects..... 577
Life in the community..... 579
Life in the kingdom..... 579
Institutions required..... 580
XIII. METHODS OF TEACHING LATIN. By Karl von Raumer..... 581
1. Changes within the last three hundred years..... 581
2. The opponents of the old grammatical methods..... 581
3. New methods..... 584
A. To learn Latin as the native language is learned..... 584
B. Latin and scientific subjects taught together..... 585
C. Combination of methods A and B..... 586
D. Particular methods..... 586
(*a*) Ratich..... 585
(*b*) Locke..... 586
(*c*) Hamilton..... 586
(*d*) Jacotot..... 595
(*e*) Ruthardt..... 600
(*f*) Meierotto..... 610
(*g*) Jacob..... 612
The method of study to be determined by the object in view..... 613
XIV. EDUCATIONAL MISCELLANY AND INTELLIGENCE..... 615
The Jesuits and their Schools. Remarks of Raumer, omitted in No. 13..... 615
INDEX TO NUMBER XVII..... 623

JAMES HILLHOUSE.

JAMES HILLHOUSE, the indefatigable "nursing father," and administrator of the School Fund of Connecticut, for fifty years treasurer of Yale College, and throughout a long and eventful life a beautiful example of the public spirited citizen in a republic, was born on the 20th of October, 1754, in Montville.

The name of HILLHOUSE is that of an ancient and honorable family in the North of Ireland. More than two hundred years ago, the family seats, with estates valued at more than two thousand pounds sterling yearly, were on the shores of Lough Foyle, near Londonderry; and though the name has there become extinct, the ancient estates, particularly Artikelly and Free Hall, are still held by descendants of the family in the female line.

Early in the last century, the Rev. James Hillhouse came to New England. His father, John Hillhouse, of Free Hall, was the eldest son of Abraham Hillhouse, who resided at Artikelly.* He "had his education, and commenced Master of Arts at the famous university of Glasgow, in Scotland; and afterward read Divinity at the said college under the care of Mr. Simson, then professor of Divinity there." He was ordained by the Presbytery of Londonderry, in Ireland, and appears to have resided at or near the ancestral home till, by the death of his father in 1716, the estate descended to his elder brother Abraham. His mother died a few months later, in January, 1717. Not long after that date he came to seek a home on this side of the Atlantic. He is supposed to have come with those other Presbyterian emigrants from the North of Ireland, who, in 1719, established themselves in New Hampshire, where the towns of Derry and Londonderry, and the

* The name of Hillhouse is connected with the memorable defence of Derry against the forces of James II. James Hillhouse, a brother of John, was one of the commissioners to treat with Lord Mountjoy, and was Mayor of Londonderry in 1693. Abraham Hillhouse was among the signers of an address to King William and Queen Mary, on the occasion of the relief of the siege of Londonderry, dated 29th July, 1689.

Londonderry Presbytery, as well as many Scotch-Irish family names, are the permanent memorials of that migration. At the close of the year 1720, we find him in Boston committing to the press a "sermon" which he had composed, nearly four years before, on the occasion of his mother's death, but which does not purport to have been preached. This work (for though entitled a sermon, it is more properly a treatise in a volume of more than one hundred and forty pages,) was introduced to the reader in a preface from Increase and Cotton Mather, who speak of the author as "a valuable minister," and again as "a worthy, hopeful young minister" "lately arrived in America." He found employment in the newly instituted second parish of New London, in Connecticut, (now the town of Montville) and in 1722 was duly inducted into the office of pastor in the church there. At that place he died in 1740, aged 53.

The wife of the Rev. James Hillhouse was Mary, the daughter of Daniel Fitch, and was descended from ancestors eminent in the earliest history of Connecticut. Her paternal grandfather was the Rev. James Fitch, who came from England at the age of sixteen years, in 1638, and having received his education for the ministry under the teaching of Hooker and Stone, in the church at Hartford, was pastor of the church in Saybrook at its institution in 1646. Fourteen years afterward, he removed with the body of his people to begin the settlement of Norwich, where he served many years highly honored, not only by his own church, but in the colony at large. Her father's mother was Priscilla Mason, a daughter of Captain John Mason, the military chief of the colonists on the Connecticut, and the hero of the Pequot war in 1637, —a man distinguished by almost every trust which the young republic could bestow. That she was endowed by nature with superior mental gifts, and was a thoroughly educated woman, notwithstanding the limited advantages for female education in her day, is not a mere tradition, but is sufficiently attested by letters of hers which are still preserved among her descendants.

In the first generation of descendants from the pastor of Montville, the name of Hillhouse was borne only by his two sons, William, and James Abraham. The first was born in 1728. He lived and died on the paternal estate at Montville, greatly trusted and honored by his fellow citizens. When he was twenty-two years of age he married Sarah Griswold, who was a sister of the first Governor Griswold. At the age of twenty-seven he represented his native town of New London in the legislature of what

was then His Majesty's colony of Connecticut. He was continued in that trust by semi-annual elections, till, (in 1785) having become honorably known throughout the state, he was chosen an Assistant, or member of the Council, then commonly called "the Upper House."* Thus he served in one hundred and six semi-annual legislatures. Meanwhile he was also for many years a judge of the County Court. Nor did his civil dignities and duties excuse him from military service. He was major in the second regiment of cavalry raised by Connecticut for service in the war of the revolution. At the age of eighty, in the full possession of his powers, he declined a reëlection to the Council, and withdrew from public life. Even to that advanced age his semi-annual journey to Hartford and New Haven was performed on horseback and in a single day, wheeled carriages being too new a fashion for a man like him. He was tall, spare, swarthy, with heavy overhanging eye-brows, quaint in speech, and remarkable for a primitive simplicity of manners, combined with an impressive dignity. He died at Montville in 1816, leaving a numerous posterity. Six of his seven sons, and two of his three daughters lived to maturity, and most of them to old age.

His brother, James Abraham Hillhouse, was born in 1730, was educated at Yale College, where he graduated in 1749, and was appointed tutor one year afterwards. A colleague and intimate friend of Ezra Stiles (afterwards President Stiles) he devoted himself, with that enthusiastic scholar, to legal studies; and when, after six years of service, he relinquished his academic employment, he established himself at New Haven in the profession of law. He was soon distinguished at the bar by his forensic abilities as well as by his learning. He was eminent among his fellow citizens, and was honored by their confidence. In 1772 he was elected one of the twelve "Assistants" who with the Governor and Lieutenant-Governor, were the Council or senate; for, characterized as he was by the combination of undoubted patriotism with moderation and political wisdom, he was one of those men who are most needed in a state at the crisis of an impending revolution. Three years afterwards, at the noon of life, being only forty-six years of age, he was removed by death, leaving a name

* At Governor Trumbull's retirement from the public service, William Hillhouse was chosen to fill the vacancy at the council-board which had been caused by the promotion of his brother-in-law, Matthew Griswold, to the office of Governor, and of Samuel Huntington to the office of Lieutenant Governor.

that was long retained in a most affectionate remembrance among his townsmen. "His christian life and conversation were truly exemplary, and he was adorned with the graces of meekness, charity and humility." His wife, a lady of French descent, whose grandfather fled to this country at the revocation of the edict of Nantz, was distinguished by dignity of manners, as well as by substantial worth of mind and heart. She survived him almost half a century, and died in 1822 at the age of 89.

Of these two brothers, the younger was childless. His mansion, built by himself at the head of Church street, one of the best houses in New Haven at that day, and his growing possessions, were without a lineal heir.

JAMES HILLHOUSE, the second son of William Hillhouse, of Montville, was adopted into the family of his uncle at New Haven. He was born on the 20th of October, 1754, and was removed from his father's house to his uncle's, when he was only seven years old. By this change in his domestic relations, he was placed as an only child, the pride and hope of his adopted father, in a family where intelligence, hospitality, courtesy, large intercourse with the best society, a constant example of every manly and honorable quality, and a careful religious nurture after the ancient pattern, were united in the influences by which his character was molded. In his early education he was one of the many thousand who have had the benefits of the memorable endowment which Governor Hopkins, in his testamentary remembrance of New England, had provided a century before, and which has now sustained for two hundred years the Grammar Schools of New Haven, Hartford, and Hadley. While he was a student in Yale College, (from 1769 to 1773) the Faculty consisted of the Rev. Dr. Daggett, professor of Divinity and acting President,—Nehemiah Strong, professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy,—and three tutors. It is suggestive to trace on the triennial catalogue the names of the men who successively officiated as tutors during that period of four years. For the first year the three tutors were Ebenezer Baldwin, Joseph Howe, and Samuel Wales. The next year, Joseph Lyman and Buckingham St. John occupied the places of Baldwin and Wales. A year later, when Hillhouse was a junior sophister, John Trumbull and Timothy Dwight succeeded to Lyman and St. John; and in the last year of the four, Nathan Strong came in the place of Howe. The tutor under whose immediate care and instruction Hillhouse pursued his studies for the first three years,

was Joseph Howe, afterwards pastor of the New South Church in Boston, whom he always remembered with a grateful reverence.*

One incident of his college life may be recited here in the words in which it was narrated, more than half a century afterwards, at his funeral: "It will not be improper to say—especially as the fact may produce a salutary impression on some young mind in this assembly—that he was somewhat advanced in college life before he became properly conscious of his powers or of the worth of time, or practically convinced of the importance of that close application to whatever was in hand, by which he was afterwards so distinguished. The late President Dwight, who was then in college as a tutor, though not *his* tutor, had noticed him with interest, and, with the discernment of youthful character which qualified the illustrious president to be the greatest teacher of his age, had seen in him the elements of future greatness; and he, by one well-timed, spirited, affectionate admonition and appeal, roused the man in the bosom of the unthinking stripling, and gave the country a patriot and a sage. To that incident our honored friend often referred in after life with grateful emotion, and from that hour he regarded his benefactor with veneration."

It was almost a matter of course that he was destined to the profession in which his uncle had become so eminent. He began his reading in the science of law soon after leaving college; and it was intended that, before entering on the practice of his profession, he should devote several years to those studies, and should have the benefit of the highest advantages. But on the 6th of October, 1775, only two years after the completion of his college course, the life on which that plan of study depended, was cut off. By the death of his uncle he was suddenly brought under the necessity of directing his own course and of providing for himself. Thenceforward all his success in life was dependent on his own exertions. He had still, indeed, a home in his uncle's family, which consisted of the widow and her mother and grandmother. To a family thus constituted, he was bound not only by grateful

* Rev. Joseph Howe, pastor of the New South Church in Boston, died at Hartford, Aug. 20, 1775. Pres. Stiles makes a record of this event in his Literary Diary, and adds, apparently from some publication of the day: "The righteous disposer of events was pleased to remove him from the labors of the present life, soon after he had engaged the public eye and given the world reason to expect much from his eminent abilities, his great attainments in literature, and the uncommon goodness of his heart. His church, now scattered abroad by an exertion of lawless power, are overwhelmed with sorrow." The further information is given, that after his first degree he taught a Grammar School in Hartford.

affection but by the consideration of their dependence upon him. As soon as he could be admitted to the bar, he began the practice of his chosen profession, and was successful in obtaining some part of his uncle's extensive business; but in his later years he loved to speak of his early struggles, and sometimes said that he was compelled to borrow money for the payment of his first court-fees. He inherited no part of his uncle's property till he was nearly seventy years of age. Yet in a few years, by his diligence and success in his profession, and by the judiciousness of his investments in real estate, he had become a man of wealth.

In his twenty-fourth year, on the first of January, 1779, he was united in marriage with Sarah, daughter of John Lloyd, Esq., of Stamford. But before that new year had ended, his young wife and the infant she had borne him, were laid in the grave. About three years afterwards he married Rebecca, daughter of Col. Melancthon Woolsey, of Dosoris, Long Island. Till after his second marriage, he continued to reside with the widow of his deceased uncle. Afterwards, when the growth of his own family required a separate home for them, he established his residence in close proximity to the mansion that had sheltered his childhood; and till the death of his aged relative, nothing that the tenderest filial kindness could do for her was wanting on his part. By his second marriage he had two sons and three daughters. The sons were James A. Hillhouse, the poet, and Augustus L. Hillhouse, Esq., who still survives at Paris, where he has resided for more than forty years. Mrs. Hillhouse died on the 29th of December, 1813, and was buried on the new-year's day ensuing. That day was selected for the funeral by her husband's choice because it was the thirty-fifth anniversary of his first marriage.

Much more might be said concerning his domestic life, but this memoir is designed to exhibit his public services and his character as a citizen and a benefactor of the state, rather than those details of personal experience which cannot be adequately represented in any other way than by a liberal use of materials which the sensitiveness of family affection still keeps back from the public. Perhaps the time may come when his private correspondence with his family, and with his intimate friends, will be added to the already accumulated mass of the published letters which exhibit the great men of our revolutionary period in their private friendships and personal sympathies or antipathies, and in their domestic affections and vicissitudes. For our present purpose, it may be enough to say that his was a happy home, where a large and hearty hospi-

flourished after the fashion of what has now become the time, and where the dignity without the stiffness of antique England courtesy was combined with a true and affectionate city of manners, and with eminent intelligence and refine-

sing from youth to manhood just when the great struggle for endence was about to commence, James Hillhouse shared y in the patriotic enthusiasm of the time. Before he was of e was hindered from joining his townsman, Benedict Arnold, memorable expedition of 1775, only by a positive prohibi- om his uncle. The death of that relative, in the autumn of me year, threw upon him, as we have seen, new and heavy sibilities quite inconsistent with his military aspirations. n those times every man had opportunity to show what- capability he might have of military skill and prowess. every man from eighteen years of age to forty-five was ed in the militia and required to do military duty, and when militia company was constantly liable to be summoned into service, a commission in the militia had more significance it can have in times like these. In 1779, James Hillhouse aptain Hillhouse of the Company of Governor's Foot Guards. ess, after conferring with General Washington on the condition onstitution of the army, made a new arrangement, requir- ch separate State to raise its own definite quota of recruits e continental service, and offering, through the State, large ies in lands and money to encourage enlistments. The ture of Connecticut had determined to offer additional boun- d new guarantees against the depreciation of the currency, ad made special provision for the families of soldiers in the . Captain Hillhouse was specially entrusted by Governor bull with the duty of promoting enlistments in one of the les. A stirring appeal from him, inviting enlistments, and g on "all friends to American freedom" for their patriotic ration in promoting the object, was published in the New n newspaper of June 23d, 1779.*

* transcribe the address at length from the Connecticut Journal of the named date.

ALL FRIENDS TO AMERICAN FREEDOM.

period is now come, when (in all probability) we may, with proper exer- ut a speedy termination to the war. And nothing is more necessary to bout so desirable an event, than furnishing a competent number of men for d. The encouragement for soldiers to enlist is truly great, and the offers

A few days afterwards, on Monday, July 5th, the Anniversary of the Declaration of Independence was to be celebrated for the first time in New Haven. Captain Hillhouse was among the most active in making the arrangements and preparations for that occasion. Sunday evening—for the New England sabbath was then measured from sunset to sunset—there was a public assembly of citizens in the meeting-house of the First Church, (the old "Middle Brick") and the programme of the intended celebration was completed. Some of the more zealous and active were occupied till a late

---

generous. The time of service will most likely be short; they are to suffer nothing by the depreciation of currency; their families are to be supplied with the substantials of life at the *old price*; the army are well clothed, and provided with everything necessary and convenient; and at the end of the war they are to receive a handsome reward for their services. I am sensible our internal foes, our worst enemies, will throw every discouragement in the way,—will tell you that our money is almost run out, and that we must inevitably submit. But you may be assured that no exertions will be wanting on the part of the United States to disappoint their expectations. And I am confident that should it ever be our misfortune to experience such a calamity, the *free-born sons of America* would arm themselves and go forth, without hire or reward, against our enemies, and never lay down their arms till they had driven every invader from our land. Never have the Americans been animated with a becoming spirit, but they have been successful. No sooner were our Southern Brethren roused to proper exertions, than they defeated the troops, sent upon an expedition, from the success of which our enemies have made such pompous boasts, and have driven them off loaded with infamy and disgrace.

His Excellency, the Governor, has directed me to enlist all within this brigade who shall be so nobly and virtuously inclined. It being a matter of public concern, I beg every individual will use his influence to encourage a competent number to enlist, as it will save the disagreeable necessity of a draught: And voluntary enlistment is certainly much the most eligible, as it will convince our enemies we have not yet lost our spirits, and will fill our brethren, already in the field, with new life and courage to find us ready with cheerfulness to lend them our aid.

Lest there should be any who cannot engage upon the above terms, for fear the war may chance to continue longer than they think they can possibly absent themselves from their families and farms, I am authorized by his Excellency to offer those who will engage to serve in said army until the fifteenth day of January next, twenty pounds bounty, a new regimental coat, and the same pay, refreshment, and family support, during the term of their services respectively as other soldiers in the Continental army, with liberty to choose the company in which they will be joined. And who is there that will deprive himself of the pleasure and satisfaction he would derive through his whole life, from reflecting upon his having served a campaign in so important a period of the war. I hereby invite all, and shall make the offer to as many as possible, to engage before the 10th day of July next, when I am to make return to his Excellency. Those who incline to accept, will, by making application, receive their bounty in bills, and be kindly treated by their most obedient and humble servant,

JAMES HILLHOUSE.

New Haven, June 21, 1779.

hour in making preparations. They could not have had much time for sleep, when at two o'clock in the morning of that day a British fleet, which had sailed from New York on Saturday, anchored off West-Haven. Alarm guns were fired, and the militia were called to arms. A portion of the inhabitants made haste to remove their families, and whatever of their household goods was most valuable. Others were slow to believe that any great danger was impending, and flattered themselves with the hope that the fleet would sail in the morning. But not long after sunrise, those who were watching with a telescope on the tower of the college chapel, (the building now known as the Athenæum) saw distinctly boats putting off from the shipping for the shore, and there was no longer room for the most incredulous or the most hopeful to doubt what were the intentions of the enemy. Of the adult male population, a large portion armed themselves and went forth to meet the invaders. Another portion left the town with those of the women and children who were removed to places of safety. Others, to the number of ninety or a hundred, remained at home, "partly tories, partly timid whigs," as President Stiles describes them. The land force designed for the destruction of New Haven was two thousand six hundred men, as officially reported. One division, under the command of Gen. Garth, was landed, and as soon as that operation was completed the fleet sailed to the other side of the harbor, where the landing of the other division, under the immediate command of Gen. Tryon, was speedily effected. The inhabitants of East Haven and the adjoining towns found occupation for Gen. Tryon and his troops, while the available force of New Haven, amounting to not more than two hundred men, with two field pieces, went out to encounter Gen. Garth. Hezekiah Sabin, who was a lieutenant colonel in the militia, seems to have been the recognized commander of the little force extemporaneously raised. The two pieces of artillery were stationed at West Bridge, where some slight defences were hastily raised in a position to command not only the bridge but the long causeway by which it is approached from the west. "Captain Hillhouse," says President Stiles, "with twenty or thirty brave young men, together with many others, crossed the bridge over to Milford Hill, and within a hundred yards or a quarter of a mile of the [West Haven] meeting house, where the enemy were paraded. Upon their beginning the march, Captain Hillhouse fired upon the advanced guard so as to drive them in upon the main body. But coming in force, the enemy proceeded. Others be-

sides Hillhouse's party had by this time passed the bridge and reached the hill, to perhaps one hundred and fifty men. These kept up a galling fire on especially their outguards extending perhaps forty or fifty rods on each side the column.* Our artillery at the bridge was well managed by Captain [Phineas] Bradley, threw shot successfully across to Milford Hill, and prevented the enemy from passing the causeway and so into town that way." Thus baffled at that point the enemy continued their march northward to what is now the Westville Bridge, annoyed and harassed on their march by a party of the New Haven men on their left under the leadership of Aaron Burr, who happened to be with some of his relatives in New Haven at that time, and who after carrying a young daughter of his uncle, Pierpont Edwards,† to a place of safety in North Haven, had returned in time to partake in the fight. Meanwhile Captain Hillhouse and the remainder of the little force on Milford Hill returned over West Bridge, and with Col. Sabin and the two field pieces went across the fields to meet the enemy at the Westville Bridge. There the enemy effected

* It was "at the second mile-stone," just where the road to West Haven diverges from the Milford road, that the Rev. Dr. Daggett, Professor of Divinity in Yale College, (and the acting President for nine years before the accession of Dr. Stiles) encountered the enemy. He had come from the town "riding furiously on his old black mare, with his long fowling piece in his hand." At the bridge he had addressed a few "patriotic and earnest words" to the little company that was to serve the artillery. Rushing by the company of young men under Capt. Hillhouse, several of them students, he was greeted with cheers. As they turned southward toward West Haven, they saw him ascending a little to the west, and taking his station deliberately in a little copse of woods. When the young men, having driven back the advanced guard and encountered the main body of the enemy, were making their hasty retreat to regain the other side of the river, the professor, who never had learned to "advance backward," kept his station with characteristic fearlessness and tenacity, waiting for the enemy. As the British column came up, several successive shots from the hill side arrested their attention, and the sturdy form of the professor in his clerical costume was easily discovered by the party sent to the spot whence the firing proceeded. "What are you doing there, you old fool, firing on His Majesty's troops?" was the exclamation of the officer. "*Exercising the rights of war*," replied the professor. The oddity of such an answer, proceeding from such a person, probably arrested the shot or the bayonet that might have killed him on the instant; and the question was put whether, if his life was spared, he would be likely ever to do such a thing again. "*Nothing more likely*," said he, "*I rather think I should.*" He was permitted to surrender himself; but was cruelly pierced with bayonets, and driven at the head of their column till they reached the town. For a month afterwards his life was in danger from the wounds and injuries which he had received, and indeed, his death, which took place in the following year, was hastened by those sufferings. See the article on Prof. Daggett in Dr. Sprague's Annals of the American Pulpit, Vol. I.

† The late Mrs. Johnson, of Stratford.

their passage, partly over the bridge and partly by fording the river. But as they came up the hill from the river, and took the road towards the town, the force commanded by Col. Sabin and Captain Hillhouse, "gave them a heavy fire and took a number of prisoners." By this time, too, they began to be annoyed by parties of militia from Derby and other towns. The New Haven men kept up their firing as they retreated toward their homes. Just at the entrance of the town as it then was, near where the junction of Dixwell street and Whalley avenue now is, there was something like a battle for a little while, and a number were killed on both sides. The enemy entered the town at a little before one o'clock p. m., greatly exhausted with the extreme heat of the day as well as with their long march and the annoyances they had met by the way.

This bold defense of New Haven against a force so greatly superior, answered its main purpose. It gave time not only for the escape of a large portion of the alarmed defenseless population, but also for the removal and concealment of much property that would otherwise have been destroyed or carried off by the enemy; and it saved the town from the fate which immediately afterwards fell upon Fairfield and Norwalk. "From the first entrance till eight in the evening, the town was given up to ravage and plunder, from which only a few houses were protected." Mrs. Hillhouse, the widow of James Abraham Hillhouse, was a member of the Church of England, and her political sympathies were with the British. Hers, therefore, was one of the few houses to be protected from pillage. Some of the British officers were quartered there, and were received with the courtesy due to men who bore His Majesty's commission. Yet the loyal lady was in great danger from the imputation of her nephew's patriotism. It happened that the newspaper containing Captain Hillhouse's patriotic call for recruits came under the notice of the officers almost as soon as they entered the house which was to be protected for its loyalty. The house and its contents would have been immediately given up to the plundering soldiers, had not the lady, with a dignified frankness which repelled suspicion, informed her guests that though the young man whose name was subscribed to that call was a near and valued relative of hers, and was actually resident under that roof, the property was entirely her own; and that the part which he had taken in the conflict with Great Britain, was taken not only on his own responsibility, but in opposition to her judgment and her sympathies.

Gen. Tryon's official report shows that the conflagration of the town was intended, and that the purpose was relinquished because it became necessary to hasten the re-embarkation of the troops. The intended junction of the division which landed on the East Haven side with that which landed at West Haven, could not be effected. Squads and companies of militia from the neighboring towns were beginning to gather on every side like angry clouds portending a tempest. The invaders found themselves in a dangerous position; and at the earliest morning hour they called in their guards, and were glad to find that they were permitted to embark without molestation. The result of their expedition was that they had killed twenty-seven Americans, (including those who were slain in their own houses) and had wounded nineteen, while they themselves had lost about eighty in killed and wounded; that they had carried away some tories who dared not stay behind, and a few prisoners (including some whose only offense was that they were respected and trusted by their fellow-citizens); that they had destroyed about seventy thousand dollars worth of private property; and that they had effectually extirpated whatever sentiment of loyalty toward the British crown had lingered till then among the more conservative sort of people.

In May, 1780, the roll of the House of Representatives in the State legislature shows the name of "Captain James Hillhouse" as the second representative from the town of New Haven. The next year he was first representative; and thenceforward he was frequently reëlected by his townsmen to this trust, till the people of the whole State in 1789 called him to a seat in the Council. In 1786, and again in 1787, he was elected by the people at large a delegate to the Congress of the old confederation; but he did not serve in that capacity. It is believed that no other instance can be found in which so young a man has been so trusted and honored by the people of Connecticut.

In 1782, he was elected Treasurer of Yale College, and he held that office through all the remainder of his life, just fifty years. Nor did it become to him a merely honorary office, when other public trusts and duties required him to be absent from New Haven for a large part of every year. An Assistant Treasurer was employed by the corporation to relieve him of the executive details of the business; but he himself, through all that long term of service, superintended the finances of the institution, and was ever active and watchful to promote its interests. He loved it not only because of his personal relation to it as an alumnus, but also be

cause, in his estimation, its continued efficiency and the enlargement of its means of usefulness were essential to the welfare and the political and social advancement of his native Connecticut. Few names in the history of Yale College are more worthy than his to be had in perpetual and grateful remembrance.

In October, 1790, Mr. Hillhouse was elected one of the five representatives from Connecticut in the second Congress of the United States. His colleagues in the representation were Jonathan Sturges, Jonathan Trumbull, Jeremiah Wadsworth, and Amasa Learned. The published debates (see Benton's Abridgement) give ample evidence of his activity and influence as a member of the House of Representatives. Many important questions in relation to the working of the government under the Federal Constitution were to be considered and decided; for though the first Congress, in its three laborious sessions, had organized the judiciary and the various departments of executive administration, had provided a revenue for the Federal treasury, had re-established the public credit, had enacted a rule of naturalization, had made the necessary regulations for the sale and settlement of the public lands, and by the wisdom of their measures had secured for the new government the widest confidence in its stability and efficiency, there remained other great questions incidental to the newness of the constitution. We find Mr. Hillhouse taking part in almost every great debate; and his speeches show not only his ability as a debater, but his blunt and fearless honesty, his unfailing good humor, and his sagacious and large-minded patriotism. His first speech, as given in the Abridged Debates, was on the ratio of representation. Next he takes part in the discussion on a provision for declaring what officer shall act as President in case of a vacancy in the office both of President and Vice President. In the second session of that Congress, we find him speaking, first against a proposed reduction of the army at a time when the United States were at war with powerful tribes of Indians, and, next, in the great and protracted debate on the official conduct of the Secretary of the Treasury, Alexander Hamilton. In the third Congress, the representation of Connecticut being increased by the new apportionment, his colleagues were Learned, Trumbull and Wadsworth, of the former delegation, together with Joshua Coit, Zephaniah Swift, and Uriah Tracy. In the fourth Congress he had three new colleagues in the places of Learned, Trumbull and Wadsworth, namely, Chauncey Goodrich, Roger Griswold, and Nathaniel Smith. The first session of that Congress was signalized by two

memorable debates on questions arising out of the treaty with Great Britain, known as Jay's Treaty;—first, on a motion to request of the President (Washington) a copy of the instructions given to the minister by whom the treaty was negotiated, and of all the correspondence and documents in relation to it; and afterwards on the expediency of legislation to carry the treaty into effect. In both those debates, and especially in the second, Mr. Hillhouse had a conspicuous part.

At the opening of the next session, which began at Philadelphia, Dec. 5, 1796, he entered the Senate, having been chosen to complete the unexpired term of Oliver Ellsworth, who had resigned his seat in the Senate for the seat of Chief Justice in the Supreme Court of the United States. At the inauguration of President John Adams, March 4, 1797, he presented the credentials of his re-election for the full term of six years then commencing. When Mr. Jefferson, after being elected President, withdrew from the presidency of the Senate, Mr. Hillhouse was made President *pro tempore* of that body. He was duly re-elected for another term commencing in March, 1803, and for yet another commencing with the first inauguration of President Madison, in 1809. He and his colleague, Uriah Tracy, who entered the Senate with him, as successor of Jonathan Trumbull for an unexpired term, are the only senators four times elected to that place by the State of Connecticut. Hillhouse and Tracy were colleagues in the Senate till the death of the latter in 1807, just at the commencement of his fourth term of service. In the party divisions of that period, Mr. Hillhouse ranked with the Federalists. He had supported the administration of Washington and the elder Adams, and he was in the opposition under the administration of Jefferson. Yet his speeches show that he was by no means a mere partizan, and that on great questions of statesmanship, he ordinarily rose to views above the range of party interests. Thus in the debate of November, 1803, on that amendment to the Constitution by which the present mode of electing President and Vice President was introduced, we find him saying—

Though it is impossible to prevent party altogether, much more when population and luxury increase, and corruption and vice with them, it is prudent to preserve as many checks against it as are practicable. I have been long in Congress, and have seen the conflicting interests of large and small States operate. The time may not be remote when party will adopt new designations. Federal and Republican parties have had their day; their designations will not last long, and the ground of difference between parties will not be the same that it has been; new names and new views will be taken; it has been the course in all nations. * * * A fanciful difference in politics is the bugbear of party now, because no other, no real cause of difference has subsisted.

Federalist as he was, his theory of the Federal government, even while the party with which he acted was ascendant in the Union, abhorred the idea of centralized and consolidated power. He regarded the State governments as the great conservative force in our political system, the guardians of liberty against power, the depositaries of all the most important public trusts, and the ultimate security, under God, for the efficiency and permanence of republican principles. He opposed whatever tended to magnify with factitious honors and means of influence the functionaries of the Federal power. The Presidency of the United States, with its great and ever growing accumulation of power, and with the excitements and perils of the quadrennial election, was to his view the point of peril in our system. He sometimes said among his friends, that the Presidency was made for Washington; that the Convention in defining the powers of that office, and the States, in accepting the constitution as it was, had Washington only in their thoughts; and that the powers of that office were too great to be committed to any other man. Such considerations, long cherished, led him to propose, in April, 1808, certain amendments to the constitution, aiming at a radical reformation of what he considered as the dangerous tendencies in the system of our Federal government. That proposal has been so often associated with his name by those who know little of what it was, or of what he was, that the readers of this memoir will reasonably expect to find here his own statement and explanation of his views. The lapse of more than half a century since his speech in the Senate explaining his proposed amendments, has added as much to the strength of the Union as it has added to our territorial dimensions and to our imperial wealth and greatness; but it has not invigorated the sentiment of State sovereignty; nor has it diminished the power of the President or the excitements that attend a Presidential election. Those who have already forgotten what threats were gravely made by the gravest sort of men while the last election was in progress, and what schemes were projected by fiery and dangerous men to dissolve the Union by violence in the event of the success of the candidate whom they opposed—those who do not know that the business of making Presidents has become the absorbing and all-subordinating business of our national politics; nor that the salaries, jobs, and perquisites, directly or indirectly at the disposal of the President, are claimed and acknowledged as due to the party workers who have helped him to his place of power—may

smile at the fear which so old-fashioned a patriot as James Hillhouse could not but feel for the future of his country.*

* The resolution in which Mr. Hillhouse presented his proposed amendments to the Senate, was as follows:

Resolved, by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, (two-thirds of both Houses concurring,) That the following articles be proposed to the Legislatures of the several States, as amendments to the Constitution of the United States; all or any of which articles, when ratified by three-fourths of the said Legislatures, to be valid to all intents and purposes as part of the said Constitution, viz:

ARTICLES in addition to, and amendment of, the CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, proposed by Congress, and ratified by the Legislatures of the several States, pursuant to the fifth article of the original Constitution.

I. After the third day of March, one thousand eight hundred and thirteen, the House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen every year by the people of the several States: their electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State Legislature; and their term of service shall expire on the first Tuesday of April in each year.

II. After the third day of March, one thousand eight hundred and thirteen, the Senators of the United States shall be chosen for three years, and their term of service shall expire on the first Tuesday of April.

Immediately after they shall be assembled, in consequence of the first election, they shall be divided as equally as may be, into three classes. The seats of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the first year; of the second class at the expiration of the second year; and of the third class, at the expiration of the third year: so that one third may be chosen every year. Vacancies to be filled as already provided.

III. On the third day of March, one thousand eight hundred and thirteen, the President of the United States shall be appointed, and shall hold his office until the expiration of the first Tuesday of April, one thousand eight hundred and fourteen. And on the first Tuesday of April, one thousand eight hundred and fourteen, and on the first Tuesday of April, in each succeeding year, the President shall be appointed, to hold his office during the term of one year. The mode of appointment shall be as follows:

In presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, each Senator belonging to the class whose term of service will first expire, and constitutionally eligible to the office of President, of which the House of Representatives shall be the sole judges, and shall decide without debate, shall, beginning with the first on the alphabet, and in their alphabetical order, draw a ball out of a box containing the same number of uniform balls as there shall be Senators present and eligible, one of which balls shall be colored, the others white. The Senator who shall draw the colored ball shall be President. A Committee of the House of Representatives, to consist of a member from each State, to be appointed in such manner as the House shall direct, shall place the balls in the box, shall shake the same so as to intermix them, and shall superintend the drawing thereof. In case of the removal of the President from office, or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties thereof, if Congress be then in session, or if not, as soon as they shall be in session, the President shall, in the manner before mentioned, be appointed for the residue of the term. And until the disability be removed, or a President be appointed, the Speaker of the Senate shall act as President. And Congress may, by law, provide for the case of removal by death,

The entire speech in which Mr. Hillhouse explained to the Senate his proposals for amendments to the constitution, is too long to be transcribed in this place. A condensed abstract, with a few selected passages, may serve to exhibit the mind and spirit of the man. Having referred, in his exordium, to the circumstances in which the constitution was formed and adopted, he said:

Before I proceed with my explanatory remarks, I must take the liberty of stating that in using the terms 'monarchy,' 'aristocracy,' and 'democracy,' I do not use them as the cant words of party; I use them in their fair genuine sense. The terms 'Federalist' and 'Republican,' I do not use by way of commendation or reproach, but merely by way of description, as the first names of individuals to distinguish them from others of the same family name.

---

resignation, or inability of the President, and vacancy in the office, or inability of the Speaker of the Senate; and such officer shall act accordingly until the disability of the President be removed, or another be appointed.

The seat of a Senator who shall be appointed as President, shall thereby be vacated.

IV. After the third day of March, one thousand eight hundred and thirteen, the compensation of the President shall not exceed fifteen thousand dollars a year.

V. After the third day of March, one thousand eight hundred and thirteen, the office of Vice-President shall cease. And the Senate, on the same day in each year, when the President shall be annually appointed, shall choose a Speaker; and in the absence of the Speaker, or when he shall exercise the office of President, the Senate shall choose a Speaker pro tempore.

VI. After the third day of March, one thousand eight hundred and thirteen, the President shall nominate, and by and with the advice and consent of the Senate and of the House of Representatives, shall appoint Ambassadors, other public Ministers, and Consuls, Judges of the Supreme Court, and all other officers of the United States whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by law. But Congress may, by law, vest the appointment of such officers as they think proper, in the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate; and of the inferior officers in the President alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of departments. But no law vesting the power of appointment shall be for a longer term than two years. All proceedings on nominations shall be with closed doors, and without debate; but information of the character and qualifications of the person nominated shall be received.

VII. After the third day of March, one thousand eight hundred and thirteen, the President shall have power to fill all vacancies that may happen during the recess of Congress, by granting commissions, which shall expire at the end of their next session. No removal from office shall take place without the consent of the Senate and House of Representatives. But Congress may, by law, authorize the removal, by the same power as may, by law, be authorized to make the appointment. But in every case of misconduct in office, where the consent of the Senate, or of the Senate and House of Representatives, shall be necessary to a removal, the President, during the recess of Congress, may suspend the officer, and make a temporary appointment of a person to exercise the office, until the next meeting of Congress, and until a decision can be had by the Senate, or by the Senate and House of Representatives, as the case may be, on a question for the removal of the officer suspended. All proceedings respecting removal from office shall be had without debate, upon the information and reasons which shall be communicated by the President, and with closed doors.

Federalists and Republicans never divided upon the elementary principles of government. There are very few Americans who are not in principle attached to a free republican government; though they may differ on minor points, and about the best mode of organizing it. Persons attached to monarchy or aristocracy are few indeed, they are but as the dust in the balance. No one in his sober senses can believe it practicable, or politic if practicable to use either. If ever introduced, which God forbid, it must be done at the point of the bayonet.

He referred to the origin of parties under the constitution, and to the names of the parties then existing, and said—"The supposed differences are more imaginary than real. Names may, and sometimes do, deceive ignorant, uninformed individuals, but these names now scarcely do that."

Some of the important features of our constitution were borrowed from a model which did not very well suit our condition. I mean the constitution and government of England, a mixed monarchy, in which monarchy, aristocracy and democracy are so combined as to form a check on each other. One important and indispensable requisite of such a government is, that the two first branches should be hereditary, and that the monarch should be the fountain of honor and source of power. In the United States, the people are the source of *all* power.

Placing in the hands of the Chief Magistrate, who depends on a popular election, prerogatives and powers in many respects equal to—in some, exceeding in practice those exercised by the King of Great Britain, is one of the errors of the constitution. This error can be corrected only in one of two ways; either the office must be stripped of those high prerogatives and powers, and the term of holding the office shortened, or some other mode devised than a popular election, for appointing a President; otherwise our country must perpetually groan under the scourge of party rage and violence; and be continually exposed to that worst of all calamities, civil war.

He was well aware that he had engaged in a difficult undertaking, but after speaking briefly of the prejudices and interests which were in his way, and courteously claiming for his proposals a deliberate and candid hearing, he proceeded:

A prominent feature of the amendments is, to shorten the term of service of the President, Senators, and Representatives. Observation and experience having convinced me that in an elective government, long terms of office and high compensations do not tend to make independent public servants, while they produce an anxious solicitude in the incumbents to keep their places, and render seekers of office more eager to obtain them, and more regardless of the means.

My first amendment goes to reduce the term of service of the members of the House of Representatives to one year.

No inconvenience can arise from this arrangement, because there is a constitutional provision that Congress shall assemble once in every year. That body, composed of the immediate representatives of the people, ought to exhibit a fair representation of their sentiments and will; and coming fresh from the people to the Congress of each year, will, it may be presumed, fairly express such sentiments and will. And if, in an interval from one session of Congress to another, there be a real change of public sentiment, why should not that change be expressed? Will an attempt in their representatives to resist it tend to tranquillize the public mind? or will it not, like persecution in religion, tend to make proselytes to their sentiments?

Constitutions, except so far as they are necessary to organize the several departments of government, and bring the public functionaries into a situation to deliberate and act—and in the General government to draw the line

of demarcation between that and the State governments, to prevent interference and collision,—are of little avail, and present but feeble barriers against the public will. Whenever a measure is understood and believed to be necessary to promote the general welfare, the people will not fail to effect it. If they cannot, by construction, get round the constitution, they will by an amendment, go directly to their object. The danger is that by attempting to extend constitutional restrictions too far, unnatural and mischievous exertions of power may be produced.

The application of this last remark to the point immediately under discussion is, that if the Federal Constitution undertakes to check the power of the States (that is of the people in the States) over their own united government, by making the election of representatives infrequent, it gives occasion and temptation to "unnatural and mischievous exertions of power." If the people are not allowed to express their will in the frequent election of those who are to be the organs of that will, they will naturally resort to other and irregular methods. But without making this application, he proceeded:

By the second amendment, the term of service of the senators is to be reduced to three years; one-third to be chosen each year. * * *

Senators represent the rights and interests of States in respect to their sovereignty. In them, therefore, the States ought to feel a *confidence*. And this confidence will rather be increased than lessened by shortening the term of service to three years. Shall I be told that the legislatures of the States are not to be relied on for their *stability* and *patriotism*? that it would be unsafe, every third year to trust them with the appointment of their senators? No, surely. The several States are the *pillars* on which the Constitution of the United States *rests*, and *must rest*. If these pillars are not sound —if they are composed of feeble, frail materials, then must the General government moulder into *ruin*. This, however, is not my belief. I have confidence in the State governments. I am for keeping them in their *full vigor and strength*. For if any disaster befalls the General government, the States, having within their respective spheres all the power of independent governments, will be the arks of safety to which the citizens can flee for protection from anarchy and the horrid evils which follow in its train. I have therefore uniformly been opposed to measures which had the remotest tendency to their consolidation. * * *

The third amendment provides for the appointment of a President. He is to be taken by lot from the Senate, and is to hold his office for one year.

Of course, he could not but acknowledge that this mode of selection was liable to obvious objections. He would not have proposed it "if any other could have been devised which would not convulse the whole body politic, set wide open the door to intrigue and cabal, and bring upon the nation incalculable evils, evils already felt and growing much more serious." The two objections which he undertook to answer were, first, that this mode of selection "is a departure from the *elective principle*," and, secondly, "that it will not always ensure the best talents." The answer to both these objections is involved in the progress of his argument.

When senators shall be chosen with an eye to this provision, every State will be anxious to make such a selection of persons as will not disgrace it in the eventual elevation of one of them to the Presidential chair. Every State

legislature would, in the choice of the senator, consider itself as nominating a candidate for the Presidency. The effect of this arrangement would be, in reality, that instead of the States appointing Electors to choose a President, the legislatures themselves would become the Electors, with this advantage, that the nomination would be made when not under the influence of a Presidential electioneering fever. In the regular course of appointing senators, only one nomination would be made at one time in each State; and, in most cases, three years would elapse before he could be designated for the Presidency. The great caution in the selection of senators, with a reference to that high office, would produce another excellent effect: it would ensure the continuance in that body of men of the most respectable talents and education—an object of the highest importance to the general welfare.

The two objections are disposed of; the first by showing that, under the existing constitution, whenever the House of Representatives, voting by States, selects a President from among three of the candidates from the Electoral colleges, the departure from the elective principle is hardly less than if a President were to be designated by lot from among a larger yet carefully selected number of candidates;—and the second, by showing that if every senator were to be selected with reference to the contingency of his serving in the chief executive office of the government, men of inferior ability would naturally be excluded from the Senate; that under the present system there is the same possibility of having a President neither distinguished for talents nor for integrity, and the further danger of having one of that sort, who, instead of going out of office at the end of a year, will be President for four years; and that the eminent talents and experience of subordinate functionaries, such as the heads of departments, will be no less available, and no more necessary to a President thus appointed for one year than they now are to a President appointed in conformity with the constitution as it is.

Having disposed of the objections to his plan, the Senator proceeded to exhibit in a more positive way some of the dangers inseparable from that part of the Constitution which he was proposing to amend. Whether those dangers are real, and whether they are on the whole less threatening now than they were fifty years ago, are questions on which, perhaps, there is room for a difference of opinion among thoughtful and patriotic minds.

The office of President is the only one in our government clothed with such powers as might endanger liberty, and I am not without apprehension that, at some future period, they may be exerted to overthrow the liberties of our country. The change from four to ten years is small; the next step would be from ten years to life, and then to the nomination of a successor, from which the transition to an hereditary monarchy would almost follow of course. The exigencies of the country, the public safety, and the means of defense against foreign invasion, may place in the hands of an ambitious, daring President, an army of which he would be the legitimate commander, and with which he might enforce his claim. This may not happen in my day; it prob-

ably will not; but I have children whom I love, and whom I expect to leave behind me to share in the destinies of our common country. I cannot therefore feel indifferent to what may befall them, and generations yet unborn.

After showing in a few words that his proposed amendments in regard to the Presidential office would "render it impossible to bring the high prerogatives of this office to aid in procuring it," he went on to say—

Of the impropriety and impolicy of the present mode of electing a President, can there be stronger proof, can there be more convincing evidence, than is now exhibiting in the United States? In whatever direction we turn our eyes, we behold the people arranging themselves for the purpose of commencing the electioneering campaign for the next President and Vice President. All the passions and feelings of the human heart are brought into the most active operation. The electioneering spirit finds its way to every fireside; pervades our domestic circles, and threatens to destroy the enjoyment of social harmony. The seeds of discord will be sown in families, among friends, and throughout the whole community. In saying this, I do not mean anything to the disadvantage of either of the candidates. They may have no agency in the business. They may be the involuntary objects of such competition, without the power of directing or controling the storm. The fault is in the mode of election, in setting the people to choose a King. In fact, a popular election, and the exercise of such powers and prerogatives as are by the Constitution vested in the President, are incompatible. The evil is increasing and will increase, until it shall terminate in civil war and despotism. The people, suffering under the scourge of party feuds and factions, and finding no refuge under the State, any more than in the General government, from party persecution and oppression, may become impatient, and submit to the first tyrant who can protect them against the thousand tyrants.

* * * * * *

Reducing the Presidential term of service to one year, will remove the necessity of attaching to the office the splendor of a palace. The simplicity of ancient republics would better suit the nature of our government. The instances of persons called from the plough to command armies, or to preside over the public councils, show that in a republic pomp and splendor are not necessary to real dignity. Cincinnatus, who was content with the scanty support derived from tilling, with his own hands, his four-acre farm, has been as celebrated in history as the most splendid monarchs. By these remarks I would not be understood to object against giving adequate salaries to all public functionaries. In the case of subordinate officers, it may be left to legislative discretion. But the President, having such great power and extensive influence, his compensation ought to have a constitutional limit, and not exceed fifteen thousand dollars.

It is chiefly for the sake of illustrating the character of the man that these extended quotations have been given. A naked statement of his proposal, unaccompanied by any of his own explanations, might make upon some minds a very false impression. He was not a visionary statesman, like those who in their closets frame ingenious schemes of government for utopian commonwealths. Nor was he one of those who have a passion for pulling down the fabric of existing institutions for the sake of some new-fangled reconstruction. His genius was conservative rather than revolutionary, and practical rather than speculative. The reasons and explanations which he offered in his speech, and which have been

spread before the readers of this memoir, show the conservative and practical character of his mind. He had observed with deep insight, and with far reaching foresight, the working of those constitutional arrangements which he proposed to amend. He saw in the ever widening vortex of Presidential power and patronage, and in the ever returning agitation of Presidential elections, a force that threatened to engulf the independent self-government of the States within their separate sovereignties; and he desired such a modification of the system as should effectually remove that danger.

More than twenty years afterwards, when he had retired from all his public employments, he opened a correspondence with some of the most eminent survivors of his own generation, asking their views of his proposed remedy for what had so long seemed to him the chief infirmity of the Federal Constitution. Large portions of the replies which he received from President Madison, Chief Justice Marshall, Chancellor Kent, and Mr. Crawford, who had been contemporary with him in the Senate, and afterwards Secretary of the Treasury under President Monroe, were communicated to the New York Historical Society in 1848, by James H. Raymond, Esq., and were published in the proceedings of the Society for that year. Mr. Madison, as might be anticipated from the part which he had taken in the formation of the Constitution, and from his long familiarity with the exercise of executive power in the highest offices of government, felt strongly and represented with much clearness and force the obvious objections to the bold and sweeping change proposed by Mr. Hillhouse. Chief Justice Marshall acknowledged that in 1830 (the date of the correspondence,) 'his views of this subject had changed a good deal since 1808.' He 'considered it, however, rather as an affair of curious speculation than of probable fact.' "Your plan," said he, "comes in conflict with so many opposing interests and deep-rooted prejudices, that I would despair of its success, were its ability still more apparent than it is." After intimating that "we must proceed with our present system till its evils become still more obvious," he proceeded as follows:

> My own private mind has been slowly and reluctantly advancing to the belief that the present mode of choosing the chief magistrate threatens the most serious danger to the public happiness. The passions of men are inflamed to so fearful an extent, large masses are so embittered against each other, that I dread the consequences. The election agitates every section of the United States, and the ferment is never to subside. Scarcely is a President elected, before the machinations respecting a successor commence. Every political question is affected by it. All those who are in office, all those who want office, are put in motion. The angriest, I might say the worst passions are roused and put into full activity. Vast masses, united closely, move

in opposite directions, animated with the most hostile feelings towards each other. What is to be the effect of all this? Age is, perhaps, unreasonably timid. Certain it is, that I now dread consequences which I once thought imaginary. I feel disposed to take refuge under some less turbulent and less dangerous mode of choosing the chief magistrate, and my mind suggests none less objectionable than that you have proposed. We shall no longer be enlisted under the banners of particular men. Strife will no longer be excited, when it can no longer affect its object. Neither the people at large, nor the councils of the nation, will be agitated by the all-disturbing question,—Who shall be President? Yet he will, in truth, be chosen substantially by the people. The Senators must always be among the most able men of the States. Though not appointed for the particular purpose, they must always be appointed for important purposes, and must possess a large share of the public confidence. If the people of the United States were to elect as many persons as compose one senatorial class, and the President was to be chosen among them by lot, in the manner you propose, he would be substantially elected by the people; and yet such a mode of election would be recommended by no advantages which your plan does not possess. In many respects it would be less eligible.

Reasoning *a priori*, I should undoubtedly pronounce the system adopted by the Convention, the best that could be devised. Judging from experience, I am driven to a different conclusion.

Chancellor Kent wrote in the same vein of thought. He said of "the popular election of the President," (which, by the way, was not intended by the framers of the Constitution*) "it is that part of the machine of our government that I am afraid is doomed to destroy us." "Our plan of election of a President, I apprehend, has failed of its purpose, as it was presumed and foretold that it would fail by some of the profoundest statesmen of 1787. We cannot but perceive that this very presidential question has already disturbed and corrupted the administration of the government, and cherishes intrigue, duplicity, abuse of power, and corrupt and arbitrary measures." "Your reflections are sage, patriotic, and denote a deep and just knowledge of government and man."

Mr. Crawford's letter records the fact that he seconded in the Senate Mr. Hillhouse's resolution proposing his amendments of the Constitution, though at that time he had not made up his mind definitely upon the principle of the amendments. But subsequent "reflection and experience" had convinced him. He went on to say—

* Did the framers of the Constitution expect that, in less than half a century, the colleges of Electors, assembling in their several States ostensibly for the performance of a duty requiring the highest wisdom and the most enlarged patriotism, would have no other function than simply to register the decrees of party conventions—a function to which any man with intelligence enough to write his name, and honesty enough to keep out of the penitentiary, would be perfectly competent? Was it their intention that the several Electoral colleges, in the performance of their high duty, would have precisely the same liberty of choice with the dean and chapter of an English cathedral in the election of a bishop who has already received the appointment from the Crown, and whom they cannot refuse to vote for without incurring the penalties of a *premunire*?

I am now entirely convinced that great talents are not necessary for the chief magistracy of this nation. A moderate share of talents, with integrity of character and conduct, is all that is necessary. Under the principle of your amendment, I think there is little probability that a President would be elected, weaker than Col. ———, or with less practical common sense than Mr. ———. But I am not certain that the nation is prepared for such an amendment. There is something fascinating in the idea of selecting the best talents in the nation for the chief magistrate of the Union. The view which ought to decide in favor of the principle of your amendment, is seldom taken. The true view is this: elective chief magistrates are not, and cannot, in the nature of things, be the best men in the nation; while such elections never fail to produce mischief to the nation. The evils of such elections have generally induced civilized nations to submit to hereditary monarchy. Now the evil which is incident to this form of government, is that of having the oldest son of the monarch for ruler, whether he is a fool, a rascal, or a madman. I think no man who will reflect coolly upon the subject, but would prefer a President chosen by lot out of the Senate, to running the risk of having a fool, a rascal, or a madman, in the oldest son of the wisest and most benevolent sovereign that ever lived. When the amendment is considered in this point of view I think it will find favor, especially when it must be admitted that the election of a President in this manner will be productive of as little turmoil and agitation as the accession of the son to the father in hereditary monarchies. The more I reflect upon the subject, the more I am in favor of your amendment.

Mr. Hillhouse, after fourteen years of service in the Senate, resigned his seat that he might accept a new and more arduous trust to which he was invited by his native State, and for which he was eminently qualified by his peculiar talents, his great experience, and his high character for disinterestedness and public spirit as well as for strict fidelity to every duty.

The royal charters which had defined the boundaries of the States while they were colonies, gave to several of them, and to Connecticut among others, "the South Sea," or Pacific Ocean, for a western limit. In 1786, while Virginia and other States were marking their western boundaries at their own discretion, and ceding to Congress, with various reservations, their claims to territories farther west, the State of Connecticut, by its deed of cession, reserved to itself a new Connecticut on the southern shore of Lake Erie, of the same length, and between the same parallels of latitude, with the old Connecticut on the northern shore of Long Island Sound. A portion of the lands thus reserved was appropriated to indemnify the inhabitants of those towns which had been wholly or partially destroyed by the British forces in the war of the revolution. In May, 1795, the legislature made arrangements for the sale of the remainder, (not far from 3,300,000 acres in extent) by a commission of eight persons appointed for that purpose, the Hon. John Treadwell being chairman. By the same legislature it was ordained that the avails should constitute a permanent fund for the support of those common schools which had been from the beginning a characteristic institution of New Eng-

land. At the October session of the same year, the commissioners reported that the land had been sold to a company of capitalists for the sum of 1,200,000 dollars, payable in five years, with annual interest after the expiration of two years. The fund thus established was continued in the care of the original commissioners till the year 1800, when payment from the purchasers of the Reserve became due. At that time Mr. Treadwell, afterwards governor, and four others, including the State Treasurer for the time being, were appointed "Managers of the funds arising on the sales of the Western Reserve," an arrangement which continued ten years. But notwithstanding the unquestioned fidelity of those "Managers," the expectations with which the fund was instituted had not been realized. The payments of interest which began to be due in 1797, instead of being $72,000 annually, as they should have been according to the conditions of the sale, fell so far short, that in thirteen years the average amount that had been annually distributed for the support of schools, was less than half the legal interest of the capital. From the report of the Managers to the legislature, at the October session in 1809, it appeared that not only that large amount of interest remained unpaid, but that considerable portions of the capital, also, were in danger of being lost by the failure of collateral securities. A committee, of which the Hon. David Daggett was chairman, recommended that the fund should be entrusted to the care and control of one man; and at the next session, in May, 1810, after due deliberation by the people as well as by their representatives, the office of "Commissioner of the School Fund" was created; and the Board of Managers was abolished.

As Mr. Hillhouse was wont to say that the office of President of the United States was made for George Washington, so we may say that in Connecticut the office of "Commissioner of the School Fund" was created at that juncture because all eyes were turned toward one man as singularly competent to so great and delicate a trust. The committee by whom the change of system in the management of the Fund was proposed to the legislature, had no other thought than of that one man to undertake the arduous work. Accordingly, when Mr. Hillhouse returned from Washington, after the adjournment of Congress, (which took place that year on the first of May) he was met by a call to this new office. He accepted the office, and his successor in the Senate (Hon Samuel W. Dana) was appointed at the same session of the legislature.

The condition of the School Fund, when it was committed to

his care, has already been described in part; but the difficulty of his task and the greatness of his success cannot be appreciated without a more complete statement on this point. Such a statement was made, not long after the death of Mr. Hillhouse, by the late Hon. Roger Minott Sherman, in a paper which he drew up with the expectation that it would be presented to the legislature. According to that well-considered statement, in which every word was measured with the accuracy so characteristic of the author, the Fund, in 1810, "had so diminished in value as to excite in the minds of the people a serious apprehension that in a few years it would become comparatively useless, if not utterly extinct. It consisted chiefly of the debts due from the original purchasers of the Western Reserve, and those substituted securities which had been accepted in their stead. A great proportion rested on mere personal security, and in the course of nearly twenty years, by death, insolvency, and the many other changes to which human affairs are subject, its actual value fell far short of its nominal amount. The interest had fallen greatly in arrear, and in many instances nearly equalled the principal. The debtors were dispersed in different States, and over a territory several hundred miles in extent; and such were the embarrassments of very many, and the complicated derangement of their affairs, that little but their ruin and the loss of the claims of the State could be expected from legal coercion." It may be added, to illustrate still further the complicated nature of the work that was to be done, that the thirty-six bonds amounting in the aggregate to $1,200,000, which were given by the original purchasers of the Reserve, and which were the original investment of the Fund, had become, by the process of payment and reinvestment or by other modes of substitution, nearly five hundred in number; and that, so far as they rested on any other than personal security, they were secured by mortgages on lands distributed through Connecticut, Massachusetts, New York, and the Western Reserve. Such was the trust which the State committed to his fidelity. So difficult, so complicated, so laborious, so delicate in many of its relations, was the work which he undertook for the State, and which employed his time and strength unremittingly through a period of fifteen years. For the first year of his service in that trust, his salary was only one thousand dollars. Afterwards he received fifteen hundred dollars annually, till October, 1818, when the compensation for his services was reduced to one thousand dollars, and so continued till his retirement from office. The State of Connecticut has

never been celebrated for the munificence of its compensation to public officers; but we may doubt whether such services of those of James Hillhouse, in so responsible a trust, were ever rendered, even in Connecticut, for so slight a compensation. If the School Fund, in the condition in which it was when he received the trust, had been a private estate, to be settled, invested and managed for the same period of time, what would have been the compensation of a competent trustee?

In what manner, and with what measure of success, Mr. Hillhouse performed the work which he had undertaken for the State, cannot be better described than by quoting from the document already referred to, the words of the late Judge Sherman. "He accepted the office and held it until his resignation in 1825—a period of fifteen years. In this period, without a single litigated suit, or a dollar paid for counsel, he restored the Fund to safety and order—rendered it productive of large and increasing annual dividends, and left it augmented to seventeen hundred thousand dollars, of well secured and solid capital. During his administration of the School Fund he attended to little else. At all seasons of the year, however inclement, he journeyed over the extensive country through which his cares were dispersed—guarded the public land from depredation,—made himself familiar with every debtor and the state of his property—and by indefatigable labor, and by kind attention and assistance, improved the circumstances of improvident debtors, through the very measures which he pursued for the security of the Fund. Many families, and among them the widows and the orphans of deceased debtors, whose property had become incumbered by mortgages, contracts and speculations, and their hopes broken, and their exertions paralyzed, by the apparently inextricable condition of their affairs, were restored to easy circumstances by his wise disposition of their property and adjustment of their concerns. All his operations were characterized by a benevolent regard to individual interest, and an enthusiastic devotion to the public good."

The relation of debtor and creditor is not favorable to friendship, especially when the debtor is bankrupt or on the verge of bankruptcy, and the creditor is secured by mortgages and obligations which cannot be met without a serious loss. But Mr. Hillhouse made the debtors of the School Fund friends, by making himself their friend. Instead of acting against them as the mere attorney of an adverse party, he was their adviser, and acted with them and for them. The forbearance which he (with powers almost unlimited, save by his own fidelity to his trust) was able to

exercise towards embarrassed but honest debtors,—the legal and financial counsel which he was so well qualified to give, and the aid which, in one way or another, he could so often render when the claims of other creditors were pressed too urgently—were all at the service of his great and kindly heart. Thus while he was far more careful for the safety of the Fund than if it had been his own, he became the benefactor of debtors who could not have extricated themselves from their embarrassments by any efforts of their own, and in whose final insolvency the State would have been a losing creditor. In some remarkable instances, the aid which he gave to embarrassed debtors of the Fund in the settlement of their affairs, was acknowledged with a gratitude which deserves a distinct commemoration.

Among the original purchasers of the Western Reserve, the names of Oliver Phelps and Gideon Granger are conspicuous. Mr. Phelps was the agent of the company by which the purchase was effected; and of the thirty-six subscriptions to the capital of twelve hundred thousand dollars, one of eighty thousand was the joint subscription of Phelps and Granger, and another of more than one hundred and sixty-eight thousand was in the name of Phelps alone. Of the remaining subscriptions, three, from as many individuals, were of sixty thousand each, and all the others were in various amounts from nearly fifty-eight thousand down to less than seventeen hundred. Twenty-five years later, the expected results of the speculation on the part of Messrs. Phelps and Granger had not been realized, and the aggregate of their original indebtedness to the School Fund, great as it was at the beginning, had greatly increased. Harassed by other creditors, Mr. Phelps, though rich in lands that could not be converted into money, had died while imprisoned for debt. How his embarrassed affairs were settled after his death, how the School Fund was kept unharmed, is best described by Judge Sherman. "His debt to the School Fund, including a balance due from his son, was nearly *three hundred thousand dollars*. He left an extensive property in new lands, but was deeply in debt at the time of his decease, and had suspended payment, until his arrears of interest to this State, which had been accumulating for ten years, exceeded *fifty-six thousand dollars*. His immense real estate was heavily encumbered with mortgages, and so involved and perplexed with executory contracts and unperfected titles, as seemed to defy any attempt at extrication, and render the claims of this State and other creditors apparently hopeless. But nothing which human effort could

tend to surmount, ever discouraged Mr. Hillhouse. Great obstacles seemed but to inspirit his resolution and give vigor to his exertions. The condition of this estate had baffled the efforts and appalled the heart of its enterprising proprietor, and saddened his last days with embarrassment and despondency. But Mr. Hillhouse went into the western country where it lay, and by long, laborious, and patient exertions night and day, he threaded all its labyrinths, cleared off every embarrassment, paid up in full the debt to the School Fund and the claims of every other creditor, dealt out perfect justice to every party in interest, and restored the widow and orphan children of Mr. Phelps to comfort and affluence. A large ledger is filled with the numerous accounts of sales, payments and settlements which arose in the course of the transactions."

How much he gained for the State by all this extra-official labor performed in the interest of what some would have regarded as the adverse party, let Judge Sherman tell. "So much were the family of Mr. Phelps benefited by the services which he rendered them, beyond what the interests of this State required, that besides paying all the expenses incident to the operation in searching records, foreclosing mortgages, defraying taxes, paying agents, &c., they allowed compound interest on the School Fund debt, which exceeded more than fourteen thousand five hundred dollars, the amount which could have been recovered by law. He placed the demand of the State, which had been deemed almost worthless, on an interest of *seven per cent.*, amply secured by bonds and mortgages."

But the concession of compound interest on the great and long deferred indebtedness of that estate to the Connecticut School Fund, did not satisfy in the heirs the sense of their obligation to their benefactor. "The family of Mr. Phelps had once been in affluence, but had fallen into a state of want and embarrasment, in which they had long been involved. They were now restored to competency by the extraordinary exertions of Mr. Hillhouse in their behalf. Having consented that full and ample justice should be done the State, they gratefully tendered to Mr. Hillhouse the sum of *six thousand dollars* for his own personal use, and begged him to accept it."

Such a testimonial of a grateful sense of obligation on their part, deserves to be remembered for their sake as well as for his. But did he accept their offer? He did. Yet strange as it may seem, and hardly credible in these days of plunder and official venality,

he "declined retaining a donation from those with whom he dealt as a public agent, and paid the six thousand dollars into the treasury of the School Fund." This "delicate sense of honor" was actually extant less than thirty years ago, in a man who had been almost twenty years a member of Congress, and who came directly from Washington to the management of a great pecuniary trust for the public.

At the time of these transactions, Mr. Granger, the associate of Mr. Phelps, was still living, after a long career of public service; and his sense of the value of similar services rendered in the settlement of his indebtedness to the State of Connecticut, was acknowledged by a similar testimonial amounting to nearly twenty-five hundred dollars. At the same time, an allowance of more than fifteen hundred dollars was made to him, for the same reason, in the settlement of another estate largely indebted to the Fund—that of Arnold Potter. These donations were also passed over to the School Fund. The entire amount of what he thus, from a high sense of honor, transferred to the State, was only less than ten thousand dollars ($9,982,02)—every cent of it fairly his own earning by extra-official labor.

The extent to which his bodily power of activity and endurance was tasked in the great and crowning work of his life, cannot be adequately described within the limits of this brief memoir. At his entrance on the work, he was already passing into the evening of life, when most men, amid the lengthening shadows, think rather of retirement and repose than of new and more arduous enterprises. But no young emigrant making his way into the wilderness to lay there the foundations of future wealth, ever encountered hardships, fatigue and peril, more patiently or cheerfully than he. Unattended, he made long journeys westward, year after year, at all seasons, and with all sorts of hazards, in his sulky, at the heels of the fleet and hardy little mare that was his chief locomotive power for the first six or eight years of his commissionership. Once he came near death by freezing in a winter drive; twice by fever caught in miasmatic regions which his duty required him to explore. But it is safe to say, that whether using the utmost speed of his mare to leave at a safe distance behind him some dogging ruffians who had attempted to rob him, or making his way slowly through the woods with an armed Indian silently and wistfully trotting at his side, or arrested as a criminal at the instigation of a malicious debtor (which was once the case), he never lost for an hour his courage or cheerful good humor. No difficulties of the

way could ever turn him back. The story is told that "after half a day's solitary traveling, he once came to a stream, apparently swollen with rain to an unusual depth. It was necessary to cross it, or be frustrated of his object, besides measuring back a weary way. He undressed himself, strapped his trunk of clothes, papers, &c., on the top of his sulky, and reached the opposite bank with no other inconvenience than an unseasonable bath."*

What Mr. Hillhouse did for the School Fund in the fifteen years of his administration, was in many respects a different work from that which has devolved on any of his successors. It was for him to extricate the Fund from the embarrassed and imperilled condition in which it was committed to his care. It was for him to arrange and institute a system of administration; the department was to be all but created by his constructive genius. He labored as a pioneer, preparing the way in which others were to follow. His immediate successor, (Hon. Seth P. Beers,) who had been for two years his assistant, entered upon the work when the age of railway traveling had not yet begun, and when the superintendence of the School Fund was still attended with more personal fatigue and hardship than belonged to any other office in the service of the State. But the second Commissioner entered into the labors of the first; and it is no disparagement of his ability or of his success, to say that his work during the twenty-four years of his administration was easy in comparison with the pioneer work which had already been done. In those years of pioneer labor, Mr. Hillhouse had not merely rescued the Fund from depreciation and gradual destruction, and restored it to its original value. By his indefatigable industry and skill in the collection of debts, and by the wisdom of his reinvestments, he had added to it more than half a million of dollars. The policy which he inaugurated was continued by his successor, at the close of whose administration the Fund had received another augmentation of three hundred thousand dollars,—and though the capital has received since then no farther augmentation, the investments have become more productive, till now the annual income is seven per cent. on the entire amount of the Fund. In the fifty-six years since the first dividend was made, the School Fund of Connecticut has divided among the towns and school societies an aggregate amount of income almost four times greater than the capital was at the beginning. The traditions of his administration still give to the office a dignity which lifts it above the ordinary sweep of party revolution, and

*Dramas, Discourses, &c., by James A. Hillhouse, II., 42–44, 51–54.

guards it against being made, like so many other offices of trust and honor, a reward for party services. If that magnificent endowment yields any benefit to the people of Connecticut to-day—if it diminishes the weight of their public burthens, and distributes to all parts of the State, year by year, for the most important of all public interests, a greater revenue than all that the people pay in taxes for their own State government—if it secures a free school in every neighborhood and within the reach of every family, and leaves hardly a native adult that cannot read and write—it is to him more than to any other man that the debt of public gratitude is due. Others now living, who need not be named, and who will not be forgotten when they shall have been gathered to the dead, have contributed to make the School Fund efficient for the ends to which it was devoted, have taught the people how to use it, have kept it from becoming a disgrace instead of a glory to the State; but the Fund itself is the patrimony which his heroic labor rescued and enlarged, and which, by the success of his wise and faithful stewardship, became an inheritance forever for the State he loved so well.

At the time of Mr. Hillhouse's retirement from the Commissionership in the seventy-first year of his age, the citizens of New Haven had determined on attempting the construction of a canal from their own harbor to the Connecticut River at Northampton. He had taken no leading part either in the consultations and discussions which preceded that determination, or in the application which obtained from the legislature of the State a charter with a full grant of necessary powers to a company organized for the purpose. But his townsmen, from the day in which he led the young men of the town to battle in defense of their homes, had been accustomed to confide implicitly in his ability to accomplish whatever he might be induced to undertake. Through all the fifty years of his participation in their public affairs, there had hardly been a scheme or effort of local improvement in which he had not been a leader. His own judgment, confirmed by that of men whose large experience and acknowledged wisdom in such matters gave authority to their opinions, had been convinced that the proposal was practicable and would open for the commerce of New Haven a most desirable channel of communication with the interior of New England. He yielded to the solicitations of his neighbors and accepted from the company the appointment of Superintendent. His connection with the work, and the unfailing zeal and force with which he entered into it, inspired the people of New-

Haven, and of other towns along the route, with much of his own confidence in its success. Six years he sustained it through every discouragement, and then, beginning at last to feel that it was time for him to rest, he resigned the task to younger hands. The construction of that canal was indeed a loss to the Company; but the explanation of the failure is chiefly to be found in causes that were then beyond the ken of human sagacity. Only a few out of the many works of that sort in the United States have ever repaid to the proprietors the expense of construction. Nobody now thinks of making a canal unless it be something like a ship canal across a narrow isthmus between oceans. Five and thirty years ago nobody thought that the time was at hand when railways would be constructed for the convenience of commerce along the shores of navigable waters, when the whole extent of the Union, from Maine to Louisiana, would be overspread with a network of iron tracks, and when even the wildernesses beyond the Mississippi would begin to be made attractive to emigration, by the construction of railways over prairies hardly yet deserted of the Indian and the buffalo.

The connection of Mr. Hillhouse, from youth to old age, with all the progress of local improvement in New Haven, has already been referred to, but deserves a more particular notice. One strong indication of a man's character, and of the force with which he has acted upon his fellow-men, is found, sometimes at least, in the impression which he has left upon the place of his abode, and the extent in which his influence has incorporated itself with the history and the future of the locality. Since Theophilus Eaton and John Davenport, with others from the parish of St. Stephens, Coleman Street, in London, came to Quinnipiack in 1633, and laid out their beautiful town-plat around the open square which they reserved for their public buildings, their market-place, and their graves, no man has ever done so much by personal influence and labor for the beauty of New Haven, as was done by James Hillhouse. He had a part in the subdivision of the original nine squares, by new streets parallel to the old, and a voice in giving both to the old streets and the new the names which they still bear.* He was the engineer (probably chairman of a committee)

* A part of the ancient town was incorporated as a city, at a winter session of the legislature in 1784, Mr. H. being then a representative. At the first city election, Feb.. 1784 he was chosen into the Common Council. The streets were named by vote of a city meeting, Sept. 17 1784. The new streets, subdividing the old town-plat, appear to have been opened by the owners of the property at their own convenience and discretion. according to some plan spontaneously

who leveled "the lower green," as the lower half of the public square was called, and enclosed the whole square for the first time, cutting off the winding cart path that ran diagonally from the northwestern corner to the southeastern. He brought from a farm of his in Meriden, and set out, partly with his own hands, the elms that now interlock their giant arms over the famous colonnade of Temple street. The once renowned but now half deserted turnpike road from New Haven to Hartford, with its marvelous rectilinearity, was not indeed laid out under his direction (his common sense would have avoided the hills); but after the line had been determined, and the work imperfectly constructed, in his absence, the completion of it was effected by his executive ability.* He formed and carried into effect the plan of the New Haven Cemetery which has now become so honored with historic graves—his own among the most illustrious. That was the earliest attempt anywhere to provide a public cemetery so arranged that every family might have its own family burial place as an inalienable possession like Abraham's burial place at Hebron. The records of the parish of which he was a member testify to his activity and zeal in promoting the interests of that ecclesiastical society. Five successive pastors of the church in which he made his early vows, learned to value his generous friendship; and the last of them, having pronounced the eulogium at his funeral more than a quarter of a century ago, is permitted now, after so long a time, to commend him to the grateful remembrance of another generation.

One office Mr. Hillhouse retained to the close of his life. For fifty years he was the Treasurer of Yale College. In all his cares and labors for the town, for the State, and for the Union, he never ceased to care affectionately for the venerable institution in which

---

agreed upon. Mr. H., as a proprietor, had an agency in the opening of some of those streets; and the writer of this note remembers to have heard him express a regret that he did not insist on carrying every street through in a straight line to the water, viz: to the harbor in one direction, and from Mill River to West River in the other.

* In connection with Mr. Hillhouse's superintendence of the Hartford and New Haven turnpike road, a story is extant, which if it is only a myth, is nevertheless worth repeating in a Journal of Education. The tradition is that while Mr. H. was making the road, he was visited by Gen. Wade Hampton, of South Carolina, one of his associates in the House of Representatives. Of course it was a part of "the Sachem's" hospitality to show his Southern friend the great work that was in progress. The well trained oxen, as well as other things that he saw, were much admired by the stranger. "See," said he to the negro servant who attended him, "how those oxen work! Tom! they know more than you do." "Ah! Mas'r," said the negro in reply, "Dem ar oxen has had a Yankee bringing up."

he had been educated. A special service which he rendered to that institution at the time of its greatest peril, entitles him to be commemorated among its greatest benefactors. The college, founded by the clergy, yet patronized and aided to some extent, in its early days, by the State, had always been under the government of an exclusively clerical corporation. Very naturally, some degree of jealousy had long existed between the corporation of the college and certain leading influences in the government of the State. After the revolutionary war, the college, which had shared deeply in the general impoverishment of the country, had not begun to share in the return of prosperity and the progress of wealth. Its expectations of aid from the State were met with various demands for such a modification of its charter as would at least divide the control of the institution between the clergy and the legislature or the politicians. In some quarters there were plans on foot for another institution to be governed by the State. At last, in the years 1791–2, these difficulties were coming to a crisis. A legislative committee was appointed to inquire into the affairs of the institution. Mr. Hillhouse came home from his place in Congress to attend the corporation in their conference with that committee, which was supposed to be not favorable to the then existing constitution of the college. His advice to the corporation was that they should meet the committee with all frankness and confidence, and with the fullest exposition not only of their financial affairs and necessities, but of their policy in the management of the college, and of their hopes and wishes for the future. They adopted his advice, and the result was that the committee made a report highly favorable to the fidelity and ability with which the college had been governed by the corporation. Just at that time Hamilton's great measure for the assumption by the Federal government of the debts which the several States had contracted for the common cause in the revolutionary struggle, had been carried through Congress. The State of Connecticut had laid taxes to meet the interest, and, in part, the principal of its revolutionary debt; and large amounts of those taxes, payable in evidences of that debt, were at that moment in the hands of collectors throughout the State. If those amounts were paid over by the collectors to the treasury of the State they would cease to be, what in reality they were, a portion of that revolutionary debt which had been assumed by the Federal government; or, in other words, the State would resume and discharge a portion of the debt which had just been assumed by the Union. Mr. Hillhouse had conceived the

idea of ceding to Yale College all those outstanding taxes which were payable in evidences of the revolutionary debt. It was at his advice that the Corporation of the College had presented the plan to the legislature in a memorial. As an inducement to the grant, he proposed, the value of it not being yet ascertained, that one half of the amount which the college might realize in stock of the United States from the cession of those evidences of the State debt, should be transferred by the corporation to the State, for the use and benefit of the State itself. He well knew that there were strong prejudices to be avoided or subdued, and many difficulties to be overcome. Among those members of the legislature who had no prejudices against the college, and whose intelligence recognized the importance of such an institution to the State, there were some who had no faith whatever that the scheme could succeed. But with his characteristic tact and skill, he addressed himself directly to another class of members, the "substantial farmers," who are even to this day the ruling class in Connecticut. In his plain, honest way, he availed himself of the great confidence which men of that class always had in him. He made them feel that the college was an institution in which the whole State had an interest, and of which the State ought to be proud. He made them see that the State as well as the college had a pecuniary interest in his plan. His perseverance and the strength of his personal influence, at last prevailed; and the measure was carried chiefly by the sympathies and the votes of that very class who had no literary or professional interest in the college. An instinctive confidence in the plain good sense and the public spirit of the people, was characteristic of Mr. Hillhouse, and was one reason why the people always had confidence in him and were ready to follow him.

At the same time a change in the charter of the college was effected partly, at least, by his influence. The legislature was induced to content itself with proposing, and the corporation was persuaded to accept, a modification by which, while the ten clerical "Fellows" who represent the original founders were to retain the right of filling their own vacancies in perpetual succession, the Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, and six senior Assistants (now Senators) of the State government for the time being, were to be also members of the Corporation. By this arrangement many ancient jealousies were removed; and Yale College was not indeed subjected to the State, to be mixed up in all the strifes of politics, but placed in a natural and just connection with the civil government of the commonwealth. In the language of President Stiles,

"Moses and Aaron were united." Never, it is believed, has there been any collision or friction in the working of this arrangement. The only thing to be regretted is that of late years the contemptible principle of "rotation in office," superseding the old principle of "steady habits," has too much deprived the Corporation of the dignity and strength which it ought to receive from its alliance with the State. Senators who have been elevated to office because it was their turn, and who are sure to be displaced next year because they will have had their day of honor, if they happen to be designated by lot as "Senior Senators," can hardly be expected to take much interest in the one meeting of the Corporation which takes place each year.

The memorable "Act for enlarging the powers and increasing the funds of Yale College," saved the institution. It brought to the treasury a net amount of about forty thousand dollars. Out of that sum, administered with exemplary economy, building after building, arranged according to a plan which Mr. Hillhouse and the artist Trumbull had devised, was added to the line of college edifices. Under the administration of President Dwight, which began three years after the passage of that act, the course of studies, the system of government, and the provisions and arrangements for instruction, were gradually but rapidly modified to meet the exigencies of the times. The increased resort of students was more than parallel with the increase of accommodations. In process of time, as the poverty of the institution, in relation to the work it had to do, was made the more conspicuous by its growing usefulness and its spreading renown, friends and benefactors began to appear, whose donations or legacies still kept it from sinking. Its Alumni in all parts of the Union, came to its aid. New departments of instruction in the learned professions were organized, and to some extent endowed; and before Mr. Hillhouse ceased to be treasurer, the college became, in fact, a university though not affecting the grandeur of so lofty a name.

It is not strange then, that when, in his old age, he had relinquished all other offices and public employments, and had retired into the bosom of his family, where he was preparing himself for his last repose, he still retained his official connection with the college. On the 18th of December, 1832, the sudden death of the Assistant Treasurer, Stephen Twining, Esq., threw upon him an unusual and urgent pressure of business, in preparation for the Prudential Committee of the Corporation. On the 29th of December, he attended the meeting of that Committee. About noon,

after a session of several hours, he returned to his house, as he had gone out, hale, erect, cheerful, with no weakness in his step and no dimness in his eye. He sat down with the family, and while conversing with them, began to open the letters which had come to hand that morning. As he was reading a letter on college business, he rose from his chair, and without saying anything, went into his bedroom. Only a moment had passed when his son, having occasion to speak to him, followed him. But the old man was asleep. He had lain down quietly upon his bed, and a gentle touch from some kind angel had released him from his labors.

Those who have a personal remembrance of Mr. Hillhouse are growing few. But of the vividness with which his form and looks and character rise before their minds at the mention of his name, after the lapse of so many years since he was carried to his grave, it is difficult to give a just impression. This brief narrative of his long life, and of his many public services, cannot convey to those who never saw him, any adequate notion of what he was; still less can the writer hope to set before them by any analysis, or to portray by any art of word-painting, the remarkable and memorable peculiarities of the man.

Physically, as well as in his characteristic moral and mental constitution, he was cast in a heroic mold. Without any extraordinary personal beauty—without any statuesque symmetry or finish of figure and features—his face and person were such that no stranger could look upon him for a moment without looking again and saying to himself, 'That is no ordinary man.' Tall, long-limbed, with high cheek-bones, swarthy, lithe in motion, lightness in his step, and strength and freedom in his stride, he seemed a little like some Indian Chief of poetry or romance—the Outalissi of Campbell's Gertrude of Wyoming—the Massasoit or King Philip of our early history as fancy pictures them—so much so that with a kind of affectionate respect he was sometimes called "the Sachem."

It has already been said that his genius and the constitutional elements of his character were such as might have achieved distinction in a military career. The blood of the old Pequot-queller, John Mason, and of the heroic defenders in the siege of Derry was mingled in his veins; and it is safe to say that nobody ever saw him frightened or disconcerted. But mere courage qualifies no man to be a leader. He had that sort of natural leadership among his equals; that special faculty of influence over men, that power of winning their full confidence and of making them willing to follow where

he led, which is given only in nature's patent of nobility. He had an intuitive knowledge of men, whoever they were with whom he had to do:—without any suspiciousness in his nature, or any slowness in yielding his confidence, he was rarely deceived in those whom he trusted. His prompt discernment of exigencies, and the exhaustless fertility of his resources, gave him an instantaneous quickness of adaptation to whatever emergency. It was by this military combination of qualities in his mental constitution and development, that he accomplished so much for the town he lived in, for his native State, and for his country.

Had he been a selfish man—had his nature lacked the glow and charm of living sympathies—the development and organization of his entire character would have differed from what it was. His spontaneous and genial affectionateness, not only in his family but in every relation—his frank heartiness in all intercourse with friends and neighbors—his ready sensibility to whatsoever things are true or honest, or just, or pure, or lovely or of good report—in a word, the generosity of his nature, even more than the undoubted superiority of his intellectual powers, commanded the full confidence of all who had to do with him and of all who knew him. What was admired and honored in James Hillhouse was, not the man's extraordinary ability—not his eloquence or his wit—not the depth and reach of his learning, or the acuteness and power of his logic,—but the man himself. It was his integrity, in the original and largest sense of that word—the *wholeness* of his manly nature with all manly affections and sympathies as well as manly powers, that commanded homage. In his earlier years, before he had given himself up entirely to public affairs, he was rising to eminence as an advocate, arguing cases with distinguished success before the highest tribunals; and sometimes when Hamilton and Burr, with the splendor and authority of the one and the unscrupulous genius and cunning of the other, were both arrayed against him. He could not undertake a cause without first gaining in his own mind an assurance of its justice; and when he came to the argument, with his most unaffected honesty and earnestness in every word and look, that assurance of his being in the right communicated itself to those who heard him. The nature of the confidence which his fellow-citizens had in him may be illustrated by a story that is still repeated in New Haven, and is not without a moral. Long ago, when parties had hardly been organized in Connecticut, it happened that a leading man whose name is not essential to the point of the story, but of whom we may say that

he had aspirations as well as opinions, went out on some occasion from New Haven into one of the neighboring towns to make a political speech. The school-house, in which the orator held forth, was filled with plain but thinking farmers, who gave a silent attention while he tried to show them with plausible arguments and at great length, how much they were wronged by the then existing administration of their public affairs. When he had finished, one of his hearers rose and gave him this conclusive reply: "Mr.——, you are a *larned* man, and you know a great deal more than we do; but we know one thing, and that is that Jemmy Hillhouse is an honester man than you be."

The combination of simplicity and dignity in Mr. Hillhouse was altogether unique. The simplicity and the dignity being alike unaffected, were not merely combined; they were one and the same thing. They were the perfectly unconscious manifestation of a strong and self-reliant mind, rich with various knowledge and the shrewdest common sense, controled by the highest moral principles, and alive with every manly affection and every honorable sensibility. With what statesmanlike propriety and force of expression, and with what command of classical English, he could discuss high questions of government, is sufficiently shown on some of the foregoing pages by extracts from the Congressional debates; yet his speaking on all occasions was characterised by that ancient New England pronunciation which was simply the pure and true pronunciation of our mother tongue as it was before the reign of Charles II., but which is now so rarely heard from educated persons or in connection with refinement of thought and manners. His ordinary colloquial discourse, often humorous, often full of the most interesting personal reminiscences, always instructive, was enriched with quaint New England idioms and homely Connecticut proverbs. In all this there was no lack of dignity, for his way of speaking was simply antique, not vulgar. His pronunciation was such as Milton used, and Hampden; and even those Doric colloquialisms of his were, for the most part, such as Brewster and Winthrop, Haynes and Eaton, might have brought with them from England. Yet it would be an injustice to his memory if the reader should think of him as using purposely the antique style in anything, or imagine his old age as decorated with the wig and the shoe buckles which old men wore when he was young. As he did not affect the antique in speech, he was equally above all affectation of the antique in costume. He was not per-

forming a part in a play, and had therefore no occasion to dress in character. Doubtless he wore knee-buckles and powdered hair when he was young; but in his venerable age, when buckles and powder had gone out of fashion, they could have added nothing to his dignity. Those little archaisms of dress are sometimes graceful in an old man, and dignified; but they would hardly have befitted him. He was as dignified with his coat off and with a scythe in his hands, leading the mowers across the field, and cutting the widest swarth of all, as when he stood conspicuous and honored in the Senate, or on a Sabbath morning walked to the house of prayer with patriarchal grace, beneath the stately elms which his own hands had planted. Everybody in his presence felt his dignity; but the dignity was in the man, not in the manner His dignity was not put on, and could not be put off. It was nothing else than his transparent simplicity, continually revealing an unaffected nobleness of soul.

None will suppose that in a public career so long as his, and so full of the most various activity, and with so much independence and resoluteness of mind, he encountered no unfriendly opposition and no reproach from "evil tongues." With all the traits that made him popular, with all his tact in guiding and influencing men, and with all the kindliness of his disposition, he was still just the man to encounter, now and then, some unexpected and violent hostility. Nor was he by nature "slow to wrath." He was so constituted that he had a quick and impetuous sensibility to injury and especially to insult. Yet his religious principles and habits suffered him to harbor no resentment. As a Christian man he had learned to restrain his vindictive feelings, to bear injury with patience, and to repel insult and make it contemptible by the dignity and magnanimity of meekness.

This last mentioned feature in his character might be referred in part to his habitual regard for other interests than his own. As he was not living for himself it was the easier for him to be magnanimous under any personal wrong. Not only so, but the largeness of the plan on which he lived, helped to lift him above the depression of whatever personal disappointments and sorrows were in his lot, and to illuminate the entire sphere of his activity and his enjoyments. In words that were spoken at his burial, "He aimed at the public good. He lived for his country. Thus his activity was activity freed from the corrosion of selfishness, and in all his toil there was a consciousness of noble purposes which

lightened every labor, and even took away from disappointment the power to vex him. Thus his soul was expanded into more colossal dimensions, his being, as it were, spread out and extended. There was more of existence in a day of his life than there would be in centuries of some men's living. His influence, his voluntary influence to do good, being thus extended, he lived with a sort of ubiquity, wherever that influence was felt,—happy in the consciousness of living to good purpose. And for all this he was none the less happy—he was far more happy—in his family, and in all the relations of private and personal friendship. The way to enjoy home with the highest zest, the way to have the fireside bright with the most quiet, heartfelt happiness, is to be active even to weariness, and to come home for refreshment and repose. The way to give new vigor and delight to all the pulses of domestic love and private friendship, is to enlarge the soul and prove it kindred to higher orders of existence by the culture of large and generous affections."

II. HISTORY OF THE SCHOOL FUND OF CONNECTICUT.

I. CLAIMS OF CONNECTICUT TO WESTERN TERRITORY.

THE School Fund of Connecticut was derived from the sale of that portion of the territory of Ohio, known as the Western Reserve because it was reserved by the State in its deed of cession, dated September 30, 1786, by which it surrendered to the General Government, for the general benefit of all the people, all its claims to a vast unappropriated domain stretching west beyond the western limits of Pennsylvania and New York, and which was included in the boundaries of Connecticut as described both in the charter of confirmation granted by Charles I. in 1631, to Lord Say and Seal, Lord Brook, and others, and in the charter of government obtained from Charles II., in 1662.

By the charter of 1662, which (continued) to be the fundamental law of the State to 1818, the boundaries of Connecticut are described as follows:—"Bounded on the east by the Narragansett river, commonly called Narragansett Bay, where said river falleth into the sea; and on the north, by the line of the Massachusetts Plantation; and on the south by the sea; and in longitude, as the Massachusetts Colony, running from east to west, that is, from said Narragansett Bay on the east to the south sea on the western part." These boundaries inclosed not only the present territory of Connecticut, but also portions of Rhode Island, New York, and New Jersey, and all the unsettled domain beyond of the same breadth, and between the same parallels, to which the crown of Great Britain had any title and claim.

The boundary between the colony of Connecticut and Rhode Island, on the east, described in the charter as Narragansett River, or Bay, was defined in an agreement made between Mr. John Winthrop, the agent of Connecticut, in obtaining the charter, and Mr. John Clark, the agent of the colony of Providence and Rhode Island, in London, in 1663, to be Pawcatuck River, alias, Narragansett River, and that river (Pawcatuck), after years of belligerent legislation, was, on application by both parties to the King in Council in 1713, approved and confirmed.

The portions which fell within the limits of New Jersey and New York, were taken out of the operation of the charter, by a clause in the old Plymouth Charter of 1620, which was held to

govern all grants growing out of it. The western boundary of the colony, so far as New York was interested, and so far only, was settled by Commissioners appointed by the King in 1664.

In 1681, William Penn obtained a patent from Charles II., by which he became proprietary of an ample territory, which, in honor of his father, was called Pennsylvania by the King. The boundaries described in the charter included, on the north line, a portion of territory, nearly equal to one degree of latitude in breadth, already granted by the King to Connecticut.

To the territory beyond the Delaware river, the western boundary of the grant to the Duke of York, Connecticut asserted her claim, and extended her jurisdiction, so soon as the progress of settlement gave it any value, or any rival claims were put forward, resting her title on the principles and practice then recognized in the construction of royal patents of discovery and settlement and charters of government. The validity of this title, until the western boundary of Connecticut was defined by the royal commission in 1664, was conceded by Attorney General Pratt, (afterwards Earl Camden,) in his opinion in favor of the Pennsylvanian claim in 1761, as will be be seen in the following extract from his answer to a query by the Proprietary Government of Pennsylvania:

I am of opinion that the colony of Connecticut has no right *to resume* its ancient boundary by overleaping the Province of New York so as to encroach upon the Pennsylvania grant, which was not made until after the Connecticut boundary had been reduced by new confines, *which restored the land beyond those settlements westward, to the Crown, and laid them open to a new grant.* The state of the country in dispute is a *material state reason* why the Crown ought to interfere in the present case, and put a stop to this growing mischief. But I doubt this business can not be adjusted very soon, because Mr. Penn must apply to the Crown for relief, which method of proceeding will necessarily take up time, as the province of Connecticut must have notice, and be heard.

This opinion was regarded as an impregnable fortress to the Pennsylvania claim. But this opinion distinctly recognizes the fact that the ancient boundary of Connecticut did overleap the province of New York, and that the claims of the former State were not so clearly settled by the Commissioners in 1664, or the assent of Connecticut "to the determination of his Majesty's Commissioners in relation to the bounds and limits of His Royal Highness, the Duke's patent, and the patent of Connecticut," or by the subsequent grant of the King to William Penn, in 1681, as to dispense with the further action of the Crown. Measures were accordingly taken to bring the matter before the King in Council; and in the meantime, the agent of Connecticut, Col. Eliphalet Dyer, an eloquent advocate and lawyer, of Windham, propounded the following

tion to four of the most eminent lawyers of England, three of
m afterwards held the office of Attorney General, and two
urlow and Wedderburne, afterwards Lord Thurlow and Lord
ghborough) were Lord Chancellors:

ıve not the said Governor and company of the colony of Connecticut, the
of pre-emption, and the title under the Crown to the lands aforesaid, within
mits and bounds of their patent aforesaid, lying westward of the province of
York, and not included in the patent of King Charles the second to the Duke
rk, notwithstanding the several settlements of boundaries, between the colony
ıe east, and the Province on the west, made as well by agreement between
arties, as under the royal authority, and notwithstanding the subsequent char-
› Sir William Penn?

o which they unanimously answered,—

ıe agreement between the colony of Connecticut and the province of New
, can extend no further than to settle the boundaries between the respective
ıs, and has no effect upon other claims that either of them had in other parts;
ıs the charter to Connecticut was granted but eighteen years before that to
William Penn, there is no good ground to contend, that the crown could, at
period, make an effectual grant to him of that country, which had been so re-
y granted to others. But if the country had been actually settled under the
grant, it would now be a matter of considerable doubt, whether the right of
coupiers, or the title under which they hold, could be impeached by a prior
; without actual settlement.
gned) E. Thurlow, M. Wedderburne, Rd. Jackson, Jn. Dunning.

he lands in dispute were first actually settled, and the Indian
to them extinguished, by regular and well authenticated pur-
ıe and conveyance, under the Connecticut grant.

he claim of Connecticut under the charter, was acknowledged
he Colonial Congress, which met at Albany in 1754. At that
meeting, a treaty was entered into with eighteen chiefs of the
Nations of Indians, the proprietors of a portion of the western
tory of Connecticut, lying within the chartered limits of Penn-
ania, by agents of the Connecticut Susquehanna Company, for
purpose of commencing settlements, and extending the jurisdic-
of the colony. Surveys were made, and a settlement com-
ced by the Delaware Company in 1757, and by the Susquehanna
ıpany in 1752, and again more vigorously in 1769. From this
ɔd the region of the Susquehanna became the theater of con-
ing land titles, derived from the two colonies of Connecticut
Pennsylvania, of embittered local controversies, of terrible
sacres and wide-spread devastations by Indian and European
fare.

ı 1774, Connecticut extended her jurisdiction and laws over
new settlements, as part and parcel of the State,—civil
ers were appointed, schools established, taxes levied and paid,
representatives elected to her assembly. This was continued
l December, 1782, when the claims of Connecticut to all lands

within the chartered limits of Pennsylvania were extinguished by the decision of a Court of Commissioners appointed by Congress, on the petition of the Supreme Executive Council, and acquiesced in by the Legislature of Connecticut, and the several land companies in interest. The court was appointed under the third section of the ninth article of Confederation, providing for the settlement of questions as to jurisdiction between two or more States; at a time when the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown, had extinguished all probabilities of the further success of English arms against the United States, and the prospect of peace and political independence naturally led to the agitation of questions of domestic policy, including the payment of the war debt, the management and settlement of the Western territory, and conflicting claims as to the disputed boundaries and jurisdiction between the several States.

How far the court were influenced by nice technical and legal rules, by claims of prior settlement, and acquisition of Indian titles; by a desire to extinguish at once local controversies, which were fast deepening into civil war; by an anxiety to relieve the Confederation of perplexing questions, as to the claims of Virginia, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and other States to the Western domain; by sympathy with the popular feeling which was adverse to the recognition of the validity of these claims by a few States, when there was a large debt incurred for the common defense, to be discharged, does not appear. Before rendering their decision, "it was agreed that the reasons for their determination should never be given," and "that the minority should concede the determination as the unanimous opinion of the court." It is now known that the commissioners were unanimous in the opinion that the question of property in the soil was not affected by the decision, and on the other hand, it was held by members of the court, "that the right of soil, as derived from Connecticut, was sacred." That the decision did not determine similar claims by other States, is evident from the fact, that New York, with this decision on the face of it, adverse to a similar claim by Massachusetts to the western part of that State, consented, in 1787, to adjust* the claim by an equal

* The State of New York in 1780, and Massachusetts in 1785, ceded to the United States all their rights, either of jurisdiction or proprietorship, to all territory lying west of a meridian line running south from the westerly bend of Lake Ontario—reserving a territory of 19,000 square miles, to which each State laid claim under their charters of government from Charles II. This controversy was finally adjusted by a convention of commissioners, appointed by the parties, held at Hartford, on the 16th of December, 1786, by an equal division of the territory in dispute—amounting to about 6,000,000 acres to each State. Massachusetts, in 1788, contracted to sell to Nathaniel Gorham, of Charlestown, and Oliver Phelps, of Granville, Mass. (a native of Windsor, Conn.,) its pre-emption right, and in 1798, did convey and quit claim, nearly all

division of the territory in dispute. Congress certainly admitted the validity of the general claim, by accepting the cessions of this and other States, and admitting and compromising certain reservations in those cessions.

The decision of the court at Trenton, in favor of the jurisdiction of Pennsylvania, did not necessarily deny the validity of the claims of Connecticut to the territory beyond, over which there were no conflicting charters or prior settlements. But the protection given by a royal charter of government against the encroachments of the mother country, was gone; the certainty that disputed points of boundary, jurisdiction, and soil, would arrise, was absolute; the sympathy* of a majority of the States was against the right of possession, by a few of the States, to that vast domain; the desire to bring the untouched wilderness under the influence of settlement, civilization, and free institutions was general; these, and other considerations, inclined the people of Connecticut, as well as of other States having claims to the western lands, to an equitable compromise. In the first public movement in Congress, 31st January, 1783, toward a cession, no mention was made of any reservation; but as claims for compensation for damages done to property in the burning of several towns by the English, were urged on the legislature of the State; as the general prosperity of the State, besides numerous private fortunes were seriously injured by the decision of the commissioners at Trenton, the justice of reserving a portion of her western territory to meet these claims, and reassure the prosperity of the State in future, was generally felt and conceded.

To this end, the Legislature, at the October session, 1783, re-asserted its claim to the jurisdiction and pre-emption of the territory beyond Pennsylvania, in the following Act.

Whereas, this State has the undoubted and exclusive right of jurisdiction and pre-emption to all the lands lying west of the western limits of the State of Pennsylvania, and east of the river Mississippi, and extending throughout from the latitude 41 deg. to latitude 42 deg. and 2′ north, by virtue of the charter granted

---

it is right, for $1,000.000. Out of this purchase came the "Holland Company's Purchase," and the "Pultney Estate," so well known in the history of western New York.

* So early as 1776, the convention which framed the Constitution of Maryland, "resolved unanimously, that the very extensive claim of the State of Virginia to the back lands, has no foundation in justice, and that if the same, or any like claim is admitted, the freedom of the smaller states and the liberties of America may be thereby greatly endangered; this convention being firmly persuaded, that, if the dominion over those lands should be established by the blood and treasure of the United States, such lands ought to be considered as a common stock, to be parcelled out at proper times into convenient, free, and independent governments."

In the years 1777 and 1778, the General Assembly, by resolves and instruction to their delegates in Congress, expressed their sentiments in support of their claim to a participation in these lands, in still stronger language, and declined acceding to the confederation, on account of the refusal of the states claiming them *exclusively* to cede them to the United States.

by King Charles the Second to the late colony, now State of Connecticut, bearing date the 23d day of April, A. D. 1662, which claim and title to make known, for the information of all, to the end that they may conform themselves thereto;

"*Resolved*, That his excellency the Governor be desired to issue his proclamation, declaring and asserting the right of this State to all the lands within the limits aforesaid; and strictly forbidding all persons to enter or settle thereon, without special license and authority first obtained from the General Assembly of this State.

Pursuant to this resolution, Governor Trumbull issued a proclamation, bearing date the 15th day of November, 1783, making known the determination of the State to maintain their claim to said territory, and forbidding all persons to enter thereon, or settle within the limits of the same.

BY HIS EXCELLENCY

JONATHAN TRUMBULL, ESQUIRE,

GOVERNOR AND COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF IN AND OVER THE STATE OF CONNECTICUT.

A PROCLAMATION.

WHEREAS the Legislature of this State, by their Resolutions passed at their Sessions holden at New Haven, *on the second Thursday of* October *last, did declare, that this State has the undoubted and exclusive right of jurisdiction and pre-emption to all the lands lying west of the State of* Pennsylvania, *and east of the river* Mississippi, *and extending throughout from the lat.* 41 *deg. to lat.* 42 *deg.* 2 *min. north, by virtue of the charter granted by King* Charles *the* IId. *to the late Colony, now State of* Connecticut, *bearing date the* 23*d day of April, A. D.* 1662: *Which claim and right they are determined to assert and maintain.*

I DO therefore, at the desire and request of the said Legislature, hereby publish, proclaim, and make known this their resolution, assertion and determination to all people whomsoever it may concern. And, I do also, by this my Proclamation, strictly forbid all persons whatever, from entering upon or settling within the territory so claimed and asserted, without special license and authority therefor, first had and obtained from the General Assembly of this State; as they would wish to avoid the pains, penalties, and forfeitures to which they may, in such case, expect to be exposed.

Given under my hand and seal, at Lebanon, *in the State of* Connecticut, *this* 15*th day of* November, Anno Domini, 1783.

JONTH. TRUMBULL.

II. CESSION TO THE UNITED STATES, AND RESERVED LANDS.

On the 29th of April, 1784, Congress adopted the following resolution:

Congress, by their resolution of September 6th, 1780, having thought it advisable to press upon the States having claims to the Western country a liberal surrender of a portion of their territorial claims; by that of the 10th of October in the same year, having fixed conditions to which the Union should be bound on receiving such cessions; and having again proposed the same subject to those States in their address of April the 18th, 1783, wherein, stating the national debt, and expressing their reliance for its discharge, on the prospect of vacant territory in aid of other resources, they, for that purpose, as well as to obviate disagreeable controversies and confusions, included in the same recommendations a renewal of those of Septemper 6th, and of October the 10th, 1780, which several recommendations have not yet been fully complied with.

Resolved, That the same subject be again presented to the said States; that they be urged to consider, that the war being now brought to a happy termination, by the personal services of our soldiers, the supplies of property by our citizens, and loans of money from them as well as foreigners; these several creditors have

a right to expect that funds will be provided, on which they may rely for indemnification; that Congress still consider vacant territory as an important resource; and that, therefore, said States be earnestly pressed by immediate and liberal cessions to forward these necessary ends, and to promote the harmony of the Union.

The State of Connecticut, prior to the decree of Trenton, offered to make a cession of Western territory, but under such restrictions that Congress refused to accept the same. In consequence of the above recommendation of Congress, the Legislature of Connecticut resumed the consideration of a cession of their Western territory: and, at a General Assembly of the State, on the second Thursday of May, 1786, passed the following act:

Be it enacted, &c., That the delegates of this State, or any two of them, who shall be attending the Congress of the United States, be, and they are hereby directed, authorized, and fully empowered, in the name and behalf of this State, to make, execute, and deliver, under their hands and seals an ample deed of release and cession of all the right, title, interest, jurisdiction, and claim of the State of Connecticut, to certain Western lands, beginning at the completion of the forty-first degree of north latitude, one hundred and twenty miles west of the western boundary line of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, as now claimed by said Commonwealth; and from thence by a line to be drawn north parallel to, and one hundred and twenty miles west of the said west line of Pennsylvania, and to continue north until it comes to 42 deg. and 2′ north latitude; whereby all the right, title, interest, jurisdiction, and claim of the State of Connecticut to the lands lying west of the said line, to be drawn, as aforementioned, one hundred and twenty miles west of the western boundary line of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, as now claimed by said Commonwealth, shall be included, released, and ceded to the United States in Congress assembled, for the common use and benefit of said States, Connecticut inclusive.

On the 26th of May, 1786, Congress resolved, "that Congress, in behalf of the United States, are ready to accept all the right, title, interest, jurisdiction, and claim of the State of Connecticut to certain western lands, beginning at the completion of the forty-first degree of north latitude, one hundred and twenty miles west of the western boundary line of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, as now claimed by said Commonwealth; and from thence, by a line to be drawn north parallel to, and one hundred and twenty miles west of the said west line of Pennsylvania, and to continue north until it comes to forty-two degrees two minutes north lattitude, whenever the delegates of Connecticut shall be furnished with full powers, and shall execute a deed for that purpose."

On the 14th of September, 1786, the delegates from Connecticut executed a deed of cession agreeably to the above resolution, and it was resolved "that Congress accept the said deed of cession, and that the same be recorded and enrolled among the acts of the United States in Congress assembled."

The cession from Connecticut was accepted by Congress in the same manner and form as the cessions from Virginia, New York, and Massachusetts.

By this deed, Connecticut ceded to the United States all her claims to territory, commencing one hundred and twenty statute miles west of the west boundary line of Pennsylvania, and of course excepting and reserving to herself all east of that line, constituting an area of one hundred and twenty miles from east to west, and of an average width of fifty-two miles. This area embraced about 3,300,000 acres, and includes that portion of the present State of Ohio known as the Connecticut, or Western Reserve, and covered by the counties of Ashtabula, Trumbull, Lake, Geauga, Portage, Cuyahoga, Medina, Lorain, Huron, Erie, and the north part of Mahoning and Summit.

Owing to this reservation, the right of jurisdiction of Connecticut to the territory reserved, was not conveyed to the United States in the deed of cession, and in consequence the purchasers of the reserved lands, holding their title under the State of Connecticut, could not submit to the government established by the United States in the North-western territory, without endangering their titles, and Connecticut could not extend its jurisdiction over them without inconvenience and expense. Under these circumstances the purchasers applied to the legislature of Connecticut to cede the jurisdiction of this territory to the United States; and by an act of Congress in April, 1800, the President was authorized to release all claims of the United States to the soil of the Western Reserve, on condition, that Connecticut should relinquish all territorial and jurisdictional claim whatever, to any lands west of the eastern boundary of New York. This was done by Connecticut in May 1800, and the right of jurisdiction was afterwards conveyed by Congress to the State of Ohio.

III. SALE AND APPROPRIATION OF THE AVAILS.

The Legislature of Connecticut, on the second Thursday of October, 1786, passed an act directing the survey of that part of their western territory not ceded to Congress, lying west of Pennsylvania, and east of the river Cuyahoga, to which the Indian right had been extinguished; and by the same act, opened a land office for the sale thereof. Under this act, no part of this tract was sold.

At the October session in 1791, a bill was introduced into the Lower House, appropriating the avails of the sale of the reserve lands among the several ecclesiastical societies to pay their ministers, and to dispense with a tax for that purpose. The bill was continued to the next session. Up to this time the highest offer for the land was $350,000.

In 1792, the assembly made a grant of 500,000 acres of the western portion of this land to certain citizens of New London, Groton, Fairfield, Norwalk, and Danbury, for destruction of their property on the burning of these towns by the British troops. This tract was afterward known as the "Fire Lands."

At the May session, 1793, the Assembly passed a resolve appointing John Treadwell, James Wadsworth, Marvin Wait, William Edmunds, Thomas Grosvenor, Aaron Austin, Elijah Hubbard, and Sylvester Gilbert, a committee to dispose of the lands as follows:

At a General Assembly of the State of Connecticut, holden at Hartford on the second Thursday of May, A. D. 1793.

Resolved by this Assembly, That John Treadwell, James Wadsworth, Marvin Wait, William Edmunds, Thomas Grosvenor, Aaron Austin, Elijah Hubbard, and Sylvester Gilbert, Esquires, be, and they are hereby appointed a Committee, to receive any proposals that are or may be made from any person or persons, company or companies, for the purchase of the territory belonging to this State, lying west of the State of Pennsylvania; and the said Committee are hereby fully authorized and empowered, in the name and behalf of this State, to negotiate with any such person or persons, company or companies, on the subject matter of any such proposals, that have been or may be made—to form and complete any contract or contracts, for the sale of the said territory, if any proposals shall be made, which they, or any six of them agreeing shall, on due consideration, judge will be advantageous to the State, and the best that under the existing circumstances, there is reason to expect will be made; and to make and execute under their hands and seals, to the purchaser or purchasers of the said territory, a deed or deeds, duly authenticated, according to the forms of law, quitting, in behalf of this State, all right title, interest and claim, juridical and territorial, in and to the same, to the said purchaser or purchasers, and his or their heirs forever, he or they first giving their personal note or bond, with good and sufficient sureties, inhabitants of this State, or with a sufficient deposit of bank or other stock of the United States, to secure the purchase money, payable on interest at six per cent. per annum, to the Treasurer of this State, for the use of this State, on demand, if it should appear practicable, or beneficial to this State, or otherwise, at a future day, not to exceed four years from the date, and if by annual installments, the last installment to be payable within six years from the date. *Provided nevertheless*, that the said committee shall not form and complete any such contract for the sale of said territory, within the term of six months from and after the rising of this Assembly.

The lands were advertised by the committee appointed to sell the same in various newspapers in the United States, and particularly in the Gazette of the United States, published in Philadelphia.

At the October session, 1793, a bill was introduced into the Lower House, for appropriating the avails of the sale to constitute a fund, the interest of which was to be paid over to the civil authority, and selectmen of each town annually, in proportion to the number of poles, who were to pay it over to the committee of any denomination of Christians who should form themselves into a society and

keep up public worship, and have the gospel preached to them. This bill, which was long, was debated for some time, and finally laid aside, and a large committee, consisting of the friends and opponents of an immediate sale, and of its appropriation to the support of religious worship, was raised to report a new measure. This committee, not being able to complete a bill in detail, introduced the following brief resolution, which was passed into a public Act:

An Act establishing Funds for the support of the Ministry and Schools of Education.

Be it enacted, &c., That the monies arising from the sale of the territory belonging to this State, lying west of the State of Pennsylvania, be, and the same is, hereby established a perpetual fund, the interest whereof is granted, and shall be appropriated to the use and benefit of the several ecclesiastical societies, churches, or congregations of all denominations in this State, to be by them applied to the support of their respective ministers or preachers of the gospel and schools of education, under such rules and regulations as shall be adopted by this or some future session of the General Assembly.

This act was passed in the Lower House by a vote of 83 in the affirmative, to 70 in the negative—and by a large majority in the Upper House, or Council. Its passage was followed by many expressions of dissatisfaction in town meetings and the public press, as well as by able speeches and articles in its advocacy.

The following extracts, from a few of the numerous articles on the action of the General Assembly, which appeared in the public press in the winter of 1794, and the report, as published, of the debate in the House of Representatives at the May Session of 1794, on the repeal of the resolution, will show the state of public opinion at this period of our history, on our religious and educational institutions. The fact that the debate was reported and published in nearly all the papers of the State, (almost the only instance, as far as I can learn,) evinces the interest which the disposition of these lands created.

The following extract is taken from an article signed "*A Friend to Society*," in the Connecticut Gazette, published in New London, and copied into the Connecticut Courant and American Mercury. It was written by a member of the House which passed the resolution:

It has been said by some, and, indeed, hinted in the public papers, that the Assembly had ordered those lands to be sold to the highest bidder, and the money given to the priests of all denominations on earth, whether Presbyterian, Episcopalian, Baptist, Anna-Baptist, Methodist, Universalist, Lutheran, Roman Catholic, Arian, Socinian, Quaker, Shaking Quaker, Mahometan, Turk, Jew, Infidel, &c.

In the first place, it will be observed that there is nothing in the Act of Assembly that order the lands sold immediately to the highest bidder; in the next place, I ask whether by saying that all denominations in this State, which keep up public worship, and have the gospel of Jesus Christ preached to them, can be understood

to extend to all those descriptions of men mentioned, or whether there is any danger of many of them coming and settling in this State? To which I answer that many of those denominations would not share any of the money, as they do not have the gospel preached to them, nor keep up public worship, and that there is no danger of many of those descriptions of men ever coming into this State and settling, and if they should, the laws of our State are such that they could not very easily become inhabitants; therefore they could not share any part of the money. I do not know of any kind of profession in this State at present, but what I should wish might receive their proportion of the money, provided they form themselves into societies, and have public worship among them, nor any but what I think would receive their proportion. Though much has been said about its being a trick of the old standing order (so termed) to have all this money come to their denomination, I do not believe that any body wishes it, and if the method proposed for the distribution should be adopted, and left with the authority and selectmen of each town, there is some of all our present denominations in office in a considerable part of the towns, and I make no doubt but equal justice will be done in the distribution.

There has been a good deal said about the dissenters, (so called) being shaved (as they term it) out of the money. I do not see how that can be, if they keep up public worship and have the gospel preached to them, as I make no doubt they will, as there is no denomination appears to be more zealous and more in favor of public worship than they do. Some say they do not want any of the money, as their elder preaches without pay, as the apostles of old did. In answer to this, the money is proposed to be paid to the people, and they employ such preachers as they see fit, and if they get their preaching done without pay, and have public worship among them, they will receive their proportion of the money annually, and they may bestow it to charitable purposes, or make such other use of it as they please. It is said, we ought to be just before we are generous, and pay our debts before we give away our property. This State owes but three hundred and thirty thousand dollars, which is principally to individuals in the State, who hold securities against the State, which some of them purchased at a low rate; and there is a balance due to this state from the United States for supplies during the late war, as per accounts settled by the commissioners appointed for that purpose, of 619,121 dollars, which will leave a balance due to this State, after deducting what the State owes, of 289,121 dollars, and I believe that the present creditors of the State had rather take their pay out of the balance due from the United States, when they can pay them, than to take those new lands or to wait till they are sold. Some say we ought to pay our civil list with it. Our civil list is so small that a trifling tax annually pays it, and the people pay such a tax cheerfully, when they will not pay a tax to support preaching. Some say we ought to mend our highways with the money, but we meet with but little difficulty in this business, for the people do and will either turn out and mend the roads, or they will tax themselves to do it, unless in some extraordinary instances where the roads are very bad, and much wanted for public use; the general assembly have been generous enough to grant lotteries for that purpose, and there is no doubt but they always will where they find it necessary. It is said that it would make the preachers too independent, and that they would not be so attentive to their studies, and one writer in the Connecticut Gazette, No. 1569, says, it will make them tools to power by receiving their pay from the legislature. Those suggestions are without foundation, for by the proposed method of the distribution of the money, the preachers are not to receive their pay from the legislature, but the authority and selectmen will receive it from the funds, and pay it to the committees of the several societies, which will help them make good their contract with the preachers. I do not see the difference between establishing a State fund for the purpose of paying ministers and that of establishing a fund in any particular society for that purpose, which is the case in many societies in the State, and I never understood that it made the preachers any more independent of the people, but it enables the people to pay them without a tax, and by that means prevents a great deal of difficulty in societies about paying their preacher. I believe that if a minister should behave out of character in a parish where they have a fund established, the people would be as likely to have him dismissed, and settle another, as they would if they paid him by a tax. I am sorry

to say that public worship has grown unfashionable in some places in this State, and I believe it is owing to the people having an aversion to paying taxes to support it; some societies which once had a minister settled and paid him by a tax, now have none, and their meeting-houses are forsaken, which is owing to their disinclination to be taxed for that purpose.

But if they could receive money from a fund sufficient to pay one-half of a reasonable salary, they would likely hire preachers, and pay them the remainder by subscription or some other way, without being under the necessity of laying a tax. I never yet conversed with a man on the subject of public worship on the Sabbath, who made ever so light of religion, but what would acknowledge that it was a good civil institution, as it has a tendency to polish the youth, and to keep them from mischief on the Sabbath, and that in fact it was a good school of morality. Public worship has been so much on the decline for some years past, and so little encouragements for young men of genius and learning to study divinity, that many have gone into other business, such as the law, &c., who otherwise would have studied divinity. They have been fearful that should they enter into the ministry and be settled in a good wealthy parish, with a promise of a good salary, that after they had been settled awhile, and having a family to maintain, the people would become uneasy at paying taxes to support them, and they would be dismissed without any means to support their families, which has been the case in many instances. But if we had a fund established sufficient to pay them a reasonable salary, or even one-half of it, the other half would come so light on the people, that they would pay it without a tax; then young persons of ability would study divinity, and we should, in many instances, have better preaching, and of course better attendance on public worship, and all the desirable ends of so good an institution advanced.

A number of articles were published in the Courant over the signature of "Philanthropos," in defense of the appropriation to the ministers of the gospel and schools, using substantially the arguments of "*A Friend to Society.*" To these articles "Aristides" replies in the same paper:

Candor and liberality will not brand the people of Connecticut with an increasing disregard for religion, or with neglecting the education of their children. This act itself proves a very different disposition, and shows the important light in which those objects are viewed by the worthy and enlightened citizens of this State. The unavoidable effects of the late war in producing a relaxation in the principles and practice of morality, are not yet entirely removed; but it is an indisputable fact (however fashionable and meritorious the observation may appear, "of the increasing prevalence of vice and immorality," and however much the observation may be sanctioned by mankind in all ages of the world) that public and private virtue, and an attention to the instruction of youth even without any assistance from our western lands, are increasing in Connecticut. Candor and liberality, likewise, would not accuse all the worthy characters in the State who suppose that preaching and schooling do not stand in need of the whole share of public bounty for their support, of being influenced by the most despicable motives. I believe that the principal part of those who are in favor of, as well as those who are opposed to the act, are influenced by the same motive—a regard to the true interest of the State. It is only from the different light in which that interest is viewed, that this opposition in sentiment arises. The amelioration of society, which is aimed at by this appropriation, is truly the most important object which can engage the attention of a human legislature: it is only in the mode of accomplishing that object, that there is room for dispute on the present subject. If, as this writer supposes, all the important purposes which tend to improve society, are answered by the present appropriation, it would be absurd to alter it: but the less discerning part of mankind will require stronger arguments than he has yet advanced, before they can give their *full assent* to so new and singular a proposition. If our lands are to be appreciated, our commerce, manufactures, husbandry, industry, and enterprise promoted, our highways mended, canals cut, and the like, by this appropriation, it has virtues connected with it, which, for my own part, I confess I had never

contemplated; and if it is childish to suppose that it is not calculated and designed to effect all these important purposes, I confess myself yet a child. With equal propriety might it be said that, to supply the people of Connecticut with the necessary article of brooms at the public expense, would be to promote their industry, enterprise, and the like. That it will assist people to pay for preaching and schooling, is evident, but that it will make that preaching or schooling any better, or more attended to, is with me very doubtful. That it will have any further observable effect on the State at large, I can not yet discover.

Nine or ten thousand pounds, according to this writer's calculation, in *hard* money, will annually flow into this State. This is something less than a shilling for each individual, and will not produce a very great deluge of cash. That this trifling sum (the subject of so much contention, and scarcely sufficient to support the inhabitants of this State a single day, and a much less productive revenue than one day's time employed in useful industry) will in its present mode of appropriation, appreciate our lands, enrich the state, promote industry, &c., is perfectly ridiculous. All calculations which are founded upon the supposition that this money will essentially add to the real abilities of the people, are built upon a mistaken principle. But when it is viewed as a means by which the abilities that the people already possess may be called forth and directed to useful purposes, it becomes an object of great importance. In this view of the subject I conceive that a favorable opportunity is now presented to the people of Connecticut, by a judicious appropriation of the money in question, toward promoting industry and all the various branches of useful knowledge with which virtue is connected; of advancing the state of Society far beyond what the world has ever seen.* That a subject of so much importance should be hastily decided, even before the land had been sold, and before there had been sufficient time to collect the sentiments of the people, and thoroughly digest the subject, argues a share of that imperfection which belongs to human nature, even in the "pious" majority who passed the act. Whatever may be the apprehensions of Philanthropos with respect to this act's being necessary to support the *sinking* cause of religion and learning in this State, I would inquire whether the present opposition to the *sale*, and especially to the *appropriation* of those lands, is not a sufficient objection to the appropriation? If a religion, whose principles are universal love and harmony, is to be supported and promoted by a means which will blow up the sparks of faction and party spirit into a violent flame, it is to me a new way of promoting that religion. Much better would it be for the State of Connecticut that their western lands should be sunk by an earthquake, and form a part of the adjoining lake, than that they should be transported hither for a bone of contention.

A writer in the American Mercury, over the signiture of "Publicola," thus defends the motives of those who passed and favored the appropriation to the support of the ministry and schools:

They judged that the use and application objected to would diffuse itself more equally and universally to the benefit and saving of every individual in the community, than any other which could be adopted, and that the uses are very important. They believed that civil government is essential to the happiness of mankind: that it is an ordinance of God, a moral government; and must be supported by moral principles; that the Christian religion contains all, and the only consistent system of morality; that the end of civil government is to secure the rights and properties of mankind, and to prevent, by punishing the crimes that infringe them; that religion and morality are the most powerful preventatives, far beyond human laws which can not reach them in thousands of instances; that civil communities are capable of rewards and punishments only in this world, and the measure thereof to be according to their national virtue or vice; that the early adopted system of education, and of public instruction in religion and virtue, by succession of pious, able, and learned ministers, in this and one sister state especially, have been the principal means of preserving the stability, virtue, and knowledge which have dis-

* For a more particular consideration of this subject, the reader is referred to a publication in the American Mercury, of Feb., 24th, No. 503, (republished on page 72.)

tinguished the people thereof, from the beginning, and lately, enabled them seasonably to foresee, and to become the leading instruments of guarding against their country's danger, and to secure its present happiness and independence; therefore judged it their duty, by all proper means, to cherish and support the sources of so much good.

Whether these motives and ends are equally important with making Highways and Bridges, the public will judge; and at least believe the authors of the measure were as good friends to their country, and acted upon as disinterested principles, as the anonymous authors of Buffoonery and ridicule.

The following is a specimen of the weapons used by those who were opposed to the appropriation, and is probably alluded to by "Publicola," in the foregoing extract:

A CURIOUS WILL.

IN THE NAME OF POPULARITY—AMEN.

We, the General Assembly of the State of C********, being at present, as we humbly hope, of sound mind and memory, but calling to mind our speedy dissolution and departure, and knowing that it is appointed to all assemblies once to expire, and that after death comes the Freeman's Meeting, do make and publish this our last Will and Testament in manner and form following, viz.:

Imprimis.—We commend ourselves, soul and body, to our constituents, in sure and certain hope of a joyful re-election in April next, through the superabundant merits of this our last Will and Testament.

Item.—We direct the full payment of our funeral expenses, according to our several debentures, for which we have already taken sufficient order.

And as to our just debts and worldly estate, it being well known that we have already spent, appropriated, and given away the whole of our property, because it was always a maxim with ourselves and our predecessors, *to be generous before we are just:* and we are therefore now deeply insolvent and forced to borrow money for our present support. Our Will is that our Creditors shall hereafter get their pay, how, where, and when they can.

And, whereas, the State aforesaid is seized, in its own right, of a tract of land of immense value, in the Western Territory, but at present in the possession and under the incumbrance of certain Indian Tribes, claiming the same. And, whereas, the said State is a Minor, under the age of twenty-one years since its first independent existence, and we are the legal Trustees of said Land, to the use and benefit of said State, and to account therefor, when said State shall arrive at *years of discretion*, if such contingency ever shall take place.

And whereas, on our dissolution, the said Trust with all its powers and privileges, will devolve on and insure to the benefit of our successors.

Now, therefore, to exclude our said successors from the benefits of said Trust, so far as in us lies, and to avail ourselves of all the popularity that may arise from our generous donation of said Lands—We do hereby order and declare, that our said successors forever hereafter, shall have and claim no right, title, or interest, in and unto the said Trust of said Land, or to the powers and authorities of said Trust appertaining, except in manner as is hereafter specified, viz.:

1. We order and direct our said successors forthwith to sell and dispose of said Tract of Land to the highest bidder, be the price more or less, under the incumbrance of the Indians aforesaid, according to their best discretion, if any they have.

2. We order and direct that no part of the monies arising from the sale of said Land, be ever applied by our said successors in payment of our just debts, or any part thereof, or for the support, maintenance, or education of said State, during its minority, as aforesaid or afterwards.

3. We hereby give and bequeath all the monies, that may arise from the sale of said Land, which may hereafter come into the hands of our said successors, forever, to the Ecclesiastical Societies in said State, to their own use and behoof—and do hereby order and direct our said successors to pay over and distribute all said monies to and among said societies, whether Presbyterian, Episcopalian, Baptist, Methodist, Arian, Socinian, Universalist, Papish, Turk, Jew, or Infidel, of any

other denomination, now known or named, or that may hereafter arise, and exist a sect, before or at the receipt of said monies; to be forever applied for the support and maintenance, of the Clergy of all said Denominations, and for the use of schools for the propagation of all such doctrines, as may be at any time hereafter holden and believed in the said several Ecclesiastical Societies.

And we do order our said successors to divide, distribute, appropriate and pay over said sums to and among said Societies, according to their best discretion, as aforesaid.

Provided always, and it must be understood, that if our said successors shall obstinately and willfully refuse to make said sale and appropriation, and conform to our orders, aforesaid, then, notwithstanding our benevolent intentions, the aforesaid grant must and will be null and void, and of no force or virtue in law.

To guard, however, as far as in us lies, against so deplorable an event, we appoint the Clergy of said several denominations, Executors of this our last Will and Testament————and desire them in return to pray us out of that Purgatory of Political Annihilation, into which, on our dissolution, we must of necessity descend.

In witness whereof, we have uplifted our hands, this day of October, A. D. 1793.

Signed, Sealed, &c.

A writer over the signature of "Cimon," in the American Mercury of April 14, 1794, in advocating the appropriation of the lands to the support of schools, thus speaks of their condition.

Little need be said relative to the schools in this State, as, I presume, no person will pretend that they afford an ample support for a family. I have paid considerable attention to them, and have been conversant with them for a number of years; I shall, therefore, state the situation of them, as they are, according to my own knowledge.

The following is the case with them in general. In a few towns there is a free school, which is always so crowded, as to be of no advantage to the children who attend it. In some towns there is one school kept by a man through the year; and in the other, several districts in the same towns, there is, commonly, a school kept through the winter. It is, most generally, kept by a person, who has, in his childhood, learned to spell, to read, and to cypher; and from that time, has spent his years in the manual employment of summer and winter. When he has arrived at the age of nineteen, with his head well stocked with ignorance, and himself too lazy to sled wood, or dress flax in winter, he gladly makes the exchange, and enters the school house for the winter months, *and keeps school;* and, for his services, receives the *public money*, which is distributed to the district in which he lives, and consequently, there is a *nominal school* kept for four months in the year, without putting the proprietors to any expense. During the summer months, while *these instructors are hoeing corn and digging potatoes*, their place is supplied, *and usually made good*, by a female, who is the pillar on which the education of our children is supported, for six months in the year. Now, all these inconveniences arise, primarily, from a want of adequate encouragement to instructors; who, if they had a competence, to support themselves, and families, would be induced to continue in the employment, perhaps for life; and consequently prevent the exchange of teachers, so injurious to education; and that deficiency, can not, in any way, be so easily supplied, nor in any manner, which will so little affect the interests of the inhabitants of this State, as by the appropriation.

Ignorance is the great foundation on which despotism is established, and supported. Information is its most puissant and successful foe. To prevent the establishment of a monarchy in this land, it is necessary to promote, and encourage the propagation of learning. And are those persons, which I have mentioned, the proper ones to be employed as instructors? Yet they are employed; and why are they? Because that the encouragement which is held out to persons who are qualified for instructing, is so trifling, that it is not an object worthy of their notice. No man of a good education, will spend his life, or several years

of the best part of it, in teaching school for forty shillings a month, and board round among his employers, four days in a place. People say they can not afford to give more for schooling. Allowing that to be the case, is not the appropriation calculated to remove the necessity of their giving *even that*.

The following extracts are from the article in the Mercury for Feb. 24, 1794, by "Civis" referred to in the note on page 68:

The appropriation of the money, which shall arise from the sale of the western lands, belonging to this State, for the support of the ministry, and schools, by a resolve of the Legislature, in October last, is a subject which has engaged the attention of the good people of Connecticut. The motives which influenced a majority of that Assembly, in making the appropriation will not be called in question. I consider it a happy circumstance of my existence, that I live under a government, which is influenced by the sublime motive of making its subjects wiser and better. The appropriation of one million of dollars, to a design of so much consequence will, if properly applied, extend its beneficial effects beyond all calculation. But on so important a subject—a subject in which the happiness of future generations is involved, it will not be deemed impertinent to inquire, whether the great design of rendering the inhabitants of this State wiser and better, is fully embraced in the plan which the Legislature have adopted.

The great family, which compose a community, are connected by their mutual wants, and the interest of the whole is promoted by an infinite variety of arts and employments. It belongs to the legislative power of the community, in the character of a father of a family, to extend its fostering care to these several arts and employments, in proportion to their importance, and the obstacles to their improvement. The arts of reading and writing, which are to be so bountifully supported, though very necessary, are not the only arts which want public encouragement in Connecticut. The art of husbandry, on which we are immediately dependent for subsistence, claims an equal share, in an appropriation, which has the advancement of useful knowledge for its object. It becomes the more necessary to encourage, in this State, as our lands are all occupied, and our inhabitants emigrating by thousands into other States.

Agriculture is capable of unbounded improvement. I have no doubt, but by a proper application of the labor which is now bestowed on farming, in this State, the profits would be doubly increased: and am as clearly of opinion, that there is now land enough in improvement, to employ thrice the present number of laborers, at the same rate of advantage. According to this calculation, Connecticut is capable of supporting four times its present number of inhabitants, merely by an improved management of our lands. The encouragement of agriculture claims a further regard for its moral and political influence in the State. The healthy, peaceful, industrious, and philosophic life of a farmer, is more conducive toward rendering men useful members of society, than all the reasoning of Paul, or the eloquence of Apollos, when opposed by habits of idleness, dissipation, and the contaminating influence of a vicious example.

Another art, which claims a share of public encouragement, from its influence on the population of the State, and the happiness of individuals, is that of preserving and restoring health. It is a melancholy reflection; that at this enlightened period of society, and in the State of Connecticut, famed for its attention to literature and the liberal arts—the profession of medicine should be mixed up with so much ignorance, mystery and deception, as to render it doubtful, whether we are to consider it, in the aggregate, useful or detrimental to community.

It would exceed the bounds of a newspaper publication to enumerate all the various arts, which are suited to the genius and circumstances of the people of Connecticut, and which it would be for the interest of the State to patronize; or to point out all the methods by which they could best be promoted. The institution of societies, for the improvement of arts and sciences, has in other countries, and in some parts of the United States, been highly advantageous. In European kingdoms, where large estates are frequent, the funds, necessary to promote the design of such societies, are chiefly supplied by donations, or voluntary subscriptions. But from the equal distribution of property in Connecticut, little can be expected in this way. It is probably, on this account that all associations of this

kind, have here been of little consequence; and will likely continue to be equally ineffectual, unless they are patronized by the public. But, with this advantage, there is no part of the world so well calculated to profit by such institutions. If a society were to be formed for the improvement of agriculture and the useful arts, which should be properly adapted to the genius, and circumstances, of the enlightened citizens of Connecticut—composed of the most deserving characters, in the various branches of employment, and supported by a respectable fund, it could not fail of being highly advantageous. One trait, in the character of such an institution, which would distinguish it from most societies of this kind, should be to render its main object the general diffusion of useful knowledge, among all classes of citizens, rather than the expensive investigation of that which would be less useful. As conducive to this end of the institution, and as tending to increase the stock of useful knowledge in the State, I would propose an encouragement to public libraries; and also the distribution of newspapers, and other useful publications, amongst the poor, free of expense. It is certainly of as much consequence to encourage reading, after the knowledge of it is acquired, as to assist those who are learning.

This is a partial sketch, of a general plan of education, which it would be highly honorable for the Legislature to patronize, with a liberality, equal to their abilities.

With regard to that part of the appropriation, which is designed for the support of the clergy, I would inquire, whether it would not be more conducive to the end proposed, to have a certain proportion of the appropriation applied to the education, and better qualification of those who are candidates for the important work of the ministry. If the clergy would pay more attention to the study of their profession; particularly to that simple elegance in composition, and natural, engaging delivery, which is calculated to gain attention, we should find fewer disputes between ministers and people, less complaint of societies broken to pieces by different sectaries, and of the unwillingness of people to support the preaching of the gospel. I have a more favorable opinion of my fellow citizens, than to suppose, that schooling or preaching, will be neglected by them, even without this foreign aid. They have long been in the habit of supporting these important branches of instruction, and justly famed for their attention to them. It is rather surprising to see the whole liberality of the State, exclusively applied, for promoting that mode of instruction which the people are least disposed to neglect. New avenues to the human heart (without neglecting the old) must be explored, for calling forth into action those moral, and political virtues which add dignity to human nature. The interest, the honor, and even the pride of man must be enlisted into their service, and directed to their support. The plan here suggested, in which the virtue, the wisdom, and experience of the State, is to be combined against vice, folly, and ignorance, if judiciously contrived, and liberally supported, would have an important influence in promoting its grand design.

I conceive that most of the real advantages, that are to be derived from an appropriation for the advancement of useful knowledge, in all its various branches, may be obtained by a smaller sum than that which is contemplated in the resolve of the Legislature; and would suggest the propriety, from the present opposition to the appropriation, as well as on true principles of economy, of reserving one half of the sum in question, as an accumulating fund, for the future exigences of the State.

The donation of one thousand pounds to the town of Boston, by Dr. Franklin, and its appropriation, was, like the rest of the life and precepts of that venerable patriot, designed as a lesson of economy to his countrymen; and may well be imitated, by the small State of Connecticut, in appropriating this their last and only perquisite.

Let us now, without ascending into the airy regions of visionary projectors, extend our views forward twenty years from the present time, and carefully compare the probable effects of such an appropriation, as is here proposed, with that which is contemplated in the resolves of the Legislature.

In the one case, from the encouragement granted for the improvement of agriculture, we shall see our lands much more productive, our inhabitants proportionally increased, a great variety of manufactures flourishing, from the bounty of the

State, a spirit of industry and enterprise pervading all orders of people; the gambling disposition, excited by the multiplicity of lotteries, nearly at an end.

Our citizens, from the increased number of useful books, with which they are furnished, attentive to reading, and already much better informed: The profession of medicine, instead of being taught by an ignorant doctor, with a few useless books to a boy, deficient in his school education, (as is now too often the case,) furnished with a proper school for instruction, in all the various branches of the art, and healthy old age loading it with its benediction. The clergy, from their improved mode of education, and greater regard to the art of persuading, commanding the attention of their hearers. From which circumstance, and from the increased information of the great body of the people; the ignorant, enthusiastic declaimer, finds but few followers; and we have the satisfaction to see religion, and learning prevail.

If we now inquire, by what means this great improvement has been effected? it may be answered by an appropriation of about five hundred thousand dollars, being one half of the money arising from the sale of a large tract of land, in the Western Territory, belonging to this State, the remaining five hundred thousand dollars being then put at interest, and the interest annually loaned with the principal, has now amounted to about one million seven hundred thousand dollars, being almost double the whole sum which the land was then sold for; a part of which is now ready for a new appropriation.

In the other case, we will suppose some one of our elderly people to be questioned, by an inquisitive youth, who has read in some old newspaper, or former edition of geography, of a large fertile territory then belonging to Connecticut, with respect to the manner in which that land was disposed of by the State, and to what purpose it was appropriated. The old man will answer him that it was sold for a million of dollars, and the money appropriated for the support of the clergy and schools. He will further be asked, what improvements have been made by this generous donation of the State? "Why truly," says the old man, "people have grown so wicked in these days, and so inattentive to every thing but their amusement, that I can't see as any real advantage has arisen, from the pious intentions of those good people that appropriated the money. Our schoolmasters are more ignorant than they were then; and people are more neglectful of public worship. It used to be supposed, that by having the ministry supported by a fund, we should get rid of all these false teachers; but it seems to me, there are rather more now than there were then. They have taken the advantage of this donation, and it has helped to support a great many, that could never have got a living without it." After making proper allowance, for the preference of age, to the days which are past, we may rationally infer, that little alteration has been made in the religious, or literary complexion of the State, by this important measure.

Let us now take a general view, of the succeeding generation, whom we will suppose to be acquainted with the appropriation; and see them jogging on, in the old steps, which their fathers have trod; and consoling themselves, at the end of every year that by a saving, in their minister and school rate, they have one dollar more for family or tavern expenses.

At the May session of the General Assembly, 1794, a Bill for the repeal of the Act of October, 1793, was introduced into the House of Representatives, and, after an animated discussion, was passed by a vote of 109 yeas, to 58 nays. The Upper House did not concur in the repeal, but united in the passage of a Resolution suspending the sale of the lands. As the debate expressed the general feeling of the people at that time, on this and kindred subjects, and decided the policy of the State adversely to its appropriation to the support of the ministry, we publish it as reported for

the Hartford Gazette, (No. 37, May 19, 1794,) and copied in all the papers of the State in the same month.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, May 16, 1794.

Agreeable to the order of the day, the house entered upon consideration of the bill to repeal an Act entitled an Act Establishing Funds for the Support of Public Worship and Schools in this State.

Mr. Pierson, of Killingworth, spoke in opposition to the bill as follows:

Mr. Speaker.—In order to determine whether it be expedient to repeal the act of appropriation in question, it is proper to attend to the act and see what its operations will be, and then see what the consequences of a repeal will be; and unless on a candid examination we are clearly of opinion, that revocation is calculated to promote the best interests of the people of the State, we ought by no means to vote for the bill before the house. The words of the act are these:—"That the monies arising from the sale of the territory belonging to this State, lying west from the State of Pennsylvania, be, and the same hereby is established a perpetual fund, the interest whereof is granted and shall be appropriated to the use and benefit of the several Ecclesiastical Societies, Churches, or Congregations, of all denominations in this State, to be by them applied to the support of their respective ministers or preachers of the gospel and schools of education, under such rules and regulations as shall be adopted by this or some future session of the General Assembly."

The design of the grant is to give encouragement to schools of education for children, and schools of morality for all classes of citizens. Such part of the interest of the fund, as the legislature shall think proper, after the land is sold, to allot to the support of schools, will without doubt be annually divided to such societies as now are, or hereafter shall be established within certain local limits, in proportion to their respective lists.* Now, sir, we annually pay to the Treasurer a tax of 40*s.* on the thousand of the list, and many societies also lay another tax upon themselves for the support of schools, and then so large a burden remains to be paid on the polls of the children instructed, that in many districts in this State they are unable to keep schools more than half the year, and some instructors are employed very incompetent to the business. What proportion of the monies the legislature shall think proper to allot to this purpose, I know not; but the interest of 400,000 dollars would amount to but about as much as an annual tax of one penny on the pound; and I am confident it is not a larger sum than would be useful for this purpose.

Now, sir, did any person ever find fault with this part of the appropriation? I presume not. I ask why then should it be repealed? Relative to that part which shall be allotted to the support of the gospel, the interest will be apportioned to the ecclesiastical societies or congregations of all denominations,† without preferring one sentiment or mode of worship to another; or even the existing sentiment or mode of worship, when the money is divided to any other which future generations shall choose to adopt. For the words of the grant are, to be by them applied to the support of their respective ministers or preachers of the gospel; that is, those whom the societies shall choose from time to time; neither does the grant exclude societies which shall hereafter form; for the regulations are to be made by some future assembly, and they will take care that justice be done in this respect. Sir, I can see no objection, which any person who believes the gospel to be of divine authority, and that public worship is calculated for the good of society, can possibly make.

It is well known that, by the existing laws of the State, the whole burden and expense of supporting public instruction both in Science and Morality, lies upon

* As all denominations school their children together, and no other societies are known, in law, for this purpose, this would do justice to all the citizens, and comport with the true spirit of the grant.

† This will also include those congregations who support public worship, and not confined within certain local limits. Whether this division would be annual, or whether once in a certain number of years, or the people once forming agreeable to their own choice, shall take it to hold during the time they support the public worship and ministry, subject to division only in case another society should be established within the same limits, or whether in some other mode, would be determined by the wisdom of the legislature. Probably annual certificates that the money had not the year before been misapplied would be requisite.

the societies; for the towns have nothing to do either relative to the support of schools or the gospel, except in those few instances of small towns, which consist of only one located society. Therefore, to have the interest go to the societies or congregations, is the only method in which it can be improved for the purpose of instruction. This will enable the people to support the gospel, without laying so large a tax as at present is necessary; and as the interest of the fund will be paid in money, and in large sums, which will be more valuable to the preacher than what is received by taxes on the people, it will enable them to settle their ministers with smaller salaries.

But, sir, let us for a moment attend to the consequences of a repeal. Has it not always been the opinion of the best politicians in this State, that the wisest use which can be made of those lands will be to fund the avails for the benefit of ourselves and posterity? This has been determined by solemn act of the Legislature, and if the Assembly should revoke it, it is on the principle that no appropriation, which is for the benefit of all the people, can be permanent; consequently no other fund for the general benefit, will ever be attempted, and whenever the land is sold, the monies must necessarily be lodged in the Treasury unappropriated, and petitions for grants for particular purposes will be numerous. Those petitions will lengthen the session of the General Assembly, and thereby make the State a large expense, and as half a million of acres has already been granted away, without doubt in a few years, the whole will be exhausted. But further, sir, the appropriation is for the sole purpose of giving encouragement to public instruction, which is in a peculiar manner necessary in a republican government: and a repeal can as well be made at any time previous to the actual division of the money, as at the present time if the people after having seen the grant, and contemplating the subjects a few years shall wish it, or the exigences of the State shall require it. Therefore there can be no reason given why it is necessary to repeal it at the present time—a revocation, therefore, would look like a public declaration, that no part of the avails of those lands shall ever be used for the purpose of public instruction.

Now, sir, under these circumstances, can any member present vote for the bill before the house? If the house have assembled with their usual candor I am persuaded the number will be very small.

Mr. Benedict, of Reading. I hope, Mr. Speaker, that I have as much candor as the gentleman who spoke last; when therefore I express my sentiments, and give my reasons in opposition to those which he has advanced, I trust it will be imputed to difference of opinion and not to want of candor. I regard the present as not the proper time to sell the lands in question. The price of those lands is rising, they are a species of property that is constantly increasing in value. By the report of the committee for selling these lands, it seems that if they should be sold now, the purchase money would not be upon interest until four years from this time. As the last proposals which have been made, amount to double the sum which was first offered, we may conclude that they will still rise in value. And if we should sell them according to the proposals which have been made, the purchasers would make great gains by the appreciation of the lands without paying interest for the purchase money.

[As Mr. Benedict was proceeding to make some further observations to shew the inexpediency of selling the western lands at present, he was called to order, on the ground that the observations were not pertinent to the question before the house; the Speaker decided that Mr. Benedict was not in order.]

He then proceeded to state his objections against the appropriation. We hold up the idea that we have a right to those lands. This claim on our part being injurious to the native inhabitants, the true owners of the soil, tends to imbitter their minds, and prolong a war which is extremely detrimental to our country.

I am sensible of the importance of supporting the Clergy; I am always ready to do my proportion toward giving them an honorable support; but the mode pointed out by the act of appropriation is very ineligible, and occasions great dissatisfaction among the people. The Clergy are not interested in this question, they are entitled to a support; the people of the several societies are bound by contract to pay their salaries, whether this appropriation is carried into effect or not. The people are accustomed to the taxes which are necessary for this purpose, and

pay them willingly. If you lighten these taxes, it will cause the burthen upon them for other purposes to be proportionably heavier, and it will be the occasion of general uneasiness. I would, therefore, reserve the fund in question for other necessary purposes, and to effect objects of public utility, which the people being less accustomed to, would not be so willing to incur the expense of them.

Mr. Charles Phelps, of Stonington, observed that it would be inconsistent to appropriate the avails of what we have not got possession of, and compared the appropriating act to the conduct of the person who sold the bearskin before he caught the bear. It would be much more proper to let the business lie open, and not appropriate the avails of the lands, before we know what will be done with them. When we have sold the lands, and got the money for them, the Legislature will be able to make a proper use of it. I am opposed to appropriations of this kind—they lead to dangerous consequences. If we look into history, we shall see the ill effects of enriching the clergy and making them independent. If the clergy find themselves enriched by the funds which are provided for their support, they will not be faithful, diligent, and attentive to visiting their people; but they will become negligent, and instead of minding the proper duties of their office, they will be taken up with useless controversies and altercations. In some countries in Europe one third of their property is in the hands of the clergy, who are a dead weight on the community, and contribute nothing to the public burthens. To avoid these inconveniences, we ought to be on our guard against putting power or wealth into the hands of the clergy. They ought to be as dependent upon their people, as the members of the house are upon their constituents. Whenever the time happens that these monies come into the possession of the State, the Legislature will have wisdom enough to dispose of it; perhaps it may be apportioned out to the several towns in the State. I acknowledge, Mr. Speaker, that I am not so methodical as the gentleman who has taken care to write out his speech beforehand. The gentleman calls for reasons why the act of appropriation should be repealed. Its having a tendency to hasten the sale of the lands at the present unfavorable time, is a reason for the repeal. Some former transactions in the government will reflect light on the present subject. After the proprietors of Hartford and Windsor had cheated the then colony of Connecticut out of one half of the then thirteen western towns, the rest in the year 1732 were sold, except the town of Norfolk, which was so poor that nobody would buy it. Afterwards in the year 1762, that township was bid off at vendue at Middletown, and was sold for more than the other six towns and a half. The clergy have great influence, though this influence is not so great, as when they took a man out of the pulpit, and placed him in the chair of this house. They will exert all their influence to have the lands sold in their time, so that they may enjoy the avails. To wish for power and wealth is natural, it is human nature; I acknowledge it in myself, and believe the clergy have the same propensity.

Mr. Kirby, of Litchfield, observed, that the subject has been so fully discussed by the people at large since the last session of the legislature, that he presumed very few new ideas would be produced by the present debate; but on a question of such magnitude he felt unwilling to give a silent vote.

He conceived that the house in contemplating the bill under consideration, would be naturally led to two principal inquiries—1st. Whether any appropriation of the avails of the western lands be at this time expedient—and, 2d. If an appropriation be expedient at the present time, whether the one made by the Act in October last be the most eligible.

As to the first question, he conceived that when gentlemen reflected, that this State was in possession of no other funds but the western lands—that she owned considerable debts, and was subject to the daily calls of her creditors; that innumerable sudden and unforeseen events might take place and demand the immediate application of these funds, it would obviously appear to be injudicious and inexpedient to make any appropriation at this time. It had ever been found convenient in all well regulated governments, to have some resources within their immediate reach, as a security against accidents and provision for such exigences as might suddenly demand their strength; and prudence would certainly suggest the same necessity for making a like provision in this State, since it was in her power so easily to do it. Whenever the land should be sold and converted into money, it might be funded and placed in a productive situation; the produce might

from time to time be applied under the control of the legislature, as the exigence of the State should require. Unless the purpose for which the lands were appropriated the last session was of great urgency and necessity, he conceived there was the greatest propriety in laying it aside until we had converted the lands into money, when perhaps many other objects of more importance might present themselves. Therefore, on this ground, he was for passing the bill.

As to the second question, he conceived that if a permanent appropriation must now be made, we ought to repeal the act of last session, and appropriate in a different manner. He acknowledged that with him the support of religion and education were important objects, and he presumed that no serious contention upon that point would take place in the house, but he conceived that the advocates of the other side of the question, drew very wrong arguments from their premises. He believed that the cause of religion and the good order of society, would be greatly injured by the appropriation under consideration. It would become a continued bone of contention, which would disturb the peace and harmony of every religious society throughout the State. If the distribution of the money is to be confined to the ecclesiastical societies now organized and established by law, it will be very unequal, and become a source of continual clamor and animosity. If the distribution is to extend to all the religious persuasions now existing in this State, or that may hereafter arise, its effects will be still more injurious to the morals of the people. Every dissatisfied party will separate and form a new society, until the whole State is subdivided into inconsiderable petty districts. One very great evil will result from this. Itinerant preachers without either morals or ability, will be employed for the small trifle of public money which the parish draws; a reliance upon this fund will in time produce an inattention to all other provision, and the strong rooted habits of the people to provide for learning and pious clergymen, will be overcome; remissness and inattention to any provision will succeed, and that venerable order of man become the most ignorant and dissolute in society. From known principles in human nature he supposed this conclusion might be fairly drawn. He observed that the people of this State had been long accustomed to support their clergymen, and if there was no interference of government to weaken those habits, there could be no doubt but an able ministry would be provided and supported; that it was commonly done cheerfully and with more ease to the people than any other part of public expense.

That he had only hinted at the heads of some of the leading arguments which satisfied his mind that the act of appropriation passed last session, ought to be repealed; therefore, on both grounds he was induced to give his voice in favor of the bill.

Mr. Holbrook, of Derby, expressed himself in opposition to the appropriation, and in favor of the present bill. That he was willing to do his part in paying the expense of public worship and education; that it would not be best to appropriate the avails of the western land in any way at the present time; that all the inhabitants of the State have an equal right in those lands, and ought to receive an equal benefit from them; to pay the debts of the State would be a better way of employing the money; it would be ill policy for the State to divest itself of this property; if it should be now appropriated, it would be fixed, and the State could not touch it. If war should commence, there would be no resource but direct taxation. Other States have funds which yield them a revenue; those of the State of New York are 20,000*l.* annually. We should hold this property for such public exigences as may hereafter arise. We have no cause to be jealous of future legislatures, and think that they will misapply this money; it is to be supposed that they will be as wise, and as worthy of the public confidence as ourselves.

Mr. Hyde, of Norwich, expressed his opinion that this subject had been sufficiently discussed, and moved that the bill might be read a third time.

Mr. Hopkins, of Waterbury, said, that he did not feel very anxious to have the present question decided—he trusted future assemblies would be as wise as the present. An answer to Mr. Phelps' objection that the appropriation would make the clergy independent; he did not see that it would have that effect. The act puts the monies into the hands of the societies; the clergy can not touch it without the vote of the society. When I hear, said he, arguments used that are entirely out of the question, I wish to have them answered. The gentleman from Derby, (Mr. Holbrook,) objects against the act of appropriation, because it puts it out of

the power of any succeeding assembly to dispose of the money. To this I answer, that if that act is irrevocable and unalterable, it follows that we can not repeal it now. But if we can repeal that act now, then his objection that the act is irrevocable, falls to the ground. I was not for having the former act pass the last session; I wished it might have lain over to this session for consideration; but seeing that it has passed, it ought not to be repealed hastily. I could wish the present bill might have a thorough discussion at this time, and then lie for further consideration, and be finally continued to the next session of the legislature.——[Mr. Hopkins made several other remarks, which we could not directly hear.]

Mr. Cleveland, of Canterbury, observed that the matter now in question has been so much agitated in the State, and among the members of the house, that it is not necessary now to have a lengthy debate on the subject. The gentleman last up thinks the bill ought to lie for further discussion, and be finally continued to the next session. As a reason for this, he says the minds of the people have been agitated by the subject; and he thinks that we ought not to take off this agitation. But I would ask, said Mr. Cleveland, why we should not relieve this agitation, if in fact the public mind has been so agitated? The present is the most opportune time for quieting the minds of the people, and setting the matter entirely at rest. As to the idea that the appropriation is not repealable, I answer, that the grantors and grantees being the same body, it follows of consequence, that the grant is revocable. If the policy of the measure be considered, its having a tendency to precipitate the sale of the lands, is a weighty objection against it. It is not expedient to hurry the sale at this time, because of the probability that the lands will rise in value. We need not be in haste to put the property out of our hands, because we know not what public exigences may arise, which may render it absolutely necessary to take it for the use of the State. To establish a separate order of men is contrary to the public good and to the real principles of republicanism. If one order of men is privileged and elevated, the rest will be proportionably depressed; and feeling this depression, they will be extremely uneasy. I do not object against granting money for the support of schools, nor am I hostile to the clergy; they are useful men in their place. But when they deviate from their proper line of duty, and assume that which belongs to the province of others, they are hurtful. However sanctified the clergy were in former times, their conduct was in many instances injurious. They are not so bad in this enlightened age, as when they opposed a respectable man, and completely run him down because he opposed the charter of Yale College. They have sometimes resolved among themselves, whose election they would favor, and whom they would oppose. When such conduct is pursued there will be men enough who will depend upon the clergy for their influence in the State. To set up an order of men, who are so apt to exert an improper influence, would be detrimental to the public. The probability of a war, operates as a reason against the appropriation. If war should take place, it will be difficult for Congress to raise money sufficient to carry it on; they must make application to the States; and the property in question might be a happy resource to prevent our experiencing the effects of direct taxation.

The ecclesiastical societies support their clergy voluntarily and easy. If these funds are finally granted, they will still be so far under the legislature, that if the people apply them to any other purpose, the clergy will petition the legislature, and in this way obtain the money, whatever the wishes of the people may be. The gentleman from Killingworth, says, "this appropriation is a wise and politic measure." The solicitude to dispose of this money in such haste, reminds me of the man who had found a carbuncle of great value. This fortunate man was anxious to dispose of his jewel in such a way as would be perfectly secure; for this purpose he went and sunk it in a pond, where neither he nor any body else could ever find it again. There is no need of our being in such haste to dispose of this property; we may wait till we have got possession of it; and then we ought to put it to the best use. This appropriation is far from being the best use. If the benefit of this fund is to extend to all denominations, which exist at present, and may exist in future, it will make the greatest confusion, in parting it out to all who will be from time to time entitled to it. If it is not to extend to all, future as well as present, it is laying a prohibition upon people, that they may not alter their faith under the penalty of forfeiting their proportion of this fund. If it is to go to all you must divide by lists, when there are no local bounds. Listers must make the

separation; this will occasion parties to get in listers: contention and confusion will be the consequence. If you resort to the rule of denominations who are now in existence, it will be the cause of law-suits and controversies, to determine what description of persons are entitled to receive the funds.

Mr. Bissell, of Windsor. The bill before the House contemplates a business of singular importance—which thus far in debate has been managed with a pleasing candor; till very lately I had no apprehension of a dissatisfaction resting upon the minds of the good citizens of the State; in consequence of the resolve of the last session of this Assembly, relative to the appropriation of the avails of the western lands. I live in a part of the State where this has not appeared within my observation: Perhaps the people where I have been mostly conversant have not been attentive to the subject—if they have, they may have misjudged.

The principles on which the resolve passed ought to be reviewed upon the present occasion; some of which I will attempt as they now occur to my mind; previous to which, however, sir, some observations advanced in support of the present bill ought to be noticed; as I feel fully persuaded that the members of this House have come together not with a fixed determination to pass the bill under consideration hastily, but to hear, deliberate, and determine upon due reflection.

It has been observed by the member from Redding, that, "if we appropriate to any set of men, or to any particular use, we make a war with the Indians." This I must consider as pointing directly to the question of selling the lands, therefore not to be answered upon the present question.

It has been remarked by the same gentleman, by the honorable member from Stonington, and others, in advocating this bill, that "the legislature at all future periods, will be able to determine what ought to be done with the productions of the avails of the western lands; and that from time to time, they ought to make the application." The answer is that the wisdom of successors is not to be questioned; but here is a trust committed to the present generation, in the course of human events; and for which we are holden and bound to account—we are in duty bound so to manage with, and preserve it, as that it may not be wasted and lost. These gentlemen further observe that the appropriation as it now stands, "will in effect produce an independent clergy in the State—they reason as to history of such in past ages, that the people of the State cheerfully pay the minister's tax, and ought to be continued in the practice of it, and that the clergy will immediately have a strong desire to have the lands sold, to gain possession of the avails." These arguments, Mr. Speaker, are grounded upon an idea that the resolve makes a grant to the gentlemen of the clergy personally; than which nothing can be more absurd, or inconsistent with the apparent meaning and natural understanding of the resolve, according as it has just been read from the record. The grant is no other, sir, than an equal distribution to all ecclesiastical societies in the State, for the expressed purpose of aiding them in the support of their ministry, and in the literary education of their children; do they not need it? are they not bound to provide for and support a ministry? and are there not many parishes unable, though by a standing law of the State amenable for their neglect; and do not the performances of the advocates for this bill demonstrate the great advantages and benefits of our scholastic institutions. We are told by the members from Litchfield and Derby, "that the appropriation is not made to the best use, and that there ought to be no appropriation at present," that "in case of war, a fund of this money would be convenient." This, sir, is the first and only use I have heard compared with, and preferred to the uses directed by the resolve, and ought to be examined. The power of making war rests in the government of the United States; that government provides for it; and should the State of Connecticut be called upon for their proportion, even by a direct tax, is there a people on earth more ready and cheerful to bear their part in a just and necessary defense? This fact is remembered in the last French war by many gentlemen present; their attention to it in the late war evinces it, and the great balance now reported in favor of the State upon the adjustment of the public accounts, clearly proves the truth of the position.

It is said by the gentleman from Canterbury, that when the clergy become independent, they will become political intriguers, "and ought to be distinguished by their support:" This is considering the avails of the lands as given to the clergy; this in no sense is consistent with the terms or sense of the resolve; they have no

direct connection with any part of it, but secondarily in payment of their salary and support, and such part as hereafter may be directed; the remainder to schools—so that, Mr. Speaker, the great object of the appropriation was and is public instruction, both literary and moral, in every future generation, to the end of time. It is not, neither is any part of it, the separate property of any county, town or individual; but it is the interest of the State of Connecticut, in its corporate capacity—and its trustees are under solemn obligations so to preserve it, that posterity may have the benefit; and if it be applied according to the provisions of the resolve, I must believe that those noble and important purposes and ends, will be answered—most beneficial to mankind.

Mr. Allen, of Windsor. When the gentlemen call on us to point out the best mode of disposing of this money, they address themselves to men of less confidence in their invention and wisdom. It is not necessary for us to devise a better plan than that in the Act which it is now proposed to repeal. That Act ought not to have passed when it did. Nothing on the subject ought then to have passed. I had not then, I have not now, the assurance to appropriate this vast property to an unalterable purpose. Sir, much reflection, and mature deliberation are requisite, before we assume that important business.

It is very positively said, on the other side, that the appropriation made is the best that human wisdom can devise; that the people pay taxes for the support of schools and the gospel very reluctantly; that should we be involved in a war, taxes for a war will be cheerfully borne, for that the people are inured to taxes in support of war. I answer, the people are inured to taxes for the support of the clergy, and abhor war with all its attendances; suffer impositions to maintain hostilities very unwillingly. The curse upon us is that we have so many men in the pulpit who are so incompetent to the duties of their profession. It is not strange that the people should reluctantly pay their money for chips and porridge instead of the genuine milk of the word. Where the people are so wise and fortunate as to choose an able, learned, and pious preacher, they contribute to his support with the utmost cheerfulness; but nothing is so burdensome as taxes to support a war. Some gentlemen may live where people are unwilling to support any clergyman; but those places must be rare; a truly respectable clergyman is a blessing that most people recognize and rejoice in. I am not of that sour and gloomy sort that think all virtue is in the grave with generations past; who pore over the imagined degeneracy of the present age. I believe that with the general diffusion of science, virtue and morality keep pace, and that with more knowledge there is more true religion. There never was a more predominant taste for sound instruction, and pure pulpit eloquence, than at the present day in this State. The people do not require the aid designed to be afforded them by the Act in question; they are distrusted and provoked by it. Take away this bone of contention.

When the representatives returned home from the last session, the people inquired, "What have you done with our money?" "Disposed of it for your benefit; we have appropriated it for the maintenance of schools and the gospel." "What! have you absolutely disposed of that vast property in this sudden manner, without consulting us; without knowing what any of us even thought on the subject; without giving us an opportunity of offering our sentiments, and harmoniously uniting in some general object; without giving us any information of the subject of your deliberations;—we have never even heard of such a project, until you have completed it!" "I am above consulting. You have elected me to represent you—have invested me with all your authority; I despise your popular characters, who would inquire of their constituents what they thought, and what they wished; I have acted my own judgment, and that is enough for you to know."

Mr. Speaker, there were thousands among our constituents who were at least as well qualified to sit in this house, as we were who filled it at the last session. How many of us of that minority, told the house that we had never heard of such a design as this appropriation; that we did not believe our constituents at home had ever heard of it; that we wished the bill postponed that we might have an opportunity of consulting on the matter among the people. Though I do not hold the representative bound, unconditionally by the opinions of his constituents on ordinary occasions; yet, sir, if there be, among all the public objects in our government, ONE, on which the people ought to be consulted, if there be ONE point of legislation in this State on which the opinion of the representative ought to be

directed by that of his constituents, it is that of this vast and only remaining property of the body politic of Connecticut, by which not only this, but many generations to come are to be strongly affected. I mean not to impeach the late house of representatives of being actuated by sinister motives, wicked views; but, sir, I say this business was conducted with a very unbecoming degree of haste, a very unjustifiable and driving spirit. This appropriation was last session compared with a tax of a million dollars, or more, laid on the people for the purpose of creating a a fund to effect this object, which no men would vote for without the general knowledge and consent of the people. This idea was not then answered, nor the objection suggested by it obviated. Suppose this money distributed among the people, who are the lawful proprietors of it; and then by an act of this Assembly called back into the treasury to be appropriated according to the terms of this act. There would be no difference in the measures but that of the circuity of the latter process. But, sir, the people have no wishes for a distribution of this money. They believe there are many objects of public necessity, munificence and great public utility to which it may be applied at the discretion of future Assemblies, as events may occur. Our State debt is not yet discharged; a great number of public duties are not fulfilled; war, or some general overwhelming calamity may burst upon us. This resource destroyed, this fund dissipated, we have nothing left to resort to but an odious tax to enable us to answer the many addresses to our justice and our benevolence. If this money should come into our treasury, will any man say that there will be intrigues and practices to obtain it for partial purposes? Future assemblies will be as wise and honest as we are; we have no right to make ourselves their Conservators; we have no right to say that they shall dispose of this money in this way and in no other. I hope this act will be repealed; I do not in my conscience believe that it will answer one good purpose; I impute no wicked motives, but it is a monument of weakness. It is said that it is a grant and can not therefore be repealed. It is no grant; the grantors and grantees are one and the same. It is a mere legislative declaration, or direction, how this money shall be used. The people heartily disapprove of this act; wipe it out of existence; take away the shackle, and let them sit down peaceably together and consult on measures proper to be adopted. I have no fears that this money will be applied to partial and improper uses; when we set this matter where it was before this act passed, the public mind will be relieved from the agitation it now suffers; the result will be favorable to order; the money will be put to good uses.

The people have not had a fair opportunity to exercise their judgment on the business; repeal the act and afford that opportunity.

Mr. Watson, of Killingworth, observed, That the monies intended by the Act, are those arising on the sale of the western lands, said to belong to this State. If gentlemen in favor of the appropriation would concede that we have no such monies, the question would be, whether it is expedient to make such appropriation while it existed only in idea, like a castle in the air; but since this was not conceded he would assert that we had not, nor ought to have in the present state of affairs, any money arising on the sale of those lands. He understood that the lands in contemplation were inhabited, that they were inhabited by an independent nation, a nation with whom we were unhappily at war, and with whom we wished to make peace; that the lands were in fact theirs, and not ours; and we had as good right to dispose of any other inhabited part of the earth as of this in question; that those people were not ignorant of our claim, nor of our endeavors to sell the lands under their feet; these measures he considered as a declaration of war against those people, and to keep alive in them a spirit of hostility, and to frustrate all endeavors for peace. One gentleman had observed that he would not sell the bear-skin before he caught it, another had considered the animal as already caught and dead; for his part he did not think it dead, he was afraid it would scratch yet; that should we in any sense undertake to sell those lands, the purchasers would advance upon our pretended right, they would be anxious to gain the possession, and we could have no assurance that they would not attempt, or even effect it by force of arms; and thus while on the ground of our pretended right, the purchasers may be extirpating those inhabitants, we may be devoutly applying the avails in pious uses. He conceived gentlemen must feel themselves to be under some great and pressing obligation, or they would not comply with such a measure—he wished to know whether it was a

christian, a moral, or political duty, and in few words attempted to shew that it could be neither.

Mr. Goodrich, of Hartford. Two questions arise on the subject in debate "One whether any appropriation be expedient," the other "whether the appropriation now made be the most beneficial."

On these questions I will suggest those considerations that to me appear important for right determination.

The appropriation is represented as derogatory to the wisdom of future Legislatures; no such construction can be fairly implied from the measures. We are far from imagining, that succeeding assemblies will be less wise, than past.

By the resolve in question, a productive fund was contemplated, the principal to be kept entire, and the interest applied to objects useful to all our citizens.

Is such an establishment expedient. Without it or a similar operation, the money could not be productive. It must remain in the treasury subject to the orders of the Legislature, and to partial arrangements from time to time. In that case would not particular and local interests often govern in its disposition.

Does not experience show when a large surplus of money is in the treasury, more than sufficient to satisfy the ordinary exigences of government; we become proportionably liberal in our expenditures. Applications for grants increase, and more easily succeed. Such a state of the Treasury effects all the departments of government. If we had a million of dollars in possession, unfunded and unappropriated, could we be sure that the salaries of our officers would not be advanced beyond an adequate compensation, and our civil list expenses increased. The gentleman from Derby says "other States, especially New York, possess large revenues." What is the consequence of the want here of a similar application, contemplated by the resolve, will the inhabitants on this State suffer on a comparison, with theirs, in respect to information or manners. Their officers of government live in splendor; while too many of the people are illiterate and depressed. Our citizens of all ranks are distinguished for simplicity of manners, and useful information.

These reasons convince me, some kind of appropriation is necessary. It is said, "the measure is premature; the land ought to be converted into money before any appropriation is made."

If the arguments urged to shew the necessity of an appropriation; apply with any force, to evince that point; it is obvious I think they apply with like force in favor of an appropriation before the call. For might not the evils to be apprehended from a non-appropriation of the money for a length of time, also in a degree take place on its coming into the treasury, when a provision is made for the sale of the lands, whereby the State is to part with their right to the soil, is it not wise and equitable to make provision to secure to the people the avails of the sale by an appropriation for their benefit, and that of posterity. Suppose instead of a sale, a partition of the lands should be thought most advisable—either to towns or societies. Can any person say a sequestration of it, or the avails, if ever sold for certain valuable purposes, might not with propriety be made at the same time—where is the difference; is not the sale and appropriation a more easy and practicable partition and distribution of the avails of the lands among the inhabitants of the State.

If, as some imagine, no appropriation of public monies by an Assembly is an infringement of the rights of their successors; how can any public fund or appropriation be made for a longer period than the continuance of the powers of the Legislature by whom they were established.

A more plausible argument is advanced, "That the Assembly who appropriated the monies could not know the future interests and exigences of the State when the money should be received."

They had competent information to determine, that it would be most beneficial for the community to appropriate the avails of the land to some general object wherein all of the present and successive generations would be interested; and were also competent to select the most proper object. To them the improvement of present and future generations in useful knowledge, and in the duties of public and private life, appeared matters of the first consideration.

Is the appropriation made for those purposes the most beneficial? The question is often asked, "Why are the people of Connecticut the most free, and also

the most obedient to law of all the people known to us?" The answer commonly given is, they are most enlightened and virtuous. "Why are they the most enlightened and virtuous?" It is owing to the civil, social, and religious institutions wisely formed by our ancestors, and since protected and patronized. Among these our corporations are of singular utility, counties for the easy administration of justice, and towns for the management of their immediate concerns. To societies and lesser communities is committed the sacred trust of education, and instruction of all, young and old. A government so organized essentially depends on a general diffusion of knowledge and virtuous habits; attention has ever been paid with us to these objects, and to the happy effects of that patronage it is owing that in this State the principles of order co-operate with those of liberty.

The design then of the appropriation is of the highest consequence to society; it being to aid those communities of all religious denominations on whom is devolved the blessings of instruction.

It is remarked, "that this aid is unnecessary; that the expense is now cheerfully borne by the people." Suppose it is borne with equal cheerfulness as other public expenses in proportion to their ability; but is it not known, that burdens of this kind are the most heavy of any on our citizens, and does not policy dictate to afford them aid in this respect, in preference to any other object of our concern.

Gentlemen observe, "this grant will render the clergy independent." How are ministers interested in it; it makes no alteration in their office, or situation. Nothing is granted to the clergy; they are to be chosen by the people; their contracts made with them—and by them to be paid; from whence then is this independence and election to arise; if I could entertain such an apprehension I should consider the object as conclusive; but there is no rational ground for fear; we are told also "of priestly nomination and clerical usurpation recorded in history;" there is no affinity in the cases. In the countries referred to, the right of presentation of the incumbent to the ministerial office was in some patron or lord, an oppressive system of tithes supported the clergy, and civil powers and offices were annexed, is there any thing of that kind with us? We may dismiss our fears in this particular.

It is urged as a reason against the measure, "that it places persons under penalty not to change their religious sentiments." A like objection may be made against every improvement of religious society and connection. What is necessary to the orderly and happy state of these communities can not be considered as holding out sinister or improper motives.

It is with some, I find, a sufficient reason for a repeal of the resolve "that uneasiness is excited; I don't know the degree or extent of the disquietude; to me, however, it is not a sufficient ground for an immediate repeal. How often has public dissatisfaction been occasioned by the best measures on their first adoption, when afterwards they become universally satisfactory, misapprehension, and misrepresentation often for a short season prejudice the public mind, but on dispassionate inquiry and sober reflection it determines right. If when a fair opportunity is given for the measure to be understood, dissatisfaction continues the repeal may take, now it is not necessary, and can answer no good purpose.

Mr. Elijah Hubbard, of Middletown, observed, That the bill contemplated a repeal of last October Act, appropriating the avails of the Western territory for the support of the Gospel Ministry and Schools of Education in this State, that the arguments of the gentlemen in favor of the present bill, and against the appropriation, were principally contained in three objections, one of them is in the distribution and application of the money, which the gentlemen say is insurmountable, to be equally divided amongst the narrow orders, to him these difficulties do not appear so great, they were more in imagination than in reality. He believed that an exact and just distribution might be made of the money without any kind of difficulty. It was in this, as in all other occurrences of life, that anticipated evils were greater than real ones; an other objection is, that the appropriation, if it takes effect, will make the clergy of this State self important, and independent of the people of their societies, and that they will neglect their duty, &c. This objection to the appropriation he thought ill founded, as the money is not given to the clergy, but to the several ecclesiastical societies, for them to improve for the pur

pose of hiring such men as they please, both for preachers and statesmen. If it makes any body important, it must be the societies; they have the money, and will feel their importance and look out for able teachers, and employ none but such as they choose. It is in this, as in all other business in life, the man who has and pays money for laborers, can always have the best workmen, and will employ none but such as pleases him. It will be a stimulus to ingenious gentlemen to engage in the ministry. The appropriation lays the society under no disability in settling or discharging their preachers, but on the other hand, it gives them importance, and puts them on higher ground. An other objection the gentleman makes to the appropriation is, that it will hurry the sale of the lands. This objection, he observed, had more weight, and he believed operated more substantially in the minds of the people of this State against the appropriation than all others, for himself he believed the present a very unopportune time to sell those lands—that he was in favor of the appropriation, and against the present bill, and now moved, that the further consideration of it might be postponed until the house should take up a bill then on the table, contemplating a suspension of the committees powers relative to the sale of those lands. It was his wish that the bill under consideration might not be hurried through; the Assembly in October next will have the same power of repealing the Act that we now have and hereafter, he wished it might stand for the present, and until the good people of this State might have opportunity to examine the principles on which the appropriation was made, and get a fair understanding of the business, when they had, he should cheerfully acquiesce in their decision.

Mr. Abraham Pierson, of Killingworth. Mr. Speaker, I rise, sir, to make some remarks relative to the conduct of the Legislature in October last, as the member from Litchfield suggested that the Act of appropriation in question was passed in too much haste—I have no remembrance, sir, that the members in favor of the Act, ever hastened the business, or objected to any postponement which the opposers wished. It was laid in about as early in the session as the present bill, and was not passed till more than half a week later in the session it now is; and it is well known that most of the debates were on a bill which proposed the whole avails of said lands to go to the societies, to be applied to the support of their ministers or preachers of the Gospel, except where they had other funds, in which case the surplus was to be applied to the support of schools, and to make a division on a certain list; this was objectionable, and after the house had passed the first paragraph, a committee was appointed, consisting partly of members in favor of the bill, and partly of the opposers, who naturally agreed to lay in the bill which passed, as that directed a part to go to the support of schools, and the division was left to a future period; which removed the principal objections which had been made. However, there unexpectedly arose objections to the passing of the bill, and those in the opposition proposed to lay over to the next Assembly, to see what the opinion of the people would be; this was objected to by some in favor of the Act, but they manifested a willingness to postpone it till the next Tuesday, which was not seconded by those in the appropriation—consequently the question was put and the bill passed.

And, sir, this was not a new subject, for a proposal for the same appropriation had been before the Assembly at the October session the two preceding years.

But, Mr. Speaker, the member from Redding wishes to reserve those monies unappropriated, for purposes which the people would not consent to bear the expense of by a tax. This, I think, would be very ill policy, for the interest of a fund will be steady and permanent, and it is much wiser to apply it to the purpose of instruction, which will always remain as expensive, and as necessary as at the present time. I am not convinced that the people, who are well informed on the subject, are dissatisfied with the present appropriation, for the freemen of this State generally judge judiciously, and when by this grant each of the societies have their share of the annual interest secured, it is not to be presumed, that they have so contemptable an idea of their own abilities to manage their own monies, as to wish the Legislature to repeal the Act, and thereby take the monies back into their own hands, to use for partial purposes, in which perhaps they would receive little or no benefit. Even those towns who have instructed their members, have generally only directed them to use all prudent methods to

prevent the act from being carried into effect. Now, sir, is this a prudent method? I think not. If when the money is received, there should be found great difficulties in applying part of it to the support of the gospel, and the people should be generally averse to it; I do not wish the grant to be considered absolutely irrevocable. But it would be much more prudent than to apply it to some other permanent use, which would secure it all to the people, than to take it out of their hands at this time. Or if its being absolutely permanent should be thought inexpedient, if the Legislature should then reserve a right, on some very extraordinary emergency, a certain proportion of the members of both houses concurring in opinion, to divert the interest to a different purpose during its continuance, it would be more prudent, and less likely to give uneasiness to the people, than to have the money wholly unappropriated. But further, sir, the Act of appropriation contemplates a plan wholly new, and untried in the christian world; that is, from the interest of a fund, to give some assistance to the societies, in defraying the expenses of a preached gospel, thereby tending to perpetuate those important moral instructions—and at the same time avoiding the ill consequences of establishing one mode of worship in preference to another; or, of making the clergy less dependent on the people of their charge. On a subject of this importance, it is not strange if the minds of the people are somewhat agitated, but I think it would be a very imprudent step to repeal the Act before they have an opportunity to know the design of it; for who can tell but the people, on full consideration of the subject, might differ in opinion from the gentleman from Litchfield, who thinks the Act had its foundation in nothing but folly and weakness.

Mr. Edmonds, of Newtown, observed, That he had no doubt of the sincerity of the gentleman (Mr. Pearson) who had last spoken, and who had brought forward and prosecuted the bill making the appropriation with such unremitting zeal. The arguments he had used had undoubtedly convinced his own mind, but they had by no means the same influence upon him. The gentleman argues the appropriation is at any time revocable by the Assembly if they judge it expedient; consequently no danger can arise from the continuance of the Act under consideration. If this position be true, it affords an argument for the repeal of the Act for the appropriation, in this view of it, is a mere nullity, and affords no security whatever to the treasury, against the application of the money to partial purposes, and other mischiefs which it was intended to guard against; but the treasury will still be subject to be drained by this or any future assembly, in the same manner as if no appropriation had been made. The continuance of the Act then, with this construction, could answer no purpose but to irritate and disturb the people. For myself, I view the appropriation under consideration in a different point of light. It is to attach itself to the objects of the grant, in such manner as to become altogether irrevocable upon the principles of justice. For instance, a schoolmaster is hired, a meeting-house built, or a minister settled, by a poor society, relying upon the strength of this promised aid. Should the assembly then undertake on any emergency, to revoke the appropriation, this does not revoke the contract made by the society to pay their minister, or master; they are subjected to bankruptcy and ruin, and left to groan under burdens and mischiefs into which they have been betrayed by the State. The appropriation, therefore, having once attached itself to its object, it can never be revoked consistent with justice, honor, and faith of the State.

It has been observed, the propriety of the sale of the lands can not come into consideration in this question. The Act of appropriation contemplates the disposition of the interest of the avails of those lands, which necessarily implies a sale, or otherwise the Act must be wholly inoperative. I will then consider this question upon the idea that the lands are already sold, and the money in fact in the treasury. In this case what would be proper to be done? To determine this, we must consider all the present exigences of the State—and make such dispositions as justice, policy, and the state of religious societies require. Justice should claim our first attention. There is a debt of about 110,000l. now due from this State. The grants for the encouragement of useful manufactures, &c., remain still to be paid. The Comptroller has reported the necessity of an immediate tax to defray governmental expenses; let these demands be first satisfied. Justice and common honesty require it. When the demands of justice are satisfied, let the residue, together with the balance due from the United States, be placed on in-

terest in the public funds for the use of the State, to be called out as occasion may offer, this would be policy, unless the state of schools and religious societies require the immediate aid of government. I agree that the support of schools is every way important. How is the state of schools? Is there a single parish, is there a single child in the State destitute of the privileges of a school? Are not the people at large better instructed, better informed, and has not this State produced as many learned men as any State in the Union? I believe it will not be denied. How is it with religious societies? Let us appeal to our own experience; ask strangers who travel through the State; is there a single town, is there a single parish unprovided with a decent house for public worship? Are they in general falling into disuse, and going into decay? Is not the reverse the case? Are they not for the most part in a prosperous and flourishing condition, and well supplied with preachers, excepting in a few instances, and those owing to some particular difficulties lately arisen, and which will no doubt be speedily remedied? Are not the clergy in general, and their families, in affluence? They are. Where then is the necessity for this very extraordinary measure at this particular time? We have not yet received this money, when we shall, what the sum will be, and what the exigency of the State under all circumstances may then require, without the spirit of prophecy, is impossible to be known. In the late war, we united in the same cause, risked our all in the same bark, agreed to bear the burdens, and share the advantages equally. Fairfield, New London, and other towns were particularly sufferers. Justice was due to them. Had the appropriation before that time been made, we should have had no resources to make the sufferers good, but by adding new taxes to the distresses then felt by the people: We are now threatened, perhaps on the eve of another war. Europe is convulsed, our sea-port towns may be subjected again to destruction. Justice may again be due, and ought we not to preserve the means to render it? If we make the appropriation we shall have no resources left but taxes; and may be again in the melancholy situation we have already experienced. Afraid to listen to the voice of justice when entreated by our creditors, for fear of establishing a precedent and encouraging application for relief.

Mr. Edmonds, further remarked, It had been repeatedly observed, that the appropriation "is nothing more than giving the money to ourselves." What is the nature of this extraordinary gift? Who is it that gives, and how is it given? The assembly take a property in which every individual is entitled to his share, and bestow it back upon the owners with this comfortable condition annexed to it, that they nor their heirs, be their distresses what they may, shall never touch a penny of the principal. If the Assembly should take my horse or cow away from me, sell it, and permit me to receive the interest, would this be considered as a kindness, as a gift to me? If so, then the appropriation may be considered as a gift of the people to themselves.

But, sir, I was opposed to the appropriation in the first instance, and am still opposed to it as it respects religion, from a firm persuasion, that even, if the money was bestowed upon us by a gift from heaven, it never could be distributed in the manner contemplated by the act, so as to give satisfaction; but that it would have a direct tendency to excite jealousies, create differences, and to disturb the present peace, order, and happiness of societies; and in the end produce the very mischiefs it was originally intended to remedy.

Mr. Moseley, of Hartford. Mr. Speaker, It is with great diffidence I make any observations on the question, especially after the subject has been so fully discussed by the ingenious gentlemen who have preceded me. The great importance of the subject, makes it my duty to assign the reasons of my opinion, and in doing it, I shall endeavor to avoid repetition where those reasons have already been offered to our consideration by others, and to exercise the same candor which has so agreeably marked the discussion. The bill before us leads to two inquiries; first, whether any appropriation of the monies arising on the sale of the Western territory ought to be made? Secondly, whether the one already adopted is the best that can be devised? On the first article let us inquire what would be the probable consequence of a very large sum lying in the public treasury without appropriation? I answer, it would probably be applied to improper objects, and thus be lost to the community at large; its tendency would be direct to destroy those maxims and habits of economy so necessary in all public as well as private

affairs; it would produce a baneful influence on morals; it would exhibit to public view the most alluring temptation to fraudulent practices, and these practices would be continually exercised in attempts to open the doors of the Treasury. Has not the constant experience of this Legislature taught them that the more money there is in the treasury the more numerous are the applications for grants of every description; and may I not add without impeaching the wisdom or integrity of this house, that in such circumstances there are more improper grants, and less attention to economy? Among the numerous applications made to this numerous Assembly during a short session, it is impossible that each claim can be clearly investigated; each applicant states his case in language best adapted to engage the attention and excite the passions in his favor; little proof is produced and little required. Some member from the vicinity of the applicant states to the house, that he believes the facts stated in the petition are true, and the rest of the members from the best feelings that can influence the human heart, compassion for supposed distress, and a disposition to distribute ample justice, grant the prayer. How often has it happened that they have afterwards been convinced that the grant was improper? How much would such applications, and such grants increase had we an overflowing treasury? and while the most undeserving part of the community would reap its benefits, it would afford no relief to the people at large. It follows, then, that to secure this property for the equal benefit of all, it is necessary to appropriate it before it reaches the treasury; and the Legislature as the constituted guardians and protectors of it, would violate the trust committed to them by neglecting it.

Let us now inquire whether the mode of appropriation adopted at the last session will probably operate to produce the greatest possible benefit to all the inhabitants of this State? Permit me on this inquiry to ask the following questions. Is not Connecticut considered throughout the Union as the best nursery therein of the Arts and Sciences, Morality and Religion? Are not our laws and our policy held in the highest estimation by all who know them? And is not this State at this moment considered by all the friends of the general government as the main pillar in the Union?

Have we not better understood, maintained, and defended the true principles of liberty than any people on earth? Can there be found in any other community more wisdom, more order, and less faction, and more information, and that information so generally diffused among all classes of men? I think we may, without the influence of local prejudice, answer all these questions in favor of the State. These advantages, together with the just administration of our laws, have produced the habits of order, industry, and economy, in consequence of which we now enjoy more prosperity and happiness than has ever before been realized by any other people. No cause can be assigned for this unparalleled prosperity but the wise institutions adopted by our ancestors, and the constant attention by them paid to the important objects of education, morality, and religion. Good morals and general information have in all ages and all communities been found the only adequate barrier against tyranny. Remove this barrier, and the people fall into ignorance and faction, and ignorance and faction are death to liberty. The security of our liberty, the principles of republicanism, and the continuance of our prosperity depend solely on a persevering attention and encouragement to these objects. From a full conviction of the truth of these sentiments, I am clearly of opinion, that the appropriation of the interest of this property as adopted by the Legislature last October, is calculated to give to all the inhabitants of this State so long as it exists, the greatest possible benefit. All this notwithstanding, I confess there might be one reason, which if it existed would induce me to give my vote for the repeal; it is this, Sir, a majority of the people, after cool deliberate reflection on the subject, being dissatisfied with the appropriation. This property belongs to all the inhabitants of this State, to be by them enjoyed in proportion to their respective lists. The object of the appropriation is to secure the property from being squandered, and to agree on such mode of using and improving it as is most for their advantage; when, therefore, a majority of them are on due reflection, agreed as to such mode, their wishes ought to be gratified, even if every member of the Legislature should be of opinion they had mistaken their interest, as the peace of society is of much higher importance than any consideration of property. But this ought not to be done suddenly, nor until the legislature has

used all proper measures to convince the people of their error. Some gentlemen have observed that there exists great warmth and uneasiness on this subject; that the people wish for the repeal. I have not had sufficient evidence that this is true as it respects the State at large; I see no reason why it should be; and I have heard no objections made by the gentlemen on the other side against the appropriation, which, if understood, could possibly produce this effect. If then the public mind is inflamed on this subject, it is an unnatural inflammation, a forced warmth, which after a proper time for reflection and just information will subside. If it really exists the probability is, that those who are not the best friends of the people have enkindled it. A republican government is the best that has ever been devised to give and preserve happiness; at the same time it is of all others the most endangered by faction; designing and intriguing men have there more temptation and more opportunity to work to advantage; the probability that the uneasiness complained of originates from undue exertions to produce it is a strong objection, in my mind, against the repeal at this time; before next session the members of this Assembly, and they all appear to be cool and candid on the subject, will have opportunity to state to their constituents fairly the arguments against and in favor of the appropriation, and to discover if there be any attempts to disturb our tranquility by false representations; if after this there is found a majority against the Act, let it be repealed; but until this is done, I have another objection against the repeal, it is the impression which a repeal at this time would make on the public mind, of the instability of government. The individual who is continually changing his opinions and pursuits is viewed with contempt, and trusted by no one—to make a law one session and repeal it the next, forever lessens the dignity of government, and though it may be necessary, it is always unfortunate. Steadiness, firmness, and consistency in your proceedings will insure respect and confidence, while a contrary character will destroy your influence, and render every thing insecure.

Mr. Payne, of Canterbury, said he would not attempt to enter fully into the gentleman's arguments on the one side and on the other, with respect to the bill now under consideration, at so late an hour of the debate; but would make a few observations on the gentleman's argument from Hartford, who spoke against it. I am of a different opinion said he from that gentleman; I believe it is better policy for this State, or any other States to have their treasury well furnished with monies, to answer the various, and occasional demands which may be made on the State, but by all means we ought to be just before we attempt to be generous; we ought to make provision and pay the now many existing claims on this State. I conceive, further, that the gentleman's fears and apprehensions with respect to the monies being safe in our treasury are groundless; I should, for my part, have not the least concern or doubt in my mind of intrusting to the wisdom of this or any future legislature of this State the management of one or even ten millions of dollars for our political purposes. Further, it is impolitic to appropriate the avails of those lands until they are sold, for we know not what they may amount to as has been well observed by some gentlemen in favor of the bill; but, Mr. Speaker, I think the present is not an opportune time to make sale of, or an appropriation of the avails of those western lands, for two reasons; first, they are now inhabited by numerous tribes of hostile Indians now at open war with the United States; of course they will not sell for so high a price as they necessarily would, if peace was established with the natives. Another reason, sir, is, Europe is now involved in a war at the close of which, let it terminate either in favor of liberty or despotism, doubtless there will be large emigrations to this country, of course will much enhance the value of those lands. Further, it appears to me that appropriating those monies for the support of the gospel ministry, those of every denomination of christians would manifestly work injustice; for there are some of that denomination who are wise enough of themselves to need no instructors, or in other words ministers, but do carry on public worship among themselves, I mean those commonly called Quakers; and a sect who perhaps practice as much morality as many do who hire public teachers; I might mention Jews, and the Mohammedans; of the two former class of people, viz., Quakers and Jews, we have them in this State, and possibly some of the latter description, who certainly have an equal right to their part of the monies arising from the sale of those lands; but in the present mode they can receive no benefit therefrom, so far as it goes to the

support of the worship of christians, as I said before, though of every denomination. But, sir, I have still a further objection to the appropriation, at least to that part of it, which goes to the support of the clergy in particular, not that I am an enemy to that order or class of men, for I esteem them in general to be a learned, worthy, and useful set of men, when confined within their proper sphere. But I say, that they are under no necessity of any further aid from the State; they are universally in this State, as well as the schools, cheerfully and decently supported; and are duly dependent on the people for that support; which would not be the case, if those monies in contemplation were certainly going to them. It is said by the gentleman last up, and by others in opposition to the bill, that it is not going to them, but to the people, to be disposed of to such of that order of men, as they may elect or choose for their ministers; but the nature of that part of the grant, as far as it respects public worship, must fail, and become forfeit to any town or society, if not applied to that use; therefore, the clergy are certain that some one or other in their order, must eventually receive the benefit of the grant; otherwise, why is that order of men so universally in favor of the appropriation if they expect to receive no benefit therefrom, as the gentlemen in the opposition to the present bill have asserted. The clergy are a discerning set of gentlemen, and look well for themselves as respects property and influence! But, sir, I contend they are materially interested in this question; for they know, that if the appropriation should take place, a large part of their salaries will become sure and permanent, and the people not realizing it and seemingly less burdened, will feel more willing to enlarge their pay; of course they will become more independent of the people. The influence of the clergy has been gradually declining for half a century; and had its fatal stab when the famous act was passed known by the name of the conscience bill. Fifty years ago no office either civil or military could be obtained, unless the candidate bowed to the shrine of superstition, and yielded tamely to the yoke of ecclesiastical tyranny, the established religion of this State, but happily for the people of this State at present no such, at least but very few such unjust opinions, and practices now are known among us. Sir, let us hold fast those privileges which with so much difficulty we have wrested from ecclesiastical tyranny and despotism, therefore, sir, I am, for these and many other reasons mentioned by the gentlemen, in support of the bill, most decidedly in favor of the same.

Mr. Jonathan Brace, of Glastenbury. At this late period of the debate it is with great diffidence I rise to offer my sentiments on the bill before the house; and as I am unwilling to give a silent vote on the question, will proceed to state my reasons and grounds of opinion in as clear and concise terms as possible. In the first place the merits of the act passed in October last, and which is proposed to be repealed by the present bill ought to be considered. And here the gentlemen who have gone before me have anticipated the main objects of that act; I will only remark, that they are of the first importance, on the support and success of which, is grounded, the boasted morality of the State of Connecticut; and are the true sources of that simplicity of manners and innocency of behavior, so remarkable upon all classes of our citizens. The necessity and real importance of supporting the Gospel and proper Schools of Education, will not, I think, be contended by any gentleman in the house. The essential question is, respecting the ways and means. It has been said, that the people have always been habituated to tax themselves for these purposes; therefore best to continue in that habit, this argument has been answered. It has been further said, that the application of the avails of the lands in question, to the objects contemplated by the act proposed to be repealed, would render the clergy independent, and, therefore, ought to be reserved for other purposes; this argument also has been clearly refuted; and every other argument against the true grounds and merits of the act. If the mode proposed is not the best, why do not gentlemen come forward and propose a better; a diversity of ways indeed have been pointed out, in which the money, when obtained may be disposed of, and I presume, should it be deposited in the Treasury, many more would soon be found. It is contended that justice ought first to be done to all public creditors; that the lands should be sold for the payment of our debts, &c., the answer to this is, that the balance due this State, by a settlement of accounts with the United States, will be much more than sufficient for this purpose, and doubtless will be realized sooner than the avails of the Western lands. That it is the soundest policy, to preserve the property in question, for the

benefit of ourselves and posterity, I have no doubt, which can not be done without some kind of appropriation; and as no objects are proposed so beneficial to the public and so permanent in their nature, as those under consideration, they must and ought to claim the preference of all others. Every plan proposed, and every idea advanced by gentlemen on the other side of the question, come to this in point of principle; that the money arising from the sale of the lands when received, shall be deposited in the public Treasury of the State, and disposed of from time to time as public exigences require. I think it no reflection on the wisdom of this or any future Assembly, to say that it would be extremely impolitic to place so large a sum of money at once in the Treasury of the State, subject to be drawn out in consequence of the numerous applications, always presented to the legislature, for a diversity of purposes. A short period of time would shew the event, and furnish matter for lasting regret. That there should be a diversity of sentiments respecting a matter of property, like the present, is not strange. The best disposition of the State under all the existing circumstances, should take place. Another question still remains to be considered, respecting timing this business. It is contended that no appropriation ought to take place until the lands are actually sold; this position contradicts every idea of human prudence, and proceeds on childish principles. It is a truth illustrated by long experience, that system is one of the first excellencies in doing business; to act without a well digested plan is not the mark of a wise and prudent man. The principle applies equally to public bodies as individuals. What opinion should we form of a man making sale of his real estate, without once reflecting in what manner the avails should be disposed of when received?

We ought always before we adopt a measure to digest the plan well, and trace the operation to its remotest consequences. How was the situation of this business when the Act making the appropriation passed? A committee had been appointed at a previous Assembly, with full power and authority to make sale of the lands, should a sum of money be offered, which in their opinion, would be better for the State, than the land. This was the train into which the business was cast; it was possible a sale would take place; under these existing circumstances, what mode of conduct presented itself to the legislature, with so many marks of wisdom and prudence as the one adopted. In the progress of the argument I think it has been clearly proved to be the best, and most in conformity to systematic principles of business. It has been said, that the property is nearly ideal; if so the appropriation can do no harm. Was the question, now before the house, whether the lands should be sold at present, I should be decidedly against it; I do not believe the proper time has yet arrived to make sale, neither do I believe the appropriation so much complained of, at all calculated to effect, or hasten the sale; but will always remain, as a previous prudential measure, calculated to preserve the property entire, for the benefit of the present and future generations yet unborn.

There is another consideration, of high importance respecting the bill before the house, the object of which is to repeal a law passed the last session of this Assembly; the principles and designs of that law have been clearly stated and explained. It certainly is a maxim in legislation, that no new law should be made, but from the clearest necessity; nor an old one repealed, except found by experience, productive of mischief. The proceedings of the Legislature ought to be marked with dignity and uniformity; can we then, with the principles before us, proceed and repeal a solemn Act of this Assembly, passed but six months since; which has had no operation, on which we have had no experience? I have too much confidence in the wisdom and candor of this house to admit the idea.

When a law is proposed to be made, some mischief is complained of as a reason, and a remedy proposed. What is the existing mischief, which forms the basis of the present bill? It is said the people are dissatisfied with the law; that there is some uneasiness is admitted, but I believe it arises from misinformation; this being the fact, the bill ought to be postponed, that the public mind may be fully ascertained, and when well understood, (if the uneasiness continues,) by all means repeal the law; and by one stroke remove the bone of contention; till that is made evident, no reason exists in favor of a repeal; and I presume this house will not act without reason. I apprehend the ground of uneasiness arises from a general belief, that the act was calculated and designed to forward a sale of the lands; this not being the design nor the end proposed, must satisfy every candid citizen, except

those in principle opposed to the mode of appropriation. In consequence of what will transpire from the house in pursuance of this debate, the people will be informed of the real state of the business; and after a full discussion is had, hope the bill will be postponed, if not, must give my vote against it.

Mr. Judd, of Farmington. The very able discussion of this question in the last October session, nearly exhausted the subject, and fully convinced me that the act was not only unwise, but extremely impolitic.

These lands are all the property the State hath to dispose of; will it be wise for the State, or would it be so for individuals to part with all the property they have in possession or reversion, and depend on others for future exigences. It is said it is dangerous for a community to have a rich treasury; to me this is new doctrine. Is it best to have recourse to direct taxation in all cases of exergency, such as war, pestilence, &c., or would it be convenient to have a fund to resort to for supplies, in cases of extremity? Let every one judge; a sudden war might require an earlier supply than could be had from the source of taxation, which is always slow in its operation. It is further said, if we have large sums of money in our treasury it will be applied to very partial purposes, and not for the general good. Is this so? Can we not trust ourselves to dispose of our own property? The idea doth not reflect the highest honor upon the integrity and wisdom of this House. This argument proves too much, viz., because if true it furnishes a complete argument against the States ever possessing or disposing of any property. Again, it is said, that riches are inconsistent with true republican principles; this being granted, is it not as dangerous for societies to be rich, as a State or individual? If large property in a State treasury, will induce high salaries to State officers, will not the same principle operate in societies? If we transfer the property from the State to the several ecclesiastical societies, will not the principle go through and induce the societies to grant large salaries to their clergymen? and thereby render them in a degree independent of their people, and in circumstances far more eligible than their parishioners in general; and by their means destroy that equality which is said to be the basis of a republican Government—judge ye.

Besides, none can yet determine the amount of the sales of the contemplated property; will it be little or much? The first offer we had for the lands was two hundred and twenty-five thousand dollars; it is now said they will command a million of dollars; what will be their future product is among the chapters of accidents. Should these lands increase in the same ratio for two years to come, as they have in the two years past, will not the sum be too great for the purposes contemplated? if so, how will the societies apply the surplus? possibly to establish a clerical hierarchy inconsistent with the spirit of toleration, or the principles of republicanism, (from which evil good Lord deliver us and our posterity.) I revere the clergy of this State, and as freely pay my money for their support, as I do for my daily bread; but am unwilling the churches and people in this State should be subjected to ecclesiastical tyranny. Our clergy and schools have been better provided for in this State than any other in the Union, and there is no fear that the attention of the people of this State will lose sight of this great and important object; we are born and educated in these habits, and are in no danger of losing them; experience shows us these habits increase and progress to the full amount of our wishes, and probably have gone as far as the interest of society require. Again the advocates for a repeal are called upon for a substitute.

If the measure contemplated by the act now wished to be repealed, is wrong in principle, we ought to repeal it, and trust to the wisdom of some future Assembly to devise a measure better calculated to promote the interest of the State. I can not suppose that all wisdom dwells in this; or that it exclusively dwelt in the October Assembly.

But as a subject of contemplation, I propose, when the money is obtained, it be banked, and that the annual product of that bank be appropriated to the exigences of government, if wanted, if not to the ministry, schools, manufactures, or such other purposes as may be found most eligible, from time to time.

Mr. Hart, of Saybrook. The act making the appropriation grants to the several societies of all denominations the avails of our western lands, the annual interest whereof to be by them applied for the support of divine, moral, and literary instruction. What are the benefits we may expect to derive from the establishment of such a fund? I answer, a general diffusion of knowledge among all grades and

denominations of people; the happy effects of which are too obvious to take up much of the time of the house; and if we put the act into operation, in the course of a few years we shall have a nursery of well-informed youths in this State, who will do honor to this and the United States. Here a question arises, Do the people of this State stand in need of this fund for those purposes? I contend that they do. It is a well known fact, that in many parts of this State we have small poor societies, which have for many years been laboring under intolerable burthens, and in many instances have not been able to support a preached gospel among them, nor to provide for the education of their children. This fund is peculiarly calculated to give relief, and assist the poorer part of the community, and the middling class of farmers living in small societies, where there is in many instances paid 6*d*. to 12*d*. society annual tax. Therefore I think we may rationally conclude that the act is by no means impolitic or unjust, but that it is good State policy, founded on justice and equality. The gentleman from Litchfield observes that we have too many preachers, and that many of them are totally unqualified for the duties of their office. It is agreed, Mr. Speaker, that in some instances men are employed as instructors who are not qualified; and what is the reason? It is for want of ability to employ gentlemen better qualified. This act will remedy the difficulty, and enable the people to place in the desk and in their schools, learned, able, respectable gentlemen. The gentleman from Stonington observes, that this act will operate to make the clergy independent of the people, and give them power and undue influence. The assertion is by no means true. The fact is, that the clergy are by the operation of our laws, the only class of citizens in this State who are excluded from an equal share in the fund. All that can be said with propriety is that the fund enables the people to discharge their contracts made with those respectable gentlemen, and in some instances more punctually.

In all other respects the clergy stand in the same situation with their people as before the passing of the act. It is said by the gentleman from Farmington, that we ought not to apply the money in this way. That we owe a State debt which ought first to be paid out of the money, and do justice to our State creditors: To which I answer, we do not need the money for that purpose; we have a much larger balance due from the United States than the amount of our debt, which will enable us to make much more speedy provision for the discharge of the debt. It has also been observed, that the appropriation is premature; that we ought to wait until the lands are sold, and the money received, before we undertake to make any application of the avails. Therefore the act ought to be repealed. The idea appears to me to be unfounded. I consider the good people of this State all interested in our Western lands; and that when sale is made, they ought to enjoy the avails. They have defended them, and they merit every benefit arising therefrom. Will it be thought good economy to dispose of a large real estate, until we know what use we have for the money? I conceive not. Further, should the lands be sold and the money brought into our treasury, before any applications of it is made, I undertake to say that it would be impossible for any General Assembly to make an aplication of the money for the use and benefit of the people at large. It would be all drawn out for partial purposes, and in many instances very little to the advantage of the State. The objections to the act making the appropriation, are various. But no gentleman has under taken to point out a substitute that will, in *their own* opinion, answer a better public purpose. I call on the gentlemen to point out a better application in the power of the legislature to make. I am not so tenacious of the present one, but that I should be willing to alter should one present, founded on better policy. Again, Mr Speaker, it appears to me to be premature to bring in a bill for the repeal of an act passed only six months ago, when we have had no opportunity to experience its operation. It argues a great want of legislative firmness and stability, and will have a direct tendency to bring our laws and government into contempt. We do not find the National Legislature proceeding in this manner. They debate their questions and enact laws by a small majority, and we do not find the gentlemen in the minority coming forward the next session with bills to effect a repeal. I mention their proceedings because they are well informed gentlemen convened on that floor from every part of the Union, not meaning to impeach this house of want of wisdom and information. For there are many other reasons which might be assigned. I am clearly of opinion that to repeal the act would be impolitic and prejudicial to the

real interest and honor of the State Therefore I must give my negative to the bill.

Mr. Granger, of Suffield. Mr. Speaker, the bill before the house contemplates the repeal of the act or resolution that was adopted last session. I am in favor of this bill. The act alluded to can not with any propriety be termed a law. It wants many of the essentials of a law; it is incapable of being carried into effect; it requires future legislative proceeding in order to be carried into execution. It is not a law. It is a resolution declaring the constitutional part of the law hereafter to be made. It was designed to tie up the hands of this legislature as to the object, and to leave them to make a law upon such principles as that legislature had fixed and determined. But had it been a law it would have been impossible to carry it into effect with equal justice to the citizens of the State. It is partial consequently unjust; therefore it ought to be repealed. The money is appropriated to the use of the ecclesiastical societies, &c., of all denominations, to be by them applied to the support of preachers of the gospel and schools of education. As it respects societies ascertained by parochial lines, I admit it may be carried into effect. As it respects societies of Churchmen, Baptists, and all who are called dissenters, it can not be carried into effect. Suppose five citizens of Hartford belong to the baptist society at Suffield, it is clear they can not derive any benefit from that part which is appropriated for education. They are not to be compelled to send their children from one town to another for schooling. This would increase the expense of education; it would deprive parents of the oversight of their children; they are not enabled to draw their share, for the societies themselves are to make the application. They are not to deliver it to individuals to be by them applied. One of two events must take place; either the baptists of Suffield must gain to themselves the monies of Hartford baptists; or, the money must be distributed to individuals, contrary to the principle of the appropriation. The fact is, that the interests of all sects are intimately blended in our schools of education. From this it follows, that the ecclesiastical societies can not apply the school money.

The first principle of government is self-defense; even justice must be delayed for this by the law of necessity. The second great principle is to do justice to all mankind; we associate for defense and to prevent injustice. The creditors of government have a higher claim upon us than the encouragement of the gospel in the present state of society. They are flourishing, while the creditor is starving under the want of his debt. We are constantly employed in encouraging speculative morality—for once let us practice morality. Introduce, sir, upon the floor of this house, the merchants, who, at the commencement of our revolution, had collected monies due to their foreign and absentee creditors, which they loan upon the faith of government; who by the laws of this State have been deprived of their property to satisfy those creditors while we ourselves held the property. Let them tell us, we have relieved you in a time of distress—you have failed to fulfill your promise—we are by your laws stript of our property—the fairest prospects of our families are ruined—we call upon you for justice. Introduce, sir, the officers of the late army, disfigured with wounds and worn out in the service of their country. Let them tell us, we have directed and fought your battles—we have rescued you from slavery—we have vindicated you into liberty—but you have not rewarded our services. Introduce, sir, the worthy soldiers of the late army, with their children clothed in the badges of beggary. Let them tell us, we have enriched your country with *our own* blood and that of *your* enemies—we have endured every hardship for your sake, while you were at ease—we are turned upon the world without friends or support, while you live in affluence and luxury; but still you withhold the pittance of our pay. To claims of this kind what answer can be given? What answer is given? That policy forbids our doing them justice! What kind of policy is this? From whence is its origin? Surely it is not the offspring of justice or generosity! I hold, sir, that the first and best resources of government ought to be applied to satisfy these demands.

Mr. Hart says the union owe us more than sufficient to pay these debts. What answer is that to our creditors? It is happy for the State. But what connection is there between our claim upon the Union and our creditors' claims upon us? Suppose Mr. Hart, instead of being very opulent was poor, and I owed him a thousand pounds; he should apply for his debt, and I should answer, I can pay you, but I must fit out a vessel for sea—Mr. Phelps owes me; when he pays me, I will pay you; would

the gentleman think this answer satisfactory? Would he not resort to a court of justice to recover his debt? ——— I will answer the questions put by Mr. Goodrich; he asks, first, Is it not best that an appropriation should take place at some period? I admit if any thing shall remain after rendering justice to our creditors, it will be best to fund the surplus in such manner as shall be most productive to the State. The avails whereof ought to be applied by a general directory law to the most beneficial purpose; from which channel it never ought to be diverted for partial purposes; but it ought to be subject to the control of the legislature, to be diverted from that channel for any great national purpose; to administer more speedy relief; to make a more speedy and vigorous exertion, and to prevent the heavy taxation, when any great calamity shall befall the State.

He next asks, whether this is not the proper time to appropriate? I contend it is not. First, we do not know what we appropriate; whether half a million or a million of dollars. Every wise man will know the amount of the monies to be appropriated, before he appropriates—because he will direct it to different objects accordingly. Secondly, the act passed contemplates an absolute and irrevocable appropriation, to which I am opposed; but if it must take place we ought to wait until the sale of the lands, which is considered at a distance. It is impossible to foreknown what events will take place before that time. The prospect is not pleasing, and by the time of the first operation of that act, we may want this money for our own preservation. Every page of history informs us that a lengthy peace and uninterrupted prosperity are not be expected.

His last question is, whether the act does not contemplate the objects? I admit they are great and noble objects, but it does not follow that the act is political. We all know that the citizens pay a great part of their ministerial taxes, in provisions of all kinds, clothing, wood, labor, &c. The minister suffers no loss. These articles are necessary. At the same time it is a great relief to the people. They pay with convenience. They do not feel it. But public taxes must be paid in specie. The farmer must carry his produce to market, negotiate the sale, then pay the collector. Another strong reason is, all parochial taxes are collected without fee or expense; all public taxes are very expensive in their collection. The same may be said of rating the tax. It is said that if the citizens are relieved from their ministerial taxes, they will be more able to bear public taxes. This is true, but a single case will show which will operate most to the relief of the people.

If a public tax that will net three-pence on the pound is necessary, and a ministerial tax that will net the same sum is also necessary, which can be raised, collected, and paid, with least expense, and most convenience to the people? The legislature must be paid for laying the public tax, it must be paid in specie, sheriffs and constables must be paid for enforcing the collection. In case of a ministerial tax, the parish lay it without expense, it is collected without expense, the people pay great part of it in produce and labor.

It is said the Act is irrevocable. I ask, who are the grantors? The people of the State of Connecticut. Who are the grantees? The people of the State of Connecticut. To whose use is it granted? To the use of the people of Connecticut. If any man can doubt, let him doubt.

It is said that a rich treasury tends to make the legislature liberal. I admit it. But no argument arises from that; for the same may be said of societies, and also of individuals. A man with a full purse will be more liberal than he will with an empty one. Upon the same principle any number of men will. States and societies are composed of individuals.

The repeal of this Act it is said will argue great instability in government. When a measure of great importance is driven hastily through the house by a bare majority, human nature teaches the gentlemen to expect great opposition. I was in the minority. I feel the force of the remark.

It is argued the Act is offensive to the citizens; but it is said they are not rightly informed, and we ought not to pay attention to their feelings. But I contend, sir, that great attention ought to be paid to the will of the community. A republican government is a government of confidence, not of coercion. There is no reason for pressing the appropriation at present. The public mind may be gratified without any injury to the State.

I will trouble the house with but one further remark, that is respecting the nature and design of the Act. I repeat it—'tis not a law. It is a resolution de

claring the constitutional parts of a law to be made hereafter; calculated and designed to tie our hands as to the object, but directing us to pass laws upon such principles as that legislature directed. It is opposed to the fundamental rights of this legislature, and degrading to its dignity. If we can be directed as to the principles we shall assume in one instance, we may in every instance. On that ground I would give my vote to repeal the resolution, if on no other.

Mr. John Watson, of Canaan, would not again have rose on the subject had he viewed the Act under consideration, as it respects this State, as being that harmless thing some gentlemen suppose it to be; it appeared to him to be fraught with mischief; in it he saw the seeds of injustice, litigation, and discord. It was, he observed, the design of Republican governments, that the laws should be such as should tend to promote and preserve equality of rights and privileges among the people, but from the varying state of human affairs, some would become rich and others poor. This also would be comparatively the case with societies. He observed, that when superior wealth was the consequence of superior exertion, or economy, it was held with pleasure; but when it was the result of a partial and unequal distribution of public favor, it was beheld with envy and aversion, and had the most baneful tendency. Should an attempt be made to distribute the monies as intended in this Act, it could not in the first instance be effected with equal justice; a considerable degree of partiality would inevitably attend it; nor would the hand of time amend, but would increase the evil; and the longer it continued to operate, the greater would be the disproportion between the respective societies; but it would eventually be the case, that some societies would have enough, and to spare, and others little or nothing; and this would follow, of course, from natural and uncontrolable events; also, when new societies were formed, or old ones divided, it would become a bone of contention, and embarrass the proceedings.

He could not discover in what point of view this order of men became an object of legislative care, in distinction from other good citizens, for he still insisted that the appropriation was for the benefit of the clergy, though to be employed in a circuitous and indirect manner. The great object of the labors of the ministers of the gospel, he conceived, was that men should be prepared for a future state of felicity, but to form the manners and improve the morals of men, was a proper and important object of legislative care; the first was a concern about which the legisture had no right to interpose, but the latter devolved upon the civil rulers; solely for the purpose of rendering men good members of society; and however closely they might be connected, the design and object were entirely different and distinct; and if ministers of the gospel were employed for the purpose last mentioned, they must be considered as civil officers, appointed to aid and assist the civil power; this he considered as a kind of sacrilege, an innovation at least, which seemed to imply that they had not sufficient employment in their own professional line.

He further observed, that the question as it respected the use and tendency of wealth in a State, had not been sufficiently considered; he thought that when the wealth of a State flowed uniformly, as exigences required, it produced vigor and symmetry of parts; but when it flowed too profusely in any one direction, it produced a monster; and while some parts were distended beyond their due bounds, others were left to perish for want of their proper share of nourishment.

After this debate, the bill repealing the Act of October 1793, was passed by the House.

At the October session of the General Assembly, held at Middletown, a bill was introduced directing the division of the principal sum that should be received for the sale of the western lands among the several school societies according to the list of polls and ratable estate, and appropriating the interest to the support of schools to be kept according to law, or to the support of the public worship of God and the Christian ministry, as a majority of the legal voters should annually determine. This bill was passed in

the Upper House, and in the Lower House was continued to the next session, with directions that the same be printed in the public papers. The Lower House also passed a bill repealing the Act of October, 1798.

The subject of the mode of appropriation was again discussed in town meetings, and the public press, in the winter of 1794. The proceedings of many of the towns, as of Killingworth, Hartford, Wethersfield, Granby, and others in favor of the proposed appropriation were published, as well as those of the towns against it, such as Cheshire, New Milford, and others. As a specimen of the action of the several towns, we copy from the Courant, of Jan. 26, 1795, the proceedings of the town of Cheshire.

By the inhabitants of Cheshire, legally assembled in town meeting, on the second Tuesday of December, 1794. The contemplated sale of the Connecticut lands lying west of Pennsylvania, and the appropriation of the avails thence arising under consideration.

Voted firstly, That we adhere to our sentiments publicly communicated in March last; still continuing averse to all measures tending either directly or indirectly to effectuate any immediate sale of the Connecticut territory, westward of Pennsylvania; because the tranquility of the United States, the convulsion of other nations, the increase of domestic population, the influx of foreigners, the prospect of peace with the savages, the probable surrendry of the western posts by the British, and the rise of landed property, especially of new lands, from New Hampshire to Georgia, from a concurrence of circumstances, which force upon us a conviction that the unlocated lands of Connecticut, will, at a future period become incomparably more valuable than at the present time.

Voted secondly, That we are still opposed to the projected plan of vending the whole of our western territory in a body; because we believe that whenever strict economy shall suggest the expediency of a sale, the wisdom of the State will be manifested by disposing of the lands in townships or other small quantities, thus rendering purchases accessible to the generality of people, and preventing the accumulation of enormous wealth in the hands of overgrown landjobbers and greedy speculators.

Voted thirdly, That we likewise continue to disapprove of the *contemplated appropriation* of the monies to be raised by the sale of our western lands; because we believe that any appropriation is, at the present time, wholly premature, needless and improper, tending to an injudicious and hasty sale of the lands—tending to provoke the savages by tampering and bargaining with the very lands, which constitute their birthright and their all, and of consequences tending to prolong the miseries of an Indian war; and because we also believe the same appropriation, to be an introductory step toward establishing a certain and permanent *civil* provision, for a certain and permanent *sacerdotal* order; a provision which, in other ages and nations, has gone forward and proclaimed that the downfall of liberty and pure religion, was hastening after, and of course a provision, against which, the experience of ages admonished us to guard with a jealous eye.

Voted fourthly, That upon supposition of expediency in the contemplated appropriation, we are in a special manner, opposed to the bill passed by the Upper House last session of Assembly, for the purpose of declaring and carrying such appropriation into practical effect; because we conceive that the enjoyment of the property as prescribed in the bill alluded to, will prove essentially unequal in its operation, inasmuch as the said bill directs an absolute division and distribution of the whole fund to the several school societies, according to the sum of their lists at the time of distribution, without making any provision for correcting the inequalities which must inevitably arise from innumerable causes, constantly affecting the comparative riches and numbers of such societies; and because we also conceive that the distribution ordered in the aforesaid bill, will expose the capital

itself to needless hazard, by subjecting the multiplied dividends to be loaned by society committees, in which case, monies lent will frequently be rested upon imperfect securities, and much of the principal be finally lost.

Voted fifthly, That we esteem it the indispensable duty of the inhabitants of this State, and especially of the several towns in their corporate capacities, to express their sentiments upon the subject of the preceding votes.

Voted sixthly, That Messrs. Andrew Hall, Elnathan Beech, and Andrew Hall, Jun., be a committee to confer with similar committees of other towns, upon prudent and proper measures for preventing the contemplated *sale* and appropriation, and especially the aforementioned bill from being carried into final effect.

Voted seventhly, That the Town Clerk procure the insertion of the preceding votes in the Connecticut Journal.

Among the sermons preached on the subject was one by Dr. Dwight, on the annual Thanksgiving, at Greenfield Hill, before his election to the presidency of Yale College. This sermon was published in the Courant, for March 16th, 23d, and 30th, 1795. The following extracts present the reasons for the appropriation contemplated in the act of 1793 and the bill of October, 1794, in a clear and forcible manner:

In this appropriation, a standing provision is made for the extension and perpetuation of these great objects, [knowledge and virtue] in this State; a provision easy, equitable, sufficient, and secure. No tax is imposed in it; no fund for public exigences lessened; no class of men, nor division of territory, favored; while, at the same time, the great ends in view are effectually secured. We are not to be surprised that a measure, possessed even of all these recommendations, should yet meet with opposition; but that it should be, as it has been asserted to be, generally unpopular, is not to be accounted for, from the nature and tendency of the measure; but from the peculiar methods, used to disguise, and to misrepresent, that nature and tendency. On this subject, allow me to observe, in the

1st place, That the provision, contemplated in these measures, particularly in the bill specified, is probably sufficient to secure, so far as human prudence can secure the permanent means of perpetuating knowledge and virtue, in this State. With regard to this sentiment there has not, so far as I am informed, been any dispute.

2d. The appropriation is the only means, in our possession, or in our power, of accomplishing so easily, or so effectually, these invaluable ends. If these ends are to be accomplished, and not by this means, resort must be had to taxation. I need not explain how much more easy the proposed method is, than an extensive taxation. This property we possess without labor, and without expense. But we shall never possess another sum, of the same amount, to be disposed of for these, or any other public purposes. The taxation, to which we have had already recourse, has, in many instances, been the source of complaint, and the object of unpopularity. I am well aware, that it has been said, and said in the legislature, that taxes for the support of public worship are paid with cheerfulness. The assertion is, undoubtedly, in a limited sense true. By a very considerable part of the inhabitants of this State, and that clearly the most respectable part, such taxes are cheerfully paid. There is, however, no tax, which has been considered in so unpopular a light. To a number of our citizens public worship is not an object of good will. On a few the burden lies heavily. Some consider objections to all taxation, and to this particularly, as the means of advancing party views, and obtaining popular favor. There is, also, one class of Christians, who professedly oppose it, from conscientious scruples. Among all these persons, such taxes are grounds of complaint; and, on every occasion of parochial animosity, the complaint is urged with vehemence, and listened to with regard. Hence have frequently arisen neighborly contentions, and parochial divisions, to the interruption of peace, of the worship of God, and of the harmony of society.

If parochial taxation were universally pleasing, and unattended with difficulties, whence it may be asked, arose the late numerous debates in the legislature, con-

cerning that subject? Whence the several Acts, intended to give relief to such as were supposed to be aggrieved? Whence the sudden popularity of the gentlemen, who advocated, and the unpopularity of the gentlemen who opposed those Acts? The debate however disguised, respected, ultimately, nothing but parochial taxes. The conclusion is obvious.

Taxation is not, in itself, ever popular. Men never pay money, for the pleasure of paying it. Some taxes are so plainly and so absolutely necessary, that no man thinks of contending against them. Against others the contention is hopeless. In both these cases, men will not contend. But parochial taxes are matters of expediency, not of necessity; and contention against them, instead of being hopeless, is secure of success. Multitudes will of course contend.

To none of these evils is the provision in question liable. Should it be established objections against it will soon cease to be the theme of private complaint, and parochial animosity. No man will feel any burden from it; no collector will demand it of him; and he will always see, that contention concerning his own share will be fruitless, and will fail equally, of promoting private revenge, parochial trouble, and popular clamor. Its operation will be regarded as a thing of course; and the usual motives to murmuring will be taken away.

3d. The ends in view are of the highest importance. It will, I flatter myself, be considered as evident, from the sentiments already advanced in this discourse, that nothing will form or establish public happiness, besides that, which will make the citizens informed and virtuous men. Unless a community be, in a good measure, composed of such men, no provisions will render its happiness stable. Like the Grisons, already mentioned, we may, perhaps, be free; but we can not be happy. But no means, hitherto tried, have produced this effect, beside that already mentioned; viz. The public support of knowledge and virtue. To render this support secure, effectual, and enduring is, therefore, the highest interest of the community.

4th. By the appropriation our ability to accomplish any other public purpose is not lessened. So far as we apply this properly to the purposes, in view, we withdraw, from the same purposes, the property already applied to them; and are just so much more able, than before, to sustain any other public burthen. Should we, for example, be so unhappy as to be involved in war, we should be just so much more able to support the burthens of it, by being released from that expense, which we now incur, for the support of schools and public worship. But a community, in danger, would much more willingly tax itself, to carry on a war, than in peace, and quiet, to advance any public purpose whatever.

5th. The disposition proposed is equitable. It is equitable, because the property is ours, and not that of our posterity; as has been inconsiderately said. They indeed, though in no sense joint tenants with us in any part of it, are yet made sharers in all the benefits of it, to the latest generation. They, of course, will have reason for gratitude, not for complaint. It is equitable, because the property is distributed to all classes of Christians in the State, according to their respective lists of taxable property. It is equitable, as it really conveys to every inhabitant and to his children after him, an actual share of this property, proportioned to the list of his taxable estate. All the objects, but one, to which the opposers of the appropriation, have professedly wished this property to be applied, such as the repairing of ways, the building of bridges, and the encouragement of manufactures and commerce, allow only of a partial, and of course an inequitable application. Hence, it is presumed, these are wholly out of the question; and, were the proposed objects to be dropped, these would never come in their place. It is scarcely necessary to be observed, how much more valuable and useful the objects adopted are, than those which are proposed as substitutes. If any one of you is still doubtful, let him ask himself, whether he would rather his child should become a wise and good man, and provide the means to make him such, or be at the same expense, to enable him to ride in a smooth road, or walk over a handsome bridge.

The payment of the debt of this State, is undoubtedly a general, and also an indispensable object, and therefore clear of the objection specified. But ample provision may be, and has already been made for the discharge of it out of the sum, owed to us by the United States.

6th. Republics are generally bad husbands of public money. Economy, in the

management of money in hand, is scarcely, in the nature of things, compatible with the joint agency of many. A single person will often manage his own pecuniary concerns with prudence and thrift; but rarely with equal prudence, when money flows around him, as when it is more scantily and hardly obtained. A single person, also, acting for the public, when under high and immediate responsibility, will frequently handle public property with economy and advantage. But private and public money in large sums, when placed in the hands of many persons, among whom care, agency, profit and responsibility, are all divided, and lessened, usually melts away, in a manner which is often unperceived, and not commonly accounted for. All company matters, when the company is numerous, and the concerns valuable, and complicated, usually go to wreck, from multiplicity of opinion, irresolution, and indecision. If this is the fact in private business, where the property is that of the managers themselves, more unhappy conduct and speedier ruin are to be expected, where public property is concerned, and the managers are merely agents, and share only in the avails of a commission, or of a fixed salary. It ought also to be added, that if twenty persons, such as might be named in this State, were to be intrusted with the management of this property, and, through any unhappiness, it should be principally, or in any measure lost, it is doubtful, whether they either could, or would, ever be effectually made responsible for the loss. The concern would be too important, their friends would be too numerous and influential, and the public mind would be too ingeniously amused, and too strongly addressed, in their behalf, to suffer such an event easily to take place. Were the task not invidious, it certainly would not be difficult, to point out more facts than one, which strongly support this opinion.

7th. If this appropriation should finally take place, one very great cause of discontent and immorality would cease. When this State was originally divided into parishes, the inhabitants were almost wholly of one persuasion. In the course of time, a greater difference of opinion existed, and other religious societies were formed in the bosom of the original ones. To this no reasonable objection can be made; all men having a full and equal right to their own sentiments and worship. Whenever secessions are made from one religious denomination to another, on the ground of principle, and conviction, they are the objects of praise, not of blame. But when men quit a religious society, because they expect to pay a smaller tax in consequence of seceding, because they have had a quarrel with a collector, or some other member of that society, because they have been guilty of some immoral conduct in that society, or on any similar ground, as the conduct is in itself a violation of plain duty, so it usually proves the source of general succeeding immorality, and often terminates in the final abandonment of religion and principle. Of this conduct, money is the most usual ground; and men are often, without a breach of charity, supposed to violate conscience, to lessen their parochial tax. This fluctuation of moral character is an evil of no small magnitude; and by the appropriation it will probably be, in a great measure, prevented hereafter.

8th. All the observations already made, together with several others which can not conveniently be made at present, may be weighed with great propriety and advantage, by making the subject practical. Suppose then, the proportion of the money in question, which, should the bill pass into a law, will ultimately belong to this society, had been already put into your possession purposely to promote the ends specified, would you not esteem the donation exceedingly advantageous to the real interests of the society? Should the public request, or demand it of you again, would you be willing to return it into the treasury, to be laid up for the expenses of a future war; to be husbanded by a public committee; or to be expended for the building of bridges, the repairing of roads, the advancement of manufacture, or the extension of commerce? You will probably answer, that you should not be willing. Why would you not? If it is now desirable to have the money disposed of in either, or all, of those methods, it would then be equally desirable. If the disposition of the money, for the promotion of schools and public worship, is now expedient and desirable, it would not be expedient and desirable thus to dispose of it, after it had actually come into your hands. If it would now be better policy and a more effectual promotion of the public good, to dispose of the money in those other methods proposed, it would be policy equally good for every society in the State to return its share into the treasury, after actual posses-

sion. But no society would thus return it. The reason is obvious. There is no other disposition of the money, hitherto proposed, which would equally advance the real good of such society, or, in general terms, equally promote the public welfare.

As the clergy of Connecticut had come in for a large share of abuse for their supposed interference in favor of the proposed appropriation, Dr. Dwight defends the body, of which he was a distinguished ornament, as follows:

In all the speeches and publications, in which I have known the clergy of this country to be attacked, their enemies appear generally, if not uniformly, to ground their attacks on the conduct, character, and circumstances, of clergymen in Europe. Without insisting on the total impropriety of accusing any man, or body of men, for any thing besides their own faults, and of making guilt transferable, I beg leave to observe, that, between the circumstances of clergymen in Europe and this country, there is very little resemblance; so little, that all sentiments, grounded on an apprehended resemblance of this nature, must fail of any stable foundation.

Clergymen, in most countries of Europe, are embodied into a distinct order of citizens, an order distinguished by very important privileges, and forming a capital part of the system of government. They are invested, in this character with immense and unalienable property, exempted from burdensome services and contributions, and clothed with powers of great extent and efficacy, and with dignities of the first grade.

In this country ecclesiastical livings are small; usually inferior to the avails of a middling farm; and less than the incumbent might fairly hope to obtain, in various other employments. Hence they can not be the objects of ambition, avarice, or sensuality. No power is attached to them, no splendor, no exclusive privileges, either of pecuniary, or personal importance. The people, who hear, always introduce the incumbent, and state his salary at what they please. His character, manners, and preaching, are, if it is not their own fault, always proved before his introduction. When introduced, he is the most dependent person in the parish, except the parish poor; and is more accountable, than any other man, for all that he does or says, and for all that he leaves unsaid or undone. He is also fixed on a more precarious support, than any other man; so that, if a very small number of his parishioners, frequently but one, conceive a dislike to him, he is, of course, ejected from his living. Nor does he enjoy any defense, or security, beside the acceptableness of his conduct to his parishioners. In the meantime, a stricter life, purer morals, more unequivocal proofs of piety, and a more unimpeachable prudence, are exacted of him, than of other men; and a more limited indulgence is extended to his imperfections, than to those of any other man. His character, formed on his conduct, is, under the protection of providence, his all. With these facts in view, it will not be thought to much to say, that, had not the inhabitants of this State been superior in goodness of character to most of mankind, clergymen here, would long since, have ceased to hold a place on the roll of society.

In his own parish, the minister is connected with all his people, by a peculiar and very intimate relation. With his church, this relation is, indeed, especially intimate; but with his congregation, it is also near and important. He is *every man's minister*, and is thus styled in the most common phraseology. To him every parishioner, as of right, applies for instruction, advice, and consolation, and from him derives not only knowledge in morals and religion, but information on every subject of use, or curiosity, to which his own inclinations lead, and to which the minister's understanding is adequate. Endeared to his parishioners by consolations in sickness and in sorrow, and by a continual and nameless circle of kind officers, freely required, and freely given; offices, peculiarly suited to the case, and to the distresses of man; offices, which can be expected, and which can usually be obtained, from no other man; he becomes, while his reputation and influence prevail, the chief means of parochial peace, and neighborly harmony. Parishes, which have no minister, or an unpopular one, often contend; parishes, which have a minister generally beloved, rarely, if at all.

The Sabbath, by regularly assembling the congregation for public worship, ar-

ranges with regularity the whole business of the week, and gives birth in a higher degree, than a slight observer would imagine, to neatness, sociability, softness of manners, and universal decorum. By bringing a congregation together on so interesting an occasion, it makes them know, respect, and regard each other. From the moral and religious instructions, the cogent motives to duty, and the encitements to decent, amiable, and useful conduct, which it furnishes, it establishes, perhaps more than any single thing, good order, good morals and happiness public and private. It makes good men; and good men must be good citizens. In all these respects, notwithstanding much opposition, and some declension, its influence is still great; much greater than is, perhaps, generally believed. Of this truth, those people, in some of our sister States, among whom no Sabbath exists, will, even to a slight observer, furnish satisfactory evidence.

I have long been concerned in the education of youth. In the progress of this employment, I have often had opportunity to know, that all parents, even the most vicious, with their children to be virtuous. This I certainly know, because multitudes of such parents have earnestly insisted on a careful attention to this object, with respect to their own children from me. Hence it may be taken for granted, that the whole community, with so few exceptions, as deserve no regard, consider the education of their children to virtuous conduct as a primary object. But you well know how much more efficacious to this end example is, than precept. How important is it, then, that there should always exist, in every part of our country, men, obligated to an example of the strict and blameless life above described; men, obligated to such a life, not by principle only, but by the additional and powerful considerations of public demand, of personal danger, and of the absolute necessity of unimpeachable virtue to their character, their comfort, their living.

Of learning, and the general diffusion of useful knowledge, the clergy, as individuals, have, beyond any other class of men, been the promoters. To this their own knowledge, the general nature of their office, and their comparative leisure from the busy occupations of life, almost necessarily lead. In the foundation, and the regulation, of no small number of our schools they are directly concerned as principals. To our college they gave birth, continuance, a considerable proportion of its property, and the whole system of its government and instruction. They have supported and educated, more scholars of charity, than the whole community besides. Nor is there at this time, unless I am deceived, a single school of consideration in the State, in which they have not a principal agency.

Of submission to our happy government, they have been powerful supporters, and useful examples. Clergymen by the ties of duty, reputation, consistency, and comfort, are of course the friends of good order; and since the State was founded, no instance has hitherto occurred, in which a clergyman has labored to disturb the peace of society.

After an able an animated discussion as to the time and mode of the sale, and the object to which the avails of the sale should be applied, in the public press, in town meeting, in both branches of the legislature,—in every place and way in which the public mind could be reached, the subject was finally settled by the General Assembly at the May session 1795, by the following Act and Resolution:

An Act appropriating the Monies which shall arise on the sale of the Western lands, belonging to this State.

1. *Be it enacted, &c.*, That the principal sum which shall be received on the sale of the lands belonging to this State, lying west of Pennsylvania, shall be and remain a perpetual fund for the purposes hereafter mentioned in this act, to be loaned or otherwise improved for these purposes as the General Assembly shall direct; and the interest arising therefrom shall be, and hereby is, appropriated to the support of schools in the several societies constituted, or which may be constituted by law within certain local bounds within this State, to be kept according to the provisions of law which shall from time to time be made, and to no

other use or purpose whatsoever, except in the case and under the circumstances hereafter mentioned in this act.

2. *Be it further enacted*, That the said interest, as it shall become due from time to time, shall be paid over to the said societies, in their capacity of school societies, according to the list of polls and ratable estate of such societies respectively, which shall, when such payment shall be made, have been last perfected.

3. *Provided, nevertheless, and be it further enacted*, That, whenever such society shall, pursuant to a vote of such society, passed in a legal meeting, warned for that purpose only, in which vote two-thirds of the legal voters present in such meeting shall concur, apply to the General Assembly requesting liberty to improve their proportion of said interest or any part thereof, for the support of the Christian Ministry, or the Public Worship of God, the General Assembly shall have full power to grant such request during their pleasure; and in case of any such grant, the school society shall pay over the amount so granted to the religious societies, churches, or congregations of all denominations of Christians within its limits, to be proportioned to such societies, according to the lists of their respective inhabitants or members, which shall, when such payment shall from time to time be made, have been last perfected; and in case there shall be in such school society any individuals composing a part only of any such religious society, church, or congregation, then the proportion of such individuals shall be paid to the order of the body to which they belong by the rule aforesaid, and the monies of such individuals shall be discounted from their ministerial taxes or contributions, and in that way inure to their exclusive benefit, and the monies so paid over shall be applied to the purposes of the grant, and to no other whatsoever.

4. *Be it further enacted*, That if any society, church, or congregation, shall apply any of the aforesaid monies to any other use or purpose than those to which they shall or may have a right to apply them, pursuant to this act, such society, church, or congregation, shall forfeit and pay a sum equal to that so misapplied, to the public treasury of this State.

5. *Be it further enacted*, That all the inhabitants living within the limits of the located societies, who by law have, or may have a right to vote in town meetings, shall meet some time in the month of October annually, in the way and manner prescribed in the statute entitled, "An Act for Forming, Ordering, and Regulating Societies," and being so met shall exercise the powers given in, and by, said act, in organizing themselves, and in appointing the necessary officers as therein directed, for the year ensuing, and may transact any other business on the subject of schooling in general, and touching the monies hereby appropriated to their use in particular, according to law, and shall have power to adjourn from time to time as they shall think proper.

6. *Be it further enacted*, That the inhabitants or members of the several religious societies, churches, or congregations aforesaid, who have right by law to vote in their respective meetings on the subject of the ministry and the public worship of God, shall assemble themselves some time in the month of December annually, or at such other time as they shall judge convenient, and may organize themselves and appoint the necessary officers as in said act is directed, all in the way and manner therein prescribed, with power to adjourn from time to time, as they may think proper, and in any of their said meetings they shall have power to transact any business relating to the ministry and the public worship of God according to law, but shall have no power to act on the subject of schooling, any law, usage, or custom to the contrary notwithstanding.

7. *Be it further enacted*, That an act, passed Oct., 1793, entitled, "An Act for the Establishing a Fund for the Support of the Gospel Ministry and Schools of Education" be, and the same is, hereby repealed.

This act was passed by a vote of 94 yeas to 52 nays. On the same day the following resolution was passed:

Resolved by this Assembly, That a committee be appointed to receive any proposals that may be made by any person or persons, whether inhabitants of the United States, or others, for the purchase of the lands belonging to this State lying west of the west line of Pennsylvania, as claimed by said State. And the said committee are hereby fully authorized and empowered, in the name and behalf of

this State, to negotiate with any such person or persons, on the subject of any such proposals, and also to form and complete any contract or contracts for the sale of the said lands, and to make and execute, under their hands and seals, to the purchaser or purchasers, a deed or deeds, duly authenticated, quitting, in behalf of this State, all right, title, and interest, juridical and territorial, in and to said lands to him or them, and to his or their heirs forever.

That before the executing of such deed or deeds, the purchaser or purchasers shall give their personal note or bond, payable to the Treasurer of this State, for the purchase money, carrying an interest of six per centum per annum, payable annually, to commence from the date thereof, or from such future period, not exceeding two years from the date, as circumstances, in the opinion of the committee, may require, and as may be agreed on between them and the said purchaser or purchasers, with good and sufficient sureties, inhabitants of this State; or with a sufficient deposit of bank stock, or other stock of the United States, or the particular States; which note or bond shall be taken, payable at a period not more remote than five years from the date, or if by annual installments, so that the last installment be made payable within ten years from the date, either in specie, or six per cent., three per cent., or deferred stock of the United States, at the discretion of the committee.

That if the said committee shall find that it will be most beneficial to the State or its citizens, to form several contracts for the sale of said lands, they shall not consummate any of the said contracts apart by themselves, while the others lie in a train of negotiation only; but all of the contracts, which, taken together, shall comprise the whole quantity of the said lands, shall be consummated together, and the purchasers shall hold their respective parts, or proportions, as tenants in common of the whole tract, or territory, and not in severalty.

That the said committee, in whatever manner they shall find it best to sell the said lands, whether by an entire contract or by several contracts, shall, in no case, be at liberty to sell the whole quantity for a principal sum less than one million of dollars in specie, or if a day of payment be given, for a sum of less value than one million of dollars in specie, with interest at six per cent. per annum from the date of such sale.

The following individuals constituted this committee:—John Treadwell, James Wadsworth, Marvin Wait, William Edmund, T. Grosvenor, Aaron Austin, Elijah Hubbard, and Sylvester Gilbert.

The committee appointed to negotiate the sale entered immediately on their duties, and at the October session 1795, submitted the following Report, by which it will be seen that the lands were sold for the capital sum of one million, two hundred thousand dollars.

To the Honorable General Assembly of the State of Connecticut, convened at New Haven, on the second Thursday of October, A. D. 1795.

The Committee appointed by your Honors in May last, to negotiate a sale of the western lands belonging to this State, lying west of the western line of the State of Pennsylvania as claimed by said State, beg leave to report: That on the 5th day of June last, they met in Hartford and passed the following orders, that the acts of the General Assembly appointing a committee to negotiate a sale of the western lands, and giving them their powers and instructions, be published in all the newspapers in this State, and in a newspaper in Boston, Providence, Albany, New York, and Philadelphia, and then adjourned to the first Wednesday of August then next, to meet in the city of Hartford. That having advertised according to said order, and notified the public in their advertisement of the time and place of their intended meeting, they met according to their adjournment, on the said 1st Wednesday, being the 5th day of August last, and passed the following vote. That all proposals made to the committee for the purchase of the western lands be made in writing. An offer was then made of 1,000,000 of dollars, with interest from the date of the contract, by Mr. Elkanah Watson, of Albany. The committee then passed the following vote, that any proposal which may be received for the purchase of the western lands may be freely communi-

cated by the committee, but the name of the person making such proposal shall not be made known. On Thursday a proposal was made by James Sullivan, Esq., of Boston, offering 1,000,000 of dollars with interest—the correspondence between the committee and Mr. Sullivan by letter, relative to this offer is herewith submitted to your Honors inspection. On Friday, a letter was received from Zephaniah Swift, Esq., enclosing an offer of 1,000,000 of dollars with interest, made by sundry associated companies, composed chiefly of inhabitants of this State. Also an offer was made by Oliver Phelps, Esq., and others, for themselves and associates, of 1,000,000 dollars with interest. Also an offer of 1,130,000 dollars, payable in eight annual installments, the first at the end of two years, and interest from that time on the remaining sum, by Col. Silas Pepoon, of Stockbridge, for himself and associates. On the same day the committee gave notice to all the concerned of the several offers which lay before them. On Saturday, the committee addressed a letter to the agents of companies, giving them notice that the committee would adjourn until Monday then next, and requesting them to make their ultimate proposals as soon as possible. On Monday, the committee having duly considered the several propositions lying before them, voted, that neither of them could be accepted, of which vote, on Tuesday they gave public notice, and also that they would continue to receive further proposals. Whereupon another offer was made of 1,150,000 dollars with interest, after two years, the principal to be paid in five years, by Oliver Phelps, and others, a committee from divers companies formed in all parts of this State, expressing in their letter to the committee, an unwillingness to multiply propositions to serve as a rule for the offers and opinions of others, requesting an early answer to their proposal, and delivering it with a confidence that it would not be made public. At the same time adding a verbal request of a further opportunity to make proposals in case a better offer than this should be made. Also, a further offer from James Sullivan, Esq., of 1,010,000 dollars with interest from the date of the deed, which he states to be his ultimatum, and requests an answer whether it can be accepted or not by 9 o'clock on the morning of the next day, and states that he shall not trouble the committee with any other proposal, or consider himself as bound by this, unless it shall be then accepted.

The committee then advertised the concerned that there were propositions lying before the committee which they must decide without delay. That they would receive any other proposals that might be made them until 9 o'clock of the morning of the next day, when they would decide upon such propositions as might then be made, and requesting that gentlemen would make their ultimate proposals within the time that the negotiations might be brought to a speedy close.

On Wednesday morning, before the expiration of the time limited above, John Livingston, Esq., of the State of New York, in behalf of himself and his associates, offered for the land 1,255,000 dollars, with interest, to commence at the expiration of two years, the offer was accompanied with an explanatory letter signifying an intentiere in himself and associates, that citizens of this State, if so inclined, might participate in the purchase to the amount of one equal half of the same.

The moment was now arrived when the committee must decide upon the proposals before them, according to their engagement; Mr. Livingston's offer, if well secured, was considered by the committee as a generous offer, but they thought proper to refuse it for the following reasons: no sum was offered as a pledge to compel a fulfillment on his part; no specific security was named or proffered by him; the prospect of his being able to procure sufficient securities, inhabitants of this State, was small, as the State companies which seemed to comprise all the inhabitants of this State who wished to interest themselves in the purchase, appeared to have at this time formed a coalision, and his intending one moiety of the purchase for the citizens of this State, seemed to shew a design to secure the payment of part of the contract at least, by personal bond with sureties: that if however he felt himself able and willing to secure the money by deposit, and was determined in the business, he would not fail to renew his offer with a small additional sum, and finally to accept the offer would be to deprive the State companies of a further opportunity which they had a right to expect from the committee, as the case was in fact circumstanced, and a ground of a general and just dissatisfaction. In this view of the case the committee gave public notice that they had considered the proposals before them, and were of the opinion that they

ought not to accept of either—that they had concluded to wait till 5 o'clock in the afternoon, and that they were determined to close with the best offer that might then be made, exceeding in value the sum of 1,260,000 dollars, interest after two years, which should ultimately be secured to the satisfaction of the committee. Before the hour of five, the committee of the State companies, confident as they appeared that no proposal would be made and carried into effect more beneficial to the State, than that which they had already made, presented again the same offer of 1,150,000 dollars, payable in five years with interest, after the expiration of two years from the signing of the deed; and Mr. Livingston informed the committee by letter, that having consulted with his associates, they had come to the determination of not making any further proposals, as that which they had made was their ultimatum, and desiring the committee to consider *that* as withdrawn.

It was now obvious and certain from the fullest proof, that the State companies had, by various means, put an end to all further competition, as to those who were upon the ground, nor did it appear that any other competitors were likely to come forward. It of course became a serious question with the committee what was best to be done in the present situation of affairs, whether to pursue the matter with the State companies to a close, or to break off the negotiations for the present, and defer the sale to some future period, upon the hope of obtaining more for the land than could now be obtained. Without recounting the reasons that would operate in the case on either side of the question, which will readily occur to your honors, it will be sufficient to say, that the committee on mature consideration, were of the opinion that it was best to attempt further to pursue the business to a close; and accordingly it was then agreed to invite the agents of the companies to a conference, and to propose to close a contract with them, provided they would add fifty thousand dollars to their offer. The agents were accordingly invited to a conference—they waited on the committee, the proposal was made in form to them—they appeared unwilling to comply—a train of reasoning on the subject took place, pending which a gentleman from Berksire County, Commonwealth of Massachusetts, was introduced to the committee, who informed that he was just arrived in town, that he represented a number of gentlemen, among whom he named Mr. Sedgwick, of Stockbridge, who wished to become purchasers of the Connecticut reserve, and wished to know if an offer could be received. The chairman of the committee informed him that he knew of nothing which could then prevent it, but could not speak the sense of the committee—their opinion being asked, they thought fit to desire him to withdraw for a short time, with assurance that an answer should be made him, he withdrew, the committee then resolved that they were at liberty to receive further offers, unless the agents of the State companies should close with the proposal made them by the committee—but if they should close with that proposal without delay, the committee would consider themselves bound—the agents who were still present, did thereupon accept the said proposal, and presented to the committee a writing as follows:

"HARTFORD, 12th of August, 1795.

"We the subscribers, for ourselves and our associates, will give for the Western Reserve so called, the sum of twelve hundred thousand dollars, payable in five years, with interest annually, after the expiration of two years from the signing the deed, and give security agreeably to the act of the Legislature.

OLIVER PHELPS,	ELISHA HYDE,
WILLIAM HART,	MATHEW NICOLL,
EBENEZER HUNTINGTON,	MOSES CLEAVELAND,
SAMUEL MATHER, JR.,	GIDEON GRANGER, JR."

The committee thereupon declared their acceptance of the said offer provided security should be given to their satisfaction.

On Thursday the 13th, the committee took a bond executed by the above named agents, for the sum of one hundred thousand dollars, to the treasurer of the State, to be forfeited and paid for the use of the State in case they should fail to give security to the acceptance of the committee, for the purchase money, on the 2d day of September, then next. And on motion of the purchasers the committee adjourned to Wednesday the 2d day of September then next, to meet at the State House in Hartford, to take security and convey the lands according to contract.

The committee beg leave further to report, that they met according to their ad-

Government, on the 2d day of September, and passed and communicated to the purchasers the following order, viz.: That it will not be expected that a bond be taken for a sum less than ten thousand dollars without special reasons. It will be expected that as many bonds be taken as there will be deeds executed, that the grantee or grantees in each deed, sign the bond for the purchase money, as they alone are purchasers in contemplation of law, and that others in the name of sureties, sign each bond. The two following days, Thursday and Friday, were occupied in preparing the form of the bonds and deeds, in procuring a sufficient number of them to be printed and in examining the security offered by several companies. On Saturday, the committee passed and communicated to the purchasers the following vote: That a reasonable time has been allowed to the purchasers of the western territory to produce their security according to the condition of their bond; the committee therefore expect the business will be completed this day, nor do they consider it as their duty to attend any longer at the expense of the State. And at 2 o'clock in the afternoon, they wrote to the purchasers as follows:

"There seems to be no prospect of your being ready to complete the business in hand this day. The committee wish to be informed whether their further attendance is desired at your expense, if so, they will adjourn till 9 o'clock on Monday next, if not they will consider themselves at liberty to hold the land for sale."

The committee having received an answer requesting an adjournment at the time and on the conditions proposed, adjourned accordingly, and having met according to their adjournment, they were occupied on Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday, in concluding the business; the result of which was, they took 36 bonds, amounting in the whole to 1,200,000 dollars, to the treasurer of the State; the names of the obligors, both principals and sureties in each bond, together with their several sums and dates, may be seen in the journal of the committee hereto annexed, and executed under their hands and seals to the purchasers 35 deeds, altogether comprising the whole quantity of the land they were authorized to sell, with all the due formalities, acknowledged them before proper authority, and delivered them to the grantees. The names of the grantees in each deed, and also the proportion of the said land conveyed by each, may be seen in the journal. The form and bonds of the deeds are on file for your honors' inspection. It would be proper to remark that the bond executed by Oliver Phelps, Thaddeus Leavitt, Gideon Granger, Jr., Luther Loomis, and Ebenezer King, Jr., for 168,185 dollars, is given on demand; Mr. Phelps offered to do this of his own motion, to obviate any objections which might arise from the magnitude of the sum secured; and from the uncertainty of human events, at the same time expecting he should not be called upon sooner than the other purchasers, unless the safety of the State should require it.

The committee having thus brought the contract to a close, lodged the bonds with the treasurer, and took his receipt therefor and lodged the same with the comptroller, and also a certificate in nature of a duplicate thereof at the close of the aforesaid journal. They are happy to add that they were harmonious in the whole progress of this transaction—that they were ultimately unanimous as to the sale and the security taken for the purchase money—they have taken the personal security contemplated by the act of the General Assembly—they have good ground of confidence that it is now abundantly sufficient, although they can not be certain that in every case it will be so at the expiration of five years—they have endeavored however to guard against contingencies—they have exercised their best judgments, and nothing remains to complete their satisfaction but the approbation of this Honorable Assembly, to whose candor the whole is submitted by your Honors.

Most obedient and most humble servants,

JOHN TREADWELL,
JAMES WADSWORTH,
MARVIN WAIT,
WILLIAM EDMOND,
THOMAS GROSVENOR,
AARON AUSTIN,
ELIJAH HUBBARD,
SILVESTER GILBERT,
} *Committee.*

NEW HAVEN, October 14th, 1795.

In House of Representatives, October 15th, 1795.
The preceding Report is accepted and approved.
Teste, SAMUEL W. DANA, *Clerk.*

In the Upper House.
The preceding Report is accepted and approved.
Teste, GEORGE WYLLYS, *Secretary.*

LIST OF THE PURCHASERS OF THE WESTERN LANDS.

			Dollars.
No.	1.	Robert Charles Johnson,	60,000
" 2 and	3.	Moses Cleaveland,	32,600
"	4.	William Judd,	16,250
"	5.	James Johnson,	30,000
"	6.	William Law,	10,500
"	7.	Daniel Holbrook,	8,750
"	8.	Pierpont Edwards,	60,000
"	9.	James Bull, Aaron Olmsted, John Wyllys,	30,000
"	10.	Elisha Hyde, Uriah Tracy,	57,400
"	11.	Luther Loomis, Ebenezer King,	44,318
"	12.	Roger Newberry, Enoch Perkins, Jonathan Brace,	38,000
"	13.	Ephraim Root,	42,000
"	14.	Ephraim Kirby, Uriel Holmes, Jr., Elijah Boardman,	60,000
"	15.	Oliver Phelps, Gideon Granger, Jr.,	80,000
"	16.	Oliver Phelps,	168,185
"	17.	John Caldwell, Peleg Sanford,	15,000
"	18.	Solomon Cowles,	10,000
"	19.	Solomon Griswold,	10,000
"	20.	Henry Champion, 2nd,	85,675
"	21.	Samuel P. Lord,	14,092
"	22.	Jozeb Stocking, Joshua Stow,	11,423
"	23.	Timothy Burr,	15,231
"	24.	Caleb Atwater,	22,846
"	25.	Titus Street,	22,846
"	26.	Elias Morgan, Daniel Lathrop Coit,	51,402
"	27.	Joseph Howland, Daniel Lathrop Coit,	30,461
"	28.	Asher Miller,	34,000
"	29.	Ephraim Starr,	17,415
"	30.	Joseph Williams,	15,231
"	31.	William Lyman, John Stoddard, David King,	24,730
"	32.	Nehemiah Hubbard, Jr.,	19,039
"	33.	Ashael Hatheway,	12,000
"	34.	William Hart,	30,462
"	35.	Samuel Mather, Jr.,	18,461
"	36.	Sylvanus Griswold,	1,683
		Total,	1,200,000

Thus was consummated the sale of a domain nearly equal to he present territory of Connecticut, and now after the lapse of a ittle more than half a century, that domain, then an untouched wilerness, has been covered with villages and cities,—filled with all he triumphs and monuments of New England civilization—the vorkshop of the mechanic, the mills of the manufacturer, the ields and graineries, and homesteads of the farmer, the school, .cademy, and college edifice, the halls of justice, and the conse·rated temples of religion—all bespeaking the presence of a sober, ndustrious, intelligent, free, religious, a law-loving and a law-abidng people,—and the people is only one of the swarms which has one out from the parent hive of New England.

Connecticut is sometimes reproached for reserving a portion of her ublic domain, in her deed of cession to the General Government; nd that, too, by citizens of States, which, with a title far less clear, to domain not so extensive, reserved still larger section for their pubic uses. We copy from the National Intelligencer portions of a deate in the Senate of the United States, on the 26th of September 1850, some remarks in this vein by Mr. Mason of Virginia, for the ake of introducing the triumphant vindication of the patriotism of Connecticut by her senator, Hon. Roger Sherman Baldwin.

Mr. Mason, of Virginia—

After the close of the war, in order to heal dissensions and provide a fund for he federal government, all the States were called upon to make cessions of these nappropriated lands. In response to that call the State of Virginia gave up the whole at once. Like the poor old Lear, in whose character the poet has beautifully depicted principles that belong to the whole human family, she gave up the whole. She reserved only a given quantity to satisfy her military bounties, and o make indemnity for the expenses of the war. And what did the State which s represented by the honorable gentleman over the way [Mr. Baldwin] do, when she made a cession of land in response to the same call? Sir, in that cession she reserved all the territory lying between the 41st and 42d degrees of north latitude, and west of the western line of Pennsylvania, to the amount of 3,666,000 acres; and that, too, for private purposes. She withheld it from the general fund, in order that she might be enriched; and from that territory the State of Connecticut has derived in money upwards of $2,000,000. Yet, after all this the State of Virginia is to be rebuked by the representative of that State for having made large appropriations of military bounty land to her officers! Sir, I feel strongly when a rebuke come from any quarter respecting the conduct of Virginia in regard to the revolutionary war; but I feel something like indignation when it comes from that quarter.

Mr. Baldwin, of Connecticut—

Mr. President, the senator from Virginia has thought proper to refer disparagingly, to the conduct of the State of Connecticut in reserving from her cession a portion of her public domain. I can inform that senator, that Connecticut, small as she is in territory, small as she was in population when compared with the State of Virginia, had more troops in the field during the revolutionary war than the great State of Virginia.

This was stated by Chief Justice Ellsworth, one of the delegates from Connecticut in the convention which formed the constitution of the United States; and no delegate from Virginia—though Mr. Madison was present and participated in

the debate—ventured to deny it. And yet the senator from Virginia says he looks almost with indignation upon the State of Connecticut, because one of her senators, in the performance of a duty imposed upon him as a member of one of the committees of this body, has thought proper to rebuke the frauds which have been committed by individuals in the State which that senator has the honor to represent, Sir, Virginia is a noble State; I impute nothing dishonorable to her. But, inasmuch as I have deemed it my duty to rebuke those frauds, the senator alludes in terms of disparagement to the State which gave me birth, and which I have the honor to represent, because with all her revolutionary claims she thought proper, in ceding her western domain, to reserve a comparatively small portion of it for the purposes of popular education. Sir, this reservation was not made for any mere private objects; it was not made to aid her in the discharge of her revolutionary responsibilities, or the payment of her civil-list expenditures, but for the noble purpose of providing for the education of every child within her limits, and of peopling as well the magnificent territory which she ceded as that which she reserved, with an educated, enlightened, and enterprising population.

It was by this reservation that she laid the foundation of that munificent school-fund which enabled those who took the census in 1840 to return that they found in the whole State of Connecticut but 526 persons of adult age who were not able to read and write, and these are believed to have been chiefly foreigners. Can the senator from Virginia say as much for his State, and appeal to the returns of the census to confirm him?*

But, sir, it seems that the State of Virginia, in order to induce her citizens to share in the perils and the glories of the revolution, was obliged to offer the enormous bounties which I have already stated to the Senate. Sir, the citizens of Connecticut rushed at once to the combat. They were at Ticonderoga. Yes, sir; they were there with Eathan Allen and his Green mountain boys—himself a native of Connecticut, at the head—on an expedition planned in Connecticut, and supplied from its public treasury, before the Continential Congress of 1775 had assembled—capturing that important fortress, almost before the blood had grown cold that was shed at Concord and at Lexington. They were at Bunker's Hill with Putnam, and Knowlton, and Grosvenor, and their brave compatriots, who needed no bounty to induce them to engage in the service of their country. I need not dwell on the revolutionary history of my State. It is known to all who hear me. Was it too much, then, I ask, when the State of Virginia, with fewer troops in the field than Connecticut, thought proper to reserve 9,000,000 acres of land in what is now the State of Kentucky, and 3,700,000 more in Ohio, in the cession of her claims to the Northwestern Territory, that the State of Connecticut should reserve 3,000,000 acres of her territory for the free education of her children? the descendants of her sons who had bravely fought and many of whom had fallen on the battle-fields of the revolution, in the service of their country—a service in which they had engaged without any such inducements to stimulate their patriotism as were offered by Virginia to her sons? Was it too much for them to ask; and is it for Virginia to cast reproach for this? no, sir; no, sir.

---

* The following table, derived from the Report of Gen. Knox to Congress in 1790, in obedience to a call on the War Department by the House of Representatives, shows the number of regular soldiers furnished by each State to the war of the Revolution. See National Intelligencer, Oct. 7, 1850.

	Soldiers.	Population in 1790.
New Hampshire,	12,497	141,891
Massachusetts, including Maine,	67,097	475,257
Rhode Island,	5,908	69,110
Connecticut,	31,959	238,141
New York,	17,781	340,120
New Jersey,	10,726	181,139
Pennsylvania,	25,678	434,373
Delaware,	2,386	59,098
Maryland,	13,912	319,728
Virginia,	26,678	748,308
North Carolina,	7,263	393,751
South Carolina,	6,417	249,073
Georgia,	2,309	82,548
Total,	231,971	2,890,959

The first apportionment of the income of the School Fund was made in 1799, among the school societies, according to the lists of polls and ratable estates in each. The interest had been allowed to accumulate from September 2, 1797, when the interest was first charged, and amounted in March 1799 to $60,403 78. In March 1800, the dividends were $23,651. Up to this date the fund was managed by the committee that negotiated the sale.

In 1800, John Treadwell, Thomas T. Seymour, Shubael Abbe, and the Treasurer for the time being, were appointed "Managers of the funds arising in the sales of the Western Reserve." During the period of the thirteen years in which the fund was administered by the committee, and Board of Managers, the interest divided and paid out to the societies amounted to $456,757 44, being an average of $35,135 18 per annum. The thirty-six bonds given by the original purchasers, and resting on personal security, had increased, up to May 1810, to nearly five hundred, most of which had been from time to time secured by mortgages on real estate.

In 1809, at the October session, it appeared from the Report of the Managers of the School Fund, that a large amount of interest was unpaid, and the collateral securities of the original debts were not safe. In view of these facts a committee of the Legislature, of which the Hon. David Daggett was Chairman, recommended that the management of the fund should be intrusted to one person, and that efficient measures should be adopted to save the capital as well as interest from loss.

In 1810, at the May session, the Hon. James Hillhouse,* then a

* There was not another man in the State who combined in so large a measure the requisite qualifications for the post—the confidence of all parties in his ability, honesty, experience and public spirit. The following touching tribute to the services and worth of James Hillhouse, by his son, the poet, James A Hillhouse, is taken from a little poem, entitled *Sachem's Wood*—composed to commemorate the change of name, from Highwood to Sachem's Wood, of the noble estate, composed of "upland slope and stately oaks," which the father bequeathed to his family.

Ah! what a race by *him* was run,
Whose day began before the sun;
Who, at the sultry hour of noon,
Felt action, action still a boon;
Who, at the weary shut of eve,
No respite needed, no reprieve;
But, in those hours when others rest,
Kept public care upon his breast!
Need we demand a cherished thought,
For one whose lavish labors brought
Health, comfort, value, praise, and grace,
(Even for our bones, a resting place,)
To the lov'd spot for which he stood,
When neighbor townsmen gasped in blood?—
But heaven leaves not to human praise
The recompense of well-spent days.

member of the United States Senate, was appointed sole "Commissioner of the School Fund." Mr. Hillhouse immediately resigned his post in the Senate and entered on the duties of his new

---

The cheerful morn, the short, sweet night,
The mind, as sunshine, ever bright,
Approving conscience, growing store,
(For tho' God took, he gave back more;)
A breast, like Hector's, of such space,
That strength and sweetness could embrace;
Power to endure, and soul to feel
No hardship such, for others' weal;
Ardor, that logic could not shake;
Resource, the nonplus ne'er to take;
A filial love of mother *earth*
That made keen labor sweet as mirth;—
All, brought him to his age so green,
Stamped him so reverend, so serene,
A stranger cried, (half turning round,)
"That face is worth a thousand pound!"
Urged by a simple antique zeal,
Which *spoils*-menare too wise to feel,
He traversed States like stents for boys;
Huge forests pierced o'er *corduroys*;—
Now, grain by grain, the folios sifted,
Thro' which some Proteus title shifted;—
Now, o'er deep fords, by night, as day,
O'er mountain ledges, pick'd his way;
Here, on his path, the savage glaring,
There, savage whites his gray head daring:—
Still—rain, or snow, or mirk, or mire—
Tracks were the tokens of the sire!
Fancy oft bids affection mark
His little, onward-toiling ark,
Like a dark speck, on some hill's breast,
Climbing, to vanish in the West;
And asks, what thoughts sustained and cheer'd,
What were his hopes, and what he feared?
If aught he feared, 'twas not that Eye,
Certain the upright to descry,
That watched thro' houseless wilds his way,
Kept him in darkness safe as day,
And, doubtless, soothed his journeyings lone,
As that meek Servant's of his own.
Like a ripe ear, at last he bends
Close on the brink, that trial ends.
None saw *his* spirit in decay,
Or marked his vigor ebb away.
Grace bade him lay his own white head,
For the last time, on his own bed,
Then, as to spare the gloom of death,
Took, as a draft, the *Sachem's* breath.

Sachem was the *sobriquet* by which James Hillhouse was known in Congress and elsewhere. He came into the Senate in 1796, in the place of Chief Justice Ellsworth, who went out the same year; served the remainder of his predecessor's term, went through two terms of his own, and had commenced the third, when his resignation took place in 1810—having been 14 years in the Senate, and five in the House of Representatives. He was three times elected to Congress under the old Confederation; but declined taking his seat

When persuaded, with some difficulty, that the public welfare required him at this arduous post, Commissioner of the fund, in the same *spirit* in which Mr. Jay, yielding to the argu-

office. He found that the capital consisted chiefly of the debts due from the original purchasers of the Western Reserve, and the substituted securities which had been accepted in their stead. These securities had in the course of twenty years, by death, insolvency and otherwise, become involved in complicated difficulties. The interest had fallen greatly in arrears, and in many cases nearly equaled the principal. The debtors were dispersed in different States. Without a single litigated suit, or a dollar paid for counsel, he reduced the disorded management to an efficient system, disentangled its affairs from loose and embarrassed connections with personal securities and indebted estates, rendered it productive of a large, regular, and increasing dividend, and converted its doubtful claims into well secured and solid capital. During the fifteen years of his administration, the annual dividend averaged $52,061 35, and the capital was augmented to $1,719,434 24. The amount of interest divided by the first Commissioner was $780,-

ments of Washington, undertook the ungracious task of the British treaty—he flung up his third term in the Senate of the United States, then just commencing, and entered on a series of exertions, in which he displayed a fortitude, a perseverance, and a practical sagacity, that have never failed to excite surprise. The power of bodily endurance would have been nothing without the infinite tact in business; skill would have fallen short of its objects, without miraculous patience and perseverance; and nothing could have disarmed opposition, but that natural spring of sweetness in his disposition, which perpetually welled out in the midst of appalling labors, and converted in many, many instances, the suspicious and intractable, into sincere and zealous friends. The astonishing little animal he drove for six or eight of the first years, sometimes took the *Sachem* seventy miles in a day. On one occasion, he pushed her thirty miles after twilight *without stopping*; having been dogged by two ruffians, in a desolate part of the country, who attempted to deprive him of his trunk. It contained, unknown to them, twenty thousand dollars of the public money. After putting them to flight, he thought it prudent to make as *many* tracks as possible. Her subsequent blindness he ascribed to the severe drive of that memorable evening.

The result of his labors in behalf of the Connecticut School Fund, alluded to in some of the foregoing lines, may be taken in the words of a scrupulous and well-informed narrator, it having been previously stated that its affairs had fallen into an entangled condition. "The best friends of that fund, and those most acquainted with its history, have said that they would have been happy to have realized from it, at that time, eight hundred thousand dollars. After fifteen years' management, he left it increased to one million seven hundred thousand dollars of solid property. The difference was to be ascribed to his skill, his fidelity, his accuracy, his patience, and his wonderful and indefatigable industry. While that fund shall be perpetuated, and shall continue to carry through all the streets of our cities, and every rude, secluded hamlet among our hills, the blessings of instruction, it will stand a monument to his faithful and disinterested patriotism." The toils he underwent, (for the property consisted chiefly in lands scattered in five states, some parts of them, then, very difficult of access,) and the expedients he resorted to, in accomplishing his great objects, can not even be shadowed here. They were highly curious and interesting. He was literally "in journeyings often—in watchings often—in hunger and thirst—in perils from robbers—in perils in the wilderness"—to say nothing of the perils nearer home, "among false brethren." Once, he was frost bitten; losing, in consequence, during the greater part of a winter, and far from his family, the use of one eye: but I have been assured that he did not, even then, spare the other. Once he was arrested as a criminal, by an enraged debtor, who, in his own neighborhood, exercised a party influence, and but just escaped the indignity of a prison. Twice he was brought to death's door by fevers taken in the unsettled and unwholesome regions he was obliged to visit.

920 24, which added to the sum of $456,757 44, divided by the Committee and Board of Managers, make an aggregate of $1,237,677 68—a sum exceeding the original capital.

To this capital Mr. Hillhouse contributed the sum of $10,000,—which had been allowed to him by three individuals from the circumstance of their supposing themselves peculiarly benefitted by his management and services as Commissioner, in settling the various and complicated concerns of the fund with their estates. This allowance, with the interest on the same, amounted at the close of his administration to a larger sum than he received from the State for fifteen years of such labor, as but few public officers of even the same ability have the constitution to endure, under such combinations of hardship and peril, as can never happen again in the history of the fund. Of this fund, Mr. Hillhouse richly deserves the appellation bestowed by Eliot, the spiritual friend of the Indians, on Sir Robert Boyle, for his care and liberality in their behalf—"*The right-honorable, charitable, indefatigable, nursing father.*"

The policy thus inaugurated by Mr. Hillhouse, was continued by his successor, Hon. Seth P. Beers, who was appointed Commissioner in 1825, and held the office for a quarter of a century, till May, 1849, when he resigned. During his administration, by judicious sales and management of lands which came into his possession as forfeited securities, the capital of the fund was increased from $1,719,434.24 to $2,049,482.32; and the income from $72,418.30 to $133,366.50, being an average of $97,815.15 per annum. From 1849 to 1859, there were six different Commissioners, but no change followed in the management or prosperity of the fund—the productive capital of which, according to the report of Hon. Albert Sedgwick, dated April 16th, 1859, amounted to $2,043,372.01, yielding an income for the year of $142,303.42, or one dollar thirty cents for the benefit of each child in the State between the ages of four and sixteen. The entire income of the fund, from a cash capital of $1,200,000, in 1799 to 1859, amounts to $4,940,988.29, besides paying the expense of its own management. We know not, in the whole history of public funds, or trust estates, another instance so creditable to the economy, fidelity, and practical judgment of the persons intrusted with its management for a period of sixty years.

STATEMENT OF THE AMOUNT OF DIVIDENDS MADE TO SCHOOLS IN EACH YEAR SINCE THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE SCHOOL FUND.

UNDER A COMMITTEE.

In the 1½ years ending March, 1799, the dividends were,	$60,403.78
" " " " 1800, " "	23,651.10
	$84,054.88

UNDER A BOARD OF FOUR MANAGERS.

Year.	Dividends.	Year.	Dividends.
1801,	$15,073.27	1806,	$47,941.87
1802,	15,959.75	1807,	39,100.77
1803,	47,505.02	1808,	41,022.17
1804,	49,312.74	1809,	26,540.68
1805,	45,157.39	1810,	45,088.90
			$372,702.56

UNDER JAMES HILLHOUSE, COMMISSIONER.

1811,	$45,531.59	1819,	$58,020.62
1812,	32,309.80	1820,	58,439.36
1813,	26,075.10	1821,	67,429.60
1814,	39,223.50	1822,	68,013.60
1815,	38,878.00	1823,	72,208.25
1816,	40,595.72	1824,	72,190.50
1817,	40,186.32	1825,	72,418.30
1818,	49,404.98		
			$780,920.24

UNDER SETH P. BEERS, COMMISSIONER.

1826,	$72,391.95	1838,	$99,746.40
1827,	72,449.75	1839,	104,906.25
1828,	72,553.45	1840,	103,345.00
1829,	72,578.00	1841,	113,599.80
1830,	76,933.80	1842,	117,493.60
1831,	77,333.40	1843,	118,496.00
1832,	77,067.00	1844,	117,717.60
1833,	80,913.80	1845,	117,730.20
1834,	80,328.20	1846,	119,385.00
1835,	88,799.00	1847,	125,710.65
1836,	87,773.80	1848,	126,126.80
1837,	95,862.85	1849,	133,336.50
			$2,347,563.80

UNDER SIX DIFFERENT COMMISSIONERS.

1850,	$136,050.00	1855,	$130,054.60
1851,	129,108.00	1856,	129,243.94
1852,	132,792.80	1857,	143,193.75
1853,	132,990.75	1858,	143,047.35
1854,	141,367.21	1859,	137,898.41
			$1,355,746.81

Total under a Committee,	$84,054.88
" " Board of four Managers,	372,702.56
" " James Hillhouse, Commissioner,	780,920.24
" " Seth P. Beers, Commissioner,	2,347,563.80
" " Six different Commissioners,	1,355,746.81
Total,	$4,940,988.29

III. EARLY SCHOOL CODES OF GERMANY.

I. DUCHY OF WIRTEMBERG.

[Translated from the German of Karl Von Raumer, for the American Journal of Education.]

THE schools of Trotzendorf, Neander, and Sturm, formed the general model upon which the schools of the sixteenth century were organized, a model imitated with greater or less exactness, however, in the different German states, according to their varying position and demands. The truth of this remark will appear from an examination of the school codes of Wirtemberg and Saxony, that were published in the second half of this (sixteenth) century.

The Wirtemberg code, to which we shall first advert, is to be found incorporated in the Grand Ecclesiastical Order, so-called, issued in the year 1559, by Duke Christopher, and, after receiving the formal sanction of the assembled states at the Diet of 1565, accepted as an integral part of the constitution of the government, and approved by successive revisions at different periods, as in 1582, 1660, etc. In the preamble to this code, its purpose is stated as follows: "To carry youth from the elements through successive grades to the degree of culture demanded for offices in the church and in the state."

TEUTSCH (GERMAN) SCHOOLS.

The "*Teutsch*" schools formed the lowest grade, in which boys and girls, separate from each other, received instruction in reading, writing, religion, and sacred music. Arithmetic was left out of the account here; although afterward we find it required of the schoolmaster, that he be "of a good understanding to teach both reading and figures." In the matter of discipline, the master was cautioned "to use the rod on all proper occasions, but never to seize the children by the hair, etc." And in order that the service of the school might wholly engage the attention of the teacher, "wherever any sacristan is now required to do beadle and mass service, for the future he may be released therefrom."

Such "*Teutsch*" schools, moreover, were to be set up "in the little villages and hamlets," where there were no higher institutions in existence; but, together with these, "in each and every city, large or small, as well as in the principal villages or hamlets, Latin schools likewise were to be founded." These last were also called private schools.

LATIN SCHOOLS.

A fully equipped Latin school was to include, according to the code of Duke Christopher, five classes, to which Duke Louis added a sixth. This number, however, in thinly settled hamlets, was reduced, so that in some instances we find but one class in a school.

Where the classes were sufficiently full, they were to be divided into *decuriæ;* and each *decuria*, as in the school of Sturm, had its *decurion*, elected weekly, whose duty it was to take the general "oversight of his comrades."

The lowest class was called *Prima.* The boys in this class learned to read Latin. The teachers were particularly admonished to require the boys "to pronounce the vowels and consonants in a clear and distinct manner, and according to the usage of the Latin language rather than that of the vernacular." Those who, "from natural backwardness, are unable to pronounce all the letters, should be, as much as possible, practiced upon words of a smooth and gliding accent." The paradigms of the etymology were taught, Cato read, and two Latin words, taken from the *Nomenclatura rerum*, were daily assigned to each scholar, to copy and commit to memory.

Second Class.—In this, Cato and the "*Mimi Publiani*" were expounded, word by word, and the declensions and conjugations were continued; "with the other parts of speech (*i. e.*, other than nouns substantive and adjective, and verbs,) the boys in the lower *decuria* were not to be perplexed;" but, in the upper *decuriæ*, all the parts of speech were to be learned, syntax begun, and translations made from the Latin catechism. Moreover, the preceptor was enjoined to "question and drill the boys in phrases," to see how they would express this or that particular phrase in Latin; for at this point Latin conversation was the chief subject of attention. Exercises in music were likewise required.

Third Class.—In this class, lessons were recited from the "Fables of Camerarius" and the "Dialogues of Cattalio," and "fine phrases were pointed out therein," for the boys "to put to use, both in writing and in speech." They were likewise introduced to the "choice epistles of Cicero," and to Terence. The latter was to be committed to memory. "And, since Terence wrote with great elegance and purity, the boys should read over his expressions often, and that attentively, and should also turn them into good German, 'that so their own Latin, both written and colloquial, may be improved.'" At the reading of Terence, the teachers "should be specially careful to give prominence to the design and purpose of the author, how he does not himself advocate every thing that is said, but depicts various vices and

dispositions in the person of his various characters; for instance, where *Mitio* says—'*Non est flagitium* (*crede mihi*) *adolescentem scortari, neque potare, neque fores effringere*,' etc.; here the boys are to understand that these words do not express the real sentiments of the writer." "Again, these and the like passages should be used by the preceptor, to show how those benighted pagans knew nothing of God and his word; in short, a diligent care should be exercised, on all occasions, that the tender minds of the young receive no evil bias."

Syntax was then taken up, combined with "exercises in style;" and in these the pupil was instructed "to imitate the periods of authors, gleaned from suitable readings." Patience and perseverance were especially commended to teachers, in their corrections of the written essays of their scholars.

Fourth Class.—Cicero's "Letters to his Friends," the treatises on "Friendship," and on "Old Age," and Terence were read in this class. After finishing syntax, the elements of prosody were taken up. Also the rudiments of Greek grammar were learned, and translations made from the smaller Greek catechism of Brentius.

Fifth Class.—Those boys who, while passing through the four first classes, "had been sufficiently exercised and perfected in grammar, so that they spoke Latin with tolerable freedom, and had besides mastered the elements of Greek," were in this class to be confirmed "in all the studies to which they had previously attended."

They were then to read Cicero's "Fæmilias Letters," and his "Offices," also Ovid "de Tristibus," the Gospels in Greek and in Latin, and, in addition, to give their attention to prosody and to exercises in style.

Sixth Class.—"After the boys have been thoroughly drilled in grammar, they are in this class to be made acquainted with logic and rhetoric." They were to read, beside Cicero's Speeches and Sallust, the Æneid of Virgil, "that they may thereby grow accustomed to the elegancies of the Latin tongue, and to a pure, poetical diction."

In their exercises in style, "regard should be paid not to the quantity but the quality of their compositions, and to their successful imitation of the idiom and the phraseology of Cicero."

In Greek, they were to go through with the grammar, and to read the Cyropædia and the larger catechism of Brentius.

Music, especially sacred, both in German and Latin words, was thoroughly practiced by all the classes, and the recitations of the day were always introduced with the singing of the "*Veni sancte Spiritus*," or the "*Veni Creator Spiritus*."

The boys were also obliged, "as well out of as in school, to con-

verse with each other in Latin, not in German," and "every week to write 'letters.'"

A comparison of the Wirtemberg school code with that of Sturm reveals a most surprising similarity between them both, in their respective aims, as well as in the means by which in each case that aim was reached. The Wirtemberg boys were required to be "devout, God-fearing, modest, and obedient, and to be faithful in attendance on school and in study." Teachers were repeatedly cautioned against too great severity, especially in the infliction of corporeal punishment.

THE CLOISTER SCHOOLS.

Duke Christopher's chief care was to provide his people with good spiritual guides. For the education of such, he founded, in the year 1556, cloister schools, so-called, upon the endowments of the disfranchised monasteries, so that these might be, according to their original design, again enlisted in the service of the church. At an annual examination held by authority at Stuttgart, the most promising boys, of twelve or fourteen years of age, at the Latin schools, were transferred to the cloister schools, and there educated without charge, until they were fitted to enter the University of Tubingen. At their entrance into the cloister schools, the promise was exacted of them, to continue faithfully in the study of theology, and, except under permission from the duke, never to engage in any foreign service. The "*Church Order*" divided the cloister schools into lower and higher; the former were also styled grammar schools. Boys went, as we have stated above, in their twelfth or fourteenth year, from the Latin school, into the cloister grammar school. They were obliged, beforehand, to have completed the studies of the third class; for in the cloister school they received nearly the same instruction that was imparted in the fifth and the sixth of the Latin schools. To this there was, moreover, added much theological doctrine, bearing upon their future course.

From the grammar schools, they went up into the higher cloister schools. Here they read Cicero, Virgil, and Demosthenes, and took up Greek grammar; they also continued logic and rhetoric, and practiced singing, in connection with the study of a compendium of musical science. Up to this point, they were wholly upon old ground. But now, other and new branches demanded their attention; viz., arithmetic and astronomy, the latter most probably taught out of the "*Sphere of Sacro Bosco.*"

Meanwhile, frequent exercises in style were insisted on, in order "to attain to the purity and elegance of the Latin tongue." Some short collection of phrases was to be learned by heart, and reference "should

be freely made to the 'Phrases out of Cicero and Terence, collected by certain scholars, and now first put into print.'" The preceptor "should himself, with such phrases as he had collected in his reading during the week, compose a Latin treatise, inventing his argument in such a manner, that well-considered phrases may be fitly woven into its expression; for he ought, by all means, to avoid affectation, and to use embellishments only where they grow out of the subject. Such treatises he should translate into good German, and dictate the same to the boys, bidding them turn it again into pure and elegant Latin, for which purpose he may remind them to use their own common-place books, already prepared of words and phrases from Cicero, Terence, Virgil, and other good authors. The preceptor must "strike out every phrase which is not sanctioned by some approved author," ..... "and at last he should read over to the boys the Latin treatise which he has himself already prepared from the same phrases, and they should listen attentively, in order to see how skillfully the preceptor has joined these phrases together; that they may learn how to follow his lead, and attain to his excellence."

Every where we find the same grand aim; *i. e.*, imitation of classical authors. And those earlier scholars fancied themselves genuine imitators and pure classical writers, when they had merely put together, with great care and pains, phrases borrowed from the classics. That they did not learn from the classics, as did Wieland, how to write German well, is sufficiently evident from the composition of the foregoing citations.*

Every two weeks, disputations were to be held upon questions of grammar, logic, rhetoric, or the sphere, ("*Sphærica lectio.*")

The discipline of these cloister schools was the more strict, inasmuch as more was demanded of boys who were destined for the clerical office.

UNIVERSITY.

When the cloister scholars had reached the age of 16 or 17, they entered the university. They were first examined; and those who had passed a good examination were admitted to the Tubingen Foundation, and, during their entire university course, received a gratuitous maintenance. And here, too, they were subjected to a strict discipline. Besides their particular department of theology, they paid special attention to Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, prosecuted logic, rhetoric, and mathematics more thoroughly, and were kept at exercises in style, together with disputations. The Foundation was

* Take for instance the following: "Kein phrasin die nicht ex probato authore herkommen passiren lassen."

sufficiently ample for the support of one hundred and fifty students. Its privileges however were extended only to native-born Wirtembergers, who were destined for the sacred office.

Such was the Wirtemberg school system, beginning in the "*Teutsch*" or elementary schools, and ending in the university. But it did not entirely answer the expectations even of its founder, Duke Christopher. The private schools especially often proved a failure; as, in many places, "from the scarcity both of teachers and pupils," they were not fully organized, having only the lower classes. For this reason, the Duke founded in eight cities special private schools with more classes—the principal of these was at Stuttgart; this contained five classes, to which Duke Louis added a sixth. This latter school was a perfect realization of the plan of instruction of Louis, being a fully equipped private school, in which boys were thoroughly fitted for the university.*

They read the speeches of Cicero, Virgil, the comedies of Frischlinus, and practiced writing, both in Latin and Greek, both diffuse and compact, (*exercitia styli Latini, Græci, soluti, ligati.*)

They attended also to music, astronomy, logic, and rhetoric; we find mention made likewise of physics and ethics. And because, in 1599, complaints were made of the neglect of the Greek language, the grammar of Crusius and the Cyropædia were introduced into the school. Afterward, in the year 1686, "this school was reorganized into the form and shape of a completely-equipped gymnasium; both studies and classes being raised.

The external organization of the Wirtemberg schools of the present day, agrees in the main with that of the 16th century. In addition to the German elementary schools, the duchy can now boast of 83 Latin schools. From these, those pupils destined for the ministry, who distinguish themselves at the official examinations, are sent to the four cloister seminaries at Maulbronn, Urach, Blaubeuren, and Schonthal, among which there is now no longer the ancient distinction of lower and higher. For example, thirty scholars entered, in the year 1828, the seminary of Schonthal, taking the places of those, previously there, who had just left for Tubingen. These thirty new scholars formed a promotion, so called, and remained there four years; until, in 1832, at the end of the summer *semester*, they all left for the university. In the same manner, every year, one of the four cloister schools dismisses its scholars, and admits at the same time a new *promotion*, so that every year the Tubingen

* The course of instruction pursued in this school toward the close of the 16th century may be seen in the "*Swabian Magazine*" for 1776, part 1, page 412. In 1574 the school numbered 312 pupils.

Foundation receives from one of the four cloister schools not far from thirty scholars.

But although the external organization of the present Wirtemberg schools appears thus similar to that of the schools of the 16th century, yet, on a comparison of their internal economy, we discover a most marked difference. A new educational ideal, developed chiefly within the last seventy years, has introduced new subjects of instruction, and inaugurated new methods of teaching. To speak but of a single branch, viz., the classics. Under the old system, but three of the Latin classics, Cicero, Terence, and Virgil, were read; while now seven others are included in the curriculum, and eight Greek classical authors have now taken a place side by side with the Cyropædia and Demosthenes of those days.

Now, too, instruction in French and German is regarded as of equal importance with that in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin. We have likewise, among our modern branches of education, geography, history, and natural philosophy; and, with logic, we have the new science of anthropology.

II. SCHOOL CODE OF SAXONY, 1580.

In the year 1580 there appeared in the Electorate of Saxony the "Rules and Regulations of Augustus, Elector of Saxony," to be observed by the churches, universities, and schools, both royal and private, throughout his dominions.

If we compare these ordinances closely with the Wirtemberg school code of Duke Christopher, we shall find a most remarkable similarity between them; and, in fact, a great portion of this Saxon edict was borrowed, word for word, from the Wirtemberg.

The "Teutsch" schools "in the villages and thinly-settled hamlets" were in Saxony, as in Wirtemberg, set apart for elementary instruction in reading, writing, and religious doctrine. Here, also, there was no mention made of arithmetic, although the Wirtemberg Ecclesiastical Order required of schoolmasters "that they understand it."

Private schools in Saxony, as in Wirtemberg, were the next highest in grade; and there as well as here they were divided into five classes. With a few slight exceptions, the Saxon system was almost a literal transcript of the Wirtemberg. The chief difference between them was this, viz., that in the Saxon schools arithmetic was carried in the fourth class through division, and finished in the fifth; while in those of Wirtemberg it was not taught at all. With regard to music, (and by consequence to musical instruction,) the Augustan code thus stringently and wisely ordained: "Pastors shall give diligent heed that

none of the pieces of the *cantators*, where these are also composers, nor any new pieces whatever, be sung; but only the music of such learned and worthy old masters as Josquin, Clement, (not the Pope,) Orlandus, and the like; and, above all, that all airs of a light and lascivious character be avoided; for all the music chosen ought to be solemn, noble, and inspiring, so that the people may be charmed into a devout and Christian frame of mind."

The private schools of Saxony were unconnected with any special theological institutions, as in Wirtemberg; but in their stead there were royal schools at Meissen, Grimme, and Pforten, which were founded "for the benefit of all future generations." Each of these schools were divided into three classes, and each class into *decuriæ*, all under *decurions*. Boys were to remain at these royal schools six years. Before their admission they were required to have gone through the third class in one of the private schools. Nevertheless, in the first or lowest class of the royal schools, the course of study in that third was to be repeated, viz., etymology, the *Mimi Publiani*, Cato, and the Familiar Letters of Cicero. So, likewise, the course in the second class of the royal schools agreed in part with that of the fourth of the private schools. Latin, syntax, the Familiar Letters, the Bucolics of Virgil, Ovid's Pontus, Tibullus, select Latin poetry, elementary Greek, with Æsop's Fables in Greek, and, lastly, arithmetic and music. In the third or highest class of the royal schools, the whole of Melancthon's Latin grammar, with the additions of Camerarius, was studied, and there was read of Cicero the *Offices*, *Old Age* and *Friendship*, and the *Tusculan Questions*, Virgil's *Georgics* and *Æneid*, and the *Odes* of Horace in Greek, Isocrates, the Theogony of Hesiod, the Golden Lines of Pythagoras, and the first book of the Iliad, and Plutarch on the Education of Children. Instruction was also given in the elements of Hebrew, in logic and rhetoric, Sacro Bosco on the "*Sphere*," and the "*Rudiments of Astronomy*" of M. Blebellius. Above all, the boys were to "learn to read and write good Latin in an elegant as well as intelligible manner;" for this purpose to collect phrases, to give much attention to Cicero, to write many essays, etc. "The comedies of Terence and Plautus they (the teachers) shall cause the boys to perform throughout the year, and in this way accustom them to speak Latin with elegance." Yet the teachers should separate the poison from the honey, and should instruct their pupils "carefully to avoid and eschew the vices which these poets have depicted both in young men and old."

Upon the office and qualifications of teachers, rectors especially, and the doctrine and discipline to be observed in schools, the Saxon code

contained much that was admirable. We find therein plain and straightforward rules, distinguished alike for their devout tone as for their shrewd common sense.

In the year 1773, there appeared the well-known "*Remodeled school code for the government of the three royal and national schools of the Electorate of Saxony.*" Its framer had before him the code of Augustus I., then of nearly 200 years' standing, and he appears to have translated this as faithfully as possible into the character and style of his own day. But, while both these codes agree with each other in the main, yet the new one was conformed to the demands of the new age, disclosing, for instance, an unmistakable tinge of the rationalism of that age. The branches of study were more numerous; notwithstanding the study of the classics still continued prominent, and the old modes of forming a Latin style, both written and spoken, were still retained. Hebrew was taught as formerly, and to this were added French, Italian, and English. Geography, history, and chronology were also particularized as subjects of study. With logic and rhetoric, natural theology and moral philosophy were combined, the text-books in these sciences being the well-known Initia of Ernesti.

Since this code of 1773 appeared, a new educational era has dawned, and the character of Pforte has changed far more since 1773 than it had previously done during the long period from 1580 to 1773.

IV. LETTERS TO A YOUNG TEACHER.

BY GIDEON F. THAYER,

Late Principal of Chauncy-Hall School, Boston.

THE subject of this letter is REWARDS IN SCHOOLS, as among the means to be introduced to secure the best results of school-education in the most genial, natural, and agreeable manner; to which I shall add some remarks on excessive school-study.

The transcendental idea that the young are to study for the love of knowledge, or from a sense of duty, has of late gained many converts in our community; but I shall endeavor to show, — how agreeable soever it may be to influence, control, or direct, by such considerations alone, — that, in large schools, especially with the very young, other motives must be appealed to. It cannot be reasonably supposed that a thing so unnatural to children as confinement in a school-room, in constrained, long-continued, and perhaps fatiguing positions, with little change or variety, is to be made tolerable by the annunciation of an abstract principle; particularly when the tasks imposed are as unattractive as the confinement. Children, like the young of other animals, delight in action. The kitten, the kid, the lamb, the colt, in their unrestrained habits of playing, gambolling, and bounding, symbolize children in a state of nature. Left to the exercise of their innate tendencies, they are found as buoyant and frisky as the young of the irrational creation. Most of the smaller birds never *walk;* but when in motion on foot always run or *trip.* So as a general thing with children, especially boys; when abroad, free, and left to their own choice, they seldom walk, but move with a sort of *skip.* Hence, we perceive the propriety and importance of measures that may call them out of this, their normal state, without violence to the instincts with which they come into life, and awaken an interest in objects and employments for which they have, with few exceptions, little or no natural propensity. How, then, is this to be done? Of course, we admit that there is, in most families, some degree of order, system, or discipline, to which the little ones are expected to submit; and to which they do render what is considered submission, although

in various degrees, from the legitimate and prompt obedience of the olden time, down to what some disciplinarians would deem insurrection. This amounts to something, however little, in the preparation of the children for school. The animal buoyancy of the young being is, to some extent, checked. He is partially prepared for the most urgent of the school requisitions, and, in time, comes to look upon the scene of his daily life as other than a prison. Still, many things are to be introduced before it becomes to him a place of happiness or even of content. The kindness and parental consideration of the teacher are, undoubtedly, the most potent general influence, — the first to be exercised, and the last to be surrendered. If the room is sufficiently spacious; if it is light, well-ventilated, properly warmed in cold weather, and has a pleasant location; if, still further, it contains within its walls specimens of art and beauty, — engravings, paintings, sculpture, flowers, and the like, — much is gained towards reconciling him to the various requirements of school. After a while, however, these influences lose a portion of their power. The young of the human race live on novelty. The expedient of to-day must give place to a new means of excitement to-morrow. Some form of indulgence, privilege, or distinction, must now be inaugurated. What shall it be? In some shape or other, it is a *reward*. No matter in what it consists: a picture — a ticket of approbation — a "merit;" they all come to the same point; all appeal to the child's love of approbation.

There are persons, of large experience as teachers, who disapprove of this, who denounce the use of emulation, condemn school prizes, and profess to use no means for exciting the ambition of their pupils; but who, by a simple system of weekly reports of the deportment, character of lessons, &c., sent to the pupils' homes, produce the highest degree of mental excitement, — in some cases to the sacrifice of health.

I cannot see the distinction between one of these modes of excitement and the other. Both induce to effort, and both may be abused. Discretion is required in either case; but it is not for him who resorts to one method to secure his object, to condemn him who prefers another.

At home, the mother's kiss, the father's smile of approval, his cordial shake of the hand, accompanied by the word of encouragement — these may take the place of the *tangible* reward. They are, in fact, equally real and effective. They address themselves, in like manner and with similar force, to a motive ever rife in the mind of man, — a motive placed within him to be used, not crushed, — a motive which has led to the most heroic and magnanimous achievements recorded

on the page of history. It is *the desire of praise*, the hope of reward or personal benefit, in some expressive form. Tell me, if you can, where it does not exist, where it is not felt, encouraged and nourished. The mother cherishes it as she breathes the flattering word into the infant's ear while he frolics on her lap; that infant bears its impression in every step of his progress towards manhood. At home and at school, throughout his college course, he is under its influence; beyond that, in the maturity of manhood, in his second and third degrees; in all his promotions; in his titles of professional life; in his official positions; in his deeds of humanity, of daring, and of self-sacrifice. He rescues a human being from destruction; he emancipates an enslaved people; he introduces a means of meliorating human suffering; he discovers an antidote to disease; he invents a magnetic telegraph; descries a new planet; brings down the sun to paint his pictures; — all these are followed by appropriate rewards: rewards bestowed by teachers of every grade; by humane societies; by learned professors; by academic governors; by grave councils; by the executives of states; by kings, queens, and emperors. And can all these be wrong? Why, among all the enlightened nations of antiquity, were statues set up, mausoleums built, and monuments erected in memory, or to the honor of, good or great men? Why have godly men even yearned for the glories of martyrdom? Is this desire for fame, — for an immortal name, — so universally felt, to be scorned or ignored? Did not the great Founder of Christianity, "for *the joy set before him*, endure the cross, despising the shame"? Did he not promise the inheritance of heaven to the pure, the humble, the benevolent, the obedient among all nations?

It seems, then, that throughout all time, *personal advantage* — real or imaginary — has been at the bottom, has been the motive, the pole-star of the good and the great, as well as of the obscure among men. Of course, good results, beyond those of a personal nature, were expected, in most cases, to supervene; and many a one has been unconscious of the influence that stirred him in his noble work. Still that influence was the motive power.

Why, then, denounce the use of an agency so efficient for the mind's highest good; and that, too, in a department of human labor in which all proper appliances and aids are so much needed?

I do not mean to affirm that no conceivable collection of young persons can be educated without a resort to stimulants like those adverted to; but only to say that, as a general rule, rewards are indispensable to the attainment of our wishes in school. A limited number of children, of docile dispositions and unexcitable tempera-

ments, selected from well-ordered families, — particularly those not over-anxious for rapid school advancement and the development of precocious mental powers, — might succeed very satisfactorily, with little or no application of extraneous motives. So some young ladies, enjoying the example of enlightened and highly cultivated mothers, may be found, during the school-going age, to have so far risen above the need of ordinary stimulants as to look upon them with indifference, — having attained to that state of mind in which other considerations preponderate. Such cases I have known, and cheerfully acknowledge; but this does not invalidate the argument, nor induce us to pronounce useless — far less hurtful — the application of rewards, in some form, to schools as they commonly exist around us. Rewards are *needed* to rouse the torpid; to excite the sluggish; to vitalize the inert; to interest the indifferent; to appease the passionate; to persuade the obstinate; to render docile the intractable.

Very few exceptions to the universality of the rule exist; and even where they are supposed to exist, the *spirit* of the rule is there, and its influence is *felt* in full operation!

There is one institution * in the country, ostensibly acting independently of this universal motive; and the government of it proceed on the theory of the absence of all rewards and all penalties. They appeal to the sense of propriety, duty, honor, in the students; and the appeal, it is said, is seldom made in vain. The thought is grand, and the result must be elevating and ennobling, if it can be infallibly carried out. But what are the circumstances of this seminary? The students are of the usual college-going age as found in the West, — older than those of the long-settled parts of the country, — comprising both young men and young women, to whom instruction, beyond the elements, is considered a privilege and a boon; persons resolved to make the most of their opportunities, which they feel to be precious, and to which they devote a portion of their lives, that is measured, in their geometry, by *dollars* and by *ingots*. Hence, the frivolities which attach to the students of most other collegiate institutions, present slight attraction to them. The interest which is exerted in them by the peculiarities of their position, overcomes or holds in check many temptations; and even indolence — that almost unconquerable bane to progress — is mastered.

But even this institution admits, practically, the propriety or necessity of the universal law, by conferring degrees on its graduates. Not only so, but it refuses to give a diploma to any individual, —

* Antioch College at Yellow Springs, Ohio — Horace Mann, president.

whatever may be his or her classical or scientific attainments, — unless the moral character be good. This plan receives my hearty approval, and deserves to be copied by every institution throughout the land, which confers degrees. Honor to the man or the government that originated it, and still more honor to those who have firmness enough to carry it into practice. But let it be observed that the *reward* is still at the foundation of it, and must, mainly, be the cynosure that guides the student through his whole college career.

Is it said that the *moral* character only is affected by this? If this be granted, still our principle obtains: The *reward* does the work; and one might as well expect to create a world as to eject this motive-power from the human soul, or to crush out its never-ceasing operations. But let it be remembered that while purity of life, a consciousness of moral obligation, and allegiance to the claims of duty, are the practical motives to the student, he will rarely fail in that fidelity to the claims of his class, which results in good scholarship, and which, in other seminaries, is followed by distinguished rank; and, beyond the years of college-life, will give him position in the world, whether he wear the minor honors of his Alma Mater or not.

That the young in many schools may be, and often are, overstimulated, I admit and lament. It is, unquestionably, the fault of the age, and owes its origin quite as much to the *home department* as to the school. But the abuse of a thing by no means proves that the thing itself should be repudiated. As well might one wish to annihilate the sun, by which all nature, animate and inanimate, is cheered, invigorated, fostered, matured and blest, — because, sometimes, under its meridian beam, a human being is prostrated, or, in the absence of accustomed moisture, the harvests of the husbandman are cut off, and the parched earth threatens a district of country with famine. As well might we say, let the winds be pent up in eternal caves, — although the life and health of man depend upon their action, — because a gale sometimes wrecks our ships, destroys our property, and drowns the voyager in the ocean depths. There is, in the course of events, to individuals no unmixed good. In the great, all-embracing scheme of Providence, the good greatly preponderates; and while a moderate amount of what, to our limited intelligence, appears evil, is permitted, could we survey the complete arrangement of the All-wise, with an unclouded vision, unbiased by selfish considerations, we should be ready to admit now — as the Creator "saw" in the beginning — that "*all* is GOOD."

It is not denied that this *feeling* — so to call it — may be perverted, as may every propensity in man's nature; and, hence, reason

has been given to regulate and guide him. This does not, however, change the nature of the question, nor call upon us to denounce the principle. It merely requires that our best discretion should be exercised in the use of it.

I am well aware that the distribution of school medals, or other prizes, wherein competition or rivalry is most actively engaged, has been the main cause of the earnest opposition to the prize system; and I grant that, so far as relates to schools, the utmost caution should be employed in the bestowment. Where a limited number of these prizes is to be contended for, emulation is often excited to its highest pitch, and serious consequences sometimes attend the awards. It does not follow, however, that emulation is to have no part in stimulating to effort. This would be condemning the wisdom of the Great Giver of the human mind, with all its motives, impulses and desires. It rather shows us the necessity and duty of training those under our charge to overcome or regulate their selfishness, to look with a gener ous sympathy upon a successful rival, and, having done what they could to secure the prize, congratulate the winner on his victory, and apply themselves, with renewed diligence, to another trial. We should direct them to look out upon the world, where competition exists in every form; not only at the tournament, in the race, the combat, the wrestle, — but at the forum, on the mart of trade, in the studio of the artist, in the observatory of the astronomer, by the midnight lamp of the poet, the historian and the philosopher. All cannot win, but all can "try again;" can "learn to labor and to wait" the result of a second trial; — nay, to endure, if it must be so, another defeat. The prize that *man* can bestow is not the greatest good of life. There will be found some other and some higher boon. The fault is in him who repines, rather than in the system that bestows prizes on the most skilful or meritorious. What incessant moanings would fill the air of all populous regions of the world, if the unsuccessful aspirants for honors, place or wealth, should give audible expression to disappointed feeling, as their more fortunate neighbors present themselves to their sight, or to the eye of their imaginations! No doubt suffering, to some extent, is endured, both in and out of school, from contemplating, at one view, one's own failures and another's success. But is it not self-inflicted? Cannot its first approach be repelled by a little reflection of the well-balanced mind? And are not self-inspection, self-discipline, and self-control, as important departments of early education and culture, as any to which a parent or a teacher may apply himself?

There are those who not only condemn the whole system of school

rewards, but who denounce, in no measured terms, the act of our country's wisest philosopher, BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, for making provision in his will for a yearly distribution of medals to the most deserving pupils of the public schools of his native town, where his active mind received its first school-instruction.

He says, in his will devising the legacy: "I was born in Boston, New England, and owe my first instructions in literature to the free Grammar Schools established there. I therefore give one hundred pounds sterling to my executors, to be by them, the survivors or survivor of them, paid over to the managers or directors of the free schools in my native town of Boston, to be by them, or those persons or person who shall have the superintendence and management of the said schools, put out to interest, and so continued at interest forever; which interest annually shall be laid out in silver medals, and given as honorary rewards, annually, by the directors of the said free schools, for the encouragement of scholarship in the said schools belonging to the said town, in such manner as to the discretion of the selectmen of the said town shall seem meet."

This donation, and another for the encouragement of industrious young mechanics, were "gratefully accepted" at a public town-meeting, held in Faneuil Hall; and a committee, appointed by the meeting, subsequently reported that, "Every step to carry into full effect his [Franklin's] benevolent plan will be cheerfully pursued by those whom he was pleased to constitute his trustees, and rising generations will for ages bless the name of their illustrious friend and benefactor."

The beneficial effects of the Franklin donation have often been acknowledged by those familiar with the Boston public schools; and the following remarks on this point were made by Mayor A. H. Rice, chairman *ex-officio* of the schools, at the inauguration of the Franklin Statue, September 17, 1856:

"Among the recipients of these tokens have been many who obtained honorable distinction in after-life, and thus fulfilled the promise which attended the success of their first intellectual efforts; and how many others have been led to positions of usefulness and honor, who might have fallen far below their actual attainments, without the stimulus which these little mementos have afforded, can be estimated best by those who appreciate that common attribute of our nature, which, especially in the young, requires something more than the consciousness of accomplished duty as an incentive to protracted exertion. How full of deep suggestion and touching pathos is the spectacle which has been exhibited to-day, of the recipients of these honorable tokens, marching in lengthened column, section after

section, year by year, in consecutive generations, covering more than the ordinary life of man, each one adorned by the trophy of his youthful toil, and bearing before the image of his benefactor a life-long tribute of veneration and gratitude!"

As no provision had been made in Franklin's will for medals for girls, the Boston school committee, in 1821, voted an extension of the plan, so that the girls in the Grammar Schools might be included in the distinction; and they have annually, since that time, with the exception of the year 1847, received medals denominated "City Medals," *for good behavior and scholarship.*

The Franklin medals have been distributed to boys — three to six in a school — from 1792 to the present time; and have been of incalculable service to these large and popular institutions, in awakening and keeping alive a desire to excel, and stimulating the pupils to effort. Great care is taken to have them awarded according to desert, and seldom has there been any cause to complain of injustice. It has often been difficult to decide between the claims of two candidates of apparently equal merit, and in such cases both have usually become recipients. With the infirmities that attach to human beings, it is not certain that perfect justice has invariably been done to candidates; but no pains have been spared to avoid injustice. In some few instances, sensitive minds, it is affirmed, have been deeply wounded; but this generally arose as much from the keenness of their sensibility, as from any defect in the system of distribution, or mistake in the decision of the judges. And are not parents in some measure responsible for this weakness in their offspring? Should they not, from an early period of life, train them to habits of mental endurance, and thus fit them, by all of intellectual vigor that they can develop or infuse into them, for the struggles that await them?

Original differences exist, it is true; but is it not equally true that circumstances modify the mental, as well as the physical character of individuals?

The great sagacity, shrewdness of observation, and familiarity with the operation of human motives, possessed by Dr. Franklin, would seem to be a sufficient guaranty of the propriety and safety of the use of these incitements to duty in school. By the consent of the nations, he has been considered as one of the great lights of the world in modern times. He stood as an arbiter of the destiny of his country in its great day of peril. He aided in leading her out of her darkness and poverty in her hour of need, and conducted her to light and liberty. His maxims are held as oracular wherever the English language is spoken, and comprise a safe and

almost complete manual for the conduct of affairs in every station in life.

If endorsers of the propriety of Franklin's gift were wanted, they could be found in multitudes among the members of the "Franklin Medal Association," with its gifted president* at their head; whose views on the subject have recently been given to the citizens of Boston and Philadelphia, — in his admirable address on "Franklin, as a Boston Boy," — prepared for the anniversary of the doctor's birthday, the present year; which views were essentially the same as have been unfolded in this letter, and which the writer has held for nearly half a century.

The mode and conditions of the distribution of medals in schools admits, I think, of modification, by which their benefit would be augmented, and the objections to them obviated. Medals and other rewards have been awarded annually at the school with which I was connected, from the time of its establishment, in 1828, to the present day, and continue to form a part of its machinery of discipline; and, in thirty years, I am not aware that they ever occasioned a tear to fall, or the slightest unhappiness to be felt; — the cause of which, probably, is the fact that there was no individual competition connected with their acquisition.

There were several grades of these medals, which were bestowed as a matter of contract, the evidence of which every pupil had in his own possession, in his weekly reports, and by which he could claim, as on a note of hand. He was told, at the beginning of the year, that if he should be constant and punctual in his attendance at school to its close,— if he committed no misdemeanor — "deviation" as it was called — or infraction of school-laws, he should receive a silver medal of a certain grade; — this, irrespective of scholarship; and hence, giving that prominence to good behavior, to which it is ever entitled in the fitness of things, and encouraging every grade of mind to effort. If he was, as above, correct in deportment, punctual, and constant in attendance, and had but few deficiencies in lessons, &c., he would receive a silver medal of a higher grade. If his merits were still more obvious, and his lessons *generally* perfect, the highest silver medal was awarded him. If wholly without fault in these particulars, adding thereto entirely perfect lessons for the time, he should receive a gold medal. And these were bestowed, at the Annual Exhibition at the end of the year, to all — few or many — that complied with the terms. The grades of the medals have recently been increased in

* Hon. Edward Everett.

number, to six in all — gold and silver — to make them more equitable, according to the amount of school-labor performed. Thus, perfect deportment and perfect lessons in the English department are entitled to a gold medal; but these, with the addition of the successful study of one more language, claim a higher reward, or gold medal of superior value; which the super-addition of two or more languages successfully pursued, raises to a claim for a gold medal of the highest grade of all.

This system has proved to be a very efficient instrument in the promotion of order, diligence, self-control, good-humor and good manners. A satisfactory degree of zeal has been enkindled, and is perhaps kept alive in the pupils' minds by personal considerations, — although the *hope of reward* is seldom, if ever, adverted to by the teachers, — they appealing, on all proper occasions, to the highest motives for manly effort.

The present condition of this school may not be considered as conclusive proof of the propriety or success of this system of rewards; but it may not be amiss to state the fact that, although the school is private, unendowed, and unincorporated, and is over thirty years of age, it has flourished from the beginning, and never more than now, — having an excellent corps of (nine) teachers, and upwards of two hundred pupils in its ranks.

Finally, until the human mind shall have undergone some radical change in its elements and operations, rewards will continue to be an essential means of exciting the young to the ready and cheerful performance of duty.

There is another subject which has recently attracted much attention among the friends of schools and other philanthropists; most of whom have, as I think, indulged in a one-sided view of it. And these are the same individuals who condemn the use of school-rewards. With an occasional exception, they are men of *theory*, who look at the matter through the optics of their sympathies and benevolence, — and this from their closets; having little or no practical acquaintance with the supposed evil they deplore. Otherwise, they would receive with distrust the representations derived from partial sources, or made by incompetent judges. This is an error into which a zeal for reform often leads its votaries — driving them to unreasonable extremes. Many persons, under such circumstances, with an honest purpose and noble enthusiasm, — forgetting that "one swallow does not make a summer," — take for granted that, a single pupil having been injured, or *reported* to have been so, by excessive study, — while five hundred

pupils escaped unharmed, under the same course, — the whole system of school-lessons, and especially if learnt out of school, is and must be wrong, and should be condemned and universally discarded.

It is, however, a remarkable fact, that few *teachers* of experience and judgment, give any practical heed to the attempts of these so-called reformers. Being in "loco parentis" to their pupils, they feel their responsibleness, and are guided by their knowledge and their consciences, in the treatment of the individuals of their charge. If they were to discover that the children were suffering from excessive application, they would, doubtless, be the first to apply the remedy. Of this I can speak from personal knowledge; and am willing to affirm that, in one institution at least, the amount of out-of-school study was limited to an extent that could not injure the student; while a standing rule existed, both in school and out, prohibiting all labor on lessons, the moment that the eyes began to suffer, or the head or brain to ache. Nor can an instance be recalled, in which these evils or affections of the nerves were induced by excessive study, with the consent of the teachers. Mistakes may sometimes occur; no doubt they have occurred, and will happen again; but I have the most implicit belief that, as a general thing, teachers of schools feel a tender regard for their pupils, are desirous of their welfare, and watchful of whatever pertains to the health of their bodies as well as the improvement of their minds.

Builders of school-houses, at the present time, are solicitous that these structures should be arranged on the most philosophical principles, — to promote the health and comfort of those who are to occupy them, — in the matters of ventilation, the proper degree of heat, commodious desks, chairs, &c.; while the public supervisors are watchful to carry out the contemplated plans. At no time in the history of the country has so much been done, in nearly all the States in the Union, to promote the comfort of children in schools, as now. For these reasons I have been induced to offer these remarks, as a reply in part to complaints, which, unnoticed, might be thought, by those who should not investigate the charges, to be well founded, as against a universal evil in the schools. And, still further, I wish to avail myself of this opportunity of presenting to the readers of the Journal the following sensible extract from the Annual Report, for 1858, of the present Principal of Chauncy-Hall School; in which the subject under discussion is judiciously treated, and suggestions made, which, if adopted in practice, would probably cause the evils referred to, to disappear from the land, while an incalculable good to all ages and classes of persons would be introduced among us. I cheerfully en-

dorse every sentiment in it, and recommend its perusal to every parent under whose eye it may fall.

"The danger of overtasking the young mind and body by our present systems of education, has formed an exciting topic of discussion in our community, during the past year, and a few remarks upon it may not be inappropriate here. It is difficult to speak of what is done in other schools, or to judge of the effect of systems and arrangements, of which the direct working is not seen; but a few facts and deductions from personal reminiscence and experience, may throw some light on the subject.

"If confinement is one of the elements injurious to the pupil's health, there has been a great change effected in his favor during the last twenty years. The vacations have expanded from about four weeks to eight, nine, and, in the private schools for girls, to thirteen or fourteen weeks. Instead of protracting his studies far into the dog-days of August, the scholar may be sent to enjoy the renovating influences of the country in the month of July. Single holidays are much more numerous, both stated and occasional, giving pleasant respite from toil. School hours, too, have been essentially shortened; formerly seven hours a day were devoted to school in summer, while five or five and a half are now the limit. Nor is it a fact that so much more is accomplished or attempted either in or out of school, as has been frequently asserted, and is, perhaps, generally believed. Scholarship existed twenty years ago, and scholarship did not come without labor both in and out of school. It was not supposed that any valuable mental acquisitions could be made without working for them. The Latin and Greek Grammars had to be mastered, and about the same amount of preparatory study gone through by the boy who was intended for a collegiate education. At a somewhat earlier period, between the years 1820 and 1830, it was customary for many of the pupils of the Latin School in this city, to attend private intermediate schools between the morning and afternoon sessions, in order to give more attention to Writing, Spelling, Reading, &c., than the course at the public institution permitted. The writer well remembers rushing in hot haste from the old Latin School-house in School-street to the neighboring shades of Harvard Hall, to spend two additional hours; and never sees his venerated teachers of those days without internally thanking them for what they required him to do in this double process of school education. Many of the boys of that day still live to bear witness that they were not crushed by the labor, and, in fact, did not feel themselves particularly aggrieved by it. They, as well as their parents, accepted school and its requisitions as a sort of fate,

not to be struggled against or repined at. If the advantages were wanted, the price was to be paid.

"Boys were, undoubtedly, sick in those days, as they have always been, whether in school or out of school, in city or country; but their sicknesses were referred to natural causes. That there was less of a low and feeble state of the system, is probably a fact, for which abundant reasons exist in the modes of life and of bringing up children now prevalent. The popular error seems to lie in making school responsible for what results from other causes, and in supposing that health and vigor would exist if school and its requisitions were out of the way. Certainly some forms of life and occupation can be imagined that would give a higher degree of health and strength than any city or sedentary pursuit. But can these be obtained, as a general thing, by boys considered feeble or delicate, even supposing they had sufficient stamina to embrace them? Cut a boy off from school in a large city or its vicinity, and what is to become of him? He will be obliged to lounge listlessly at home the greater part of the time, absolutely suffering for healthy mental occupation; or, going abroad to seek companions or excitement, he is liable to form associations of the worst class, or to yield to the many temptations that present themselves on every side. Seldom will a greater amount of air and exercise be taken than might be enjoyed in connection with attendance at school; while habits of application and regularity may be irretrievably injured. It is to be hoped, therefore, that the parents of feeble children will try the other means in their power of improving their health, before depriving them of the great advantage of early training and instruction, and not continue in a permanent state of dissatisfaction with school, as if it were necessarily a hardship or deleterious influence. Before we can see a general and high state of health in our schools and universities, there must be a change in the habits of our community, and in nothing more than in the prevalent modes of bringing up children. The influences of climate, so much dwelt upon by medical writers, we shall have to bear. If we suffer from being an unacclimated race, it will take many generations to bring about a change; we can only resist its influences by such means as are in our power. More simplicity, more hardihood, more true manliness, are wanted in both young and old. Luxury and effeminacy are fast unstringing both the bodily and mental nerves of that portion of our people considered the most highly favored.

"Where circumstances do not compel the practice of self-denial, resolution and perseverance, to overcome the physical necessities of life, those stern teachers which have developed so many strong and

manly natures, education must aim at a similar result. Simplicity of food and clothing will have as favorable an effect upon the children of the rich, when enforced as a matter of principle, as if compulsory. The early hours and habits of steady labor of the children of toil, can be imitated by those who have the privilege of practising them in furtherance of the nobler object of gaining an education. Where the desire for play does not lead to habits of healthy exercise, it is the duty of parents to see that it is taken in some of those forms which even city life admits. The use of tobacco and other hurtful stimulants must not be learned. In fine, the body must be made to keep its place and do its work as a good servant, and not pampered and flattered till it leads the mind whithersoever it will, and compels it to do its bidding.

"In accomplishing these objects, parents will find, that, if they add example to precept, the effect will be greatly increased. It is of little use for a full-grown man to talk to a child of the importance of air and exercise, if he never stirs from the fireside or the desk. It is his part to lead the way in the good path. A father who takes his son to walk, to ride, to row, to swim, to skate, shows that he believes what he preaches, and is disposed to reap the benefits of exercise in his own person. So, too, in abstinence from injurious practices. It is of very little use to reprobate the habit of smoking, for instance, and yet set the example of it himself. It is one of the responsibilities of paternity, that cannot be shaken off or got over, to *do* the thing that we wish the child to *learn*. Anything short of this, so far as circumstances permit, is less than the duty of a father.

"These remarks are equally applicable to the weightier matters, affecting not merely the outward well-being, but the spiritual welfare of the child. He must be directly taught those things which lead to eternal life, and guided into the narrow path, by parental example. The channel of communication must be kept open, and the workings and tendencies of the young soul not suffered to hide themselves. The watchful parent will make himself acquainted with the good and evil tendencies of his child, and will make it his first duty to cultivate the one and restrain the other."

III. THE TRUE ORDER OF STUDIES.

BY REV. THOMAS HILL,
Waltham, Mass.

In our former article we gave a general view of the whole field of education as it presents itself to us. We propose, now, to take it up more in detail, and, in the present article, to treat particularly of early instruction in mathematical studies. But, before we begin the discussion of the special subject, let us briefly recapitulate the general views, which lead us to assign this special study a primary place in education.

A child's will, under the guidance of reason, and at the impulse of passion or feeling, manifests itself through a physical organization. A fourfold education is therefore needed. It is essential that the body should be in good health, and that its powers, both of perception and of action, should be trained to promptness, accuracy, and efficiency. It is necessary that just sentiments and pure emotions should be fostered, evil passions and wrong desires repressed. Nor can we neglect the enlightenment of the reason and the training of the logical powers. Least of all will a true education fail to give energy and purity of purpose to the will.

Now, these four modes of education, — the religious, which directs and strengthens the will, the intellectual, which informs and develops the reason, the moral, which cultivates the taste and restrains the passions, and the physical, which exercises the senses and develops the muscles, — must be carried on together, and not one of them can be neglected with impunity by those intrusted with the education of youth, whether in the nursery, the school, or the college.

Again, there are three sets of intellectual powers, — the perceptive, the conceptive, and the logical. All knowledge rests on a double basis of perception and conception; but perception logically precedes conception. The powers of imagination and reasoning are developed through the exercise given by observation; hence the natural order of education would be, to teach first those sciences most dependent on observation, and lastly those most dependent on consciousness. Now, this order will lead us first to mathematics, the science in which consciousness plays the least important part; for, although our ideas of

time come from inward observation, and are thus partly derived from consciousness, the idea of space, which is the more important element in mathematics, is wholly from without. But in no other science is there any idea which is wholly free from dependence upon our own consciousness of power. Geometry is thus shown to be naturally the first study for a child; it is of all studies least dependent on intuitions, and therefore is best adapted for the undeveloped mind. But geometry and the mathematics in general have a higher claim to be the first study of a scholar than their mere adaptation to the weakness of the inexperienced student. They are the necessary prelude to the understanding of other sciences. It must at all events be conceded that a minute and thorough acquaintance with mathematical principles is a necessary part of any successful preparation for the study of physics. Geometry or the calculus is the Ithuriel's spear which is able to make a plausible physical theory assume its true appearance of falsehood and deformity.

But, among the various branches of mathematics, which takes precedence in time? Which comes first in the order of study, — geometry, algebra or arithmetic? Beyond all controversy, we must say geometry. The idea of form is the first of all the ideas, on which any science has been founded, to enter the child's mind. The child learns to recognize innumerable objects by their shapes, many months and usually even several years before it is able to count. What stronger testimony could Nature bear to the propriety of teaching geometry before arithmetic? We may also remark that the history of the race confirms this view of the proper succession of mathematical studies. Geometry had made great advances while yet arithmetic was but partially developed, and algebra had not yet been invented.

A young child, whose attention is easily arrested by mere differences of figure, will usually prove an apter scholar, in geometry, than an older child, whose mind has become partially accustomed to abstract thought, and whose attention is not so readily fixed on differences of simple outline. We have, for the sake of testing this view, given isolated experimental lessons to children of various ages, and to the same child at various periods of his life; and, although we have not kept any such precise record of these experiments as their importance deserved, we have been convinced that they sustained our theory. A boy of fifteen, who has never studied geometry, is not so well prepared to study it as he was at the age of eight or ten. Of course we do not mean that a child under ten years of age is capable of following geometrical demonstrations; — this would be contrary to all our philosophy of the subject. The powers of reasoning required

in geometrical demonstration are not developed until four or five years later.

One great cause of the neglect of geometry, in our primary school education, is doubtless to be found in this false view of the study; — that it is simply a logical drill. Even many of the admirers of mathematics, pleading for the use of geometry in education, take this view of the study, that it is a means of developing the power of continuous thought and consecutive reasoning. Thus, also, in Sir William Hamilton's argument against the study, he contents himself with showing that other sciences afford better training for the powers of logical thought.

But the powers of observation and the powers of imagination or conception are as important as those of reasoning; and the great value of geometry for the young child is the stimulus which it gives to the habit of exact observation, and to the power of clear, definite conception. In order to produce this beneficial effect upon a child's mind, it must however be presented in a form adapted to his powers, and to his natural modes of thought. We have found, in our own experience, nothing better, for the first lessons, than the little bricks described by Miss Edgeworth. We do not refer to the blocks of various shapes which may be ordinarily found in the toy-shops. Those described in "Frank" are much better, — rectangular parallelopipeds, whose dimensions are in the ratio 1 : 2 : 4. Those which we have had manufactured and placed for sale with Messrs. Holden & Cutter, Boston, are of birch or maple, two inches long, one inch wide, and half an inch thick. When made with care, exactly in these proportions, and provided with a small percentage of blocks having the same width and depth, but of the length of one inch and of four inches, they furnish the means not only of inexhaustible amusement, but of valuable intellectual development. They should be in the hands of a child from the time he is eighteen months old to the age of ten years. The child must be taught to lay these bricks exactly, breaking joints, binding courses together, and so on, as in real brickwork. The variety of structures, all beautiful and symmetrical, which an ingenious boy of ten years old will make with a hundred of these assorted blocks, would astonish the uninitiated. Square and circular buildings, pyramids, crosses, gateways, columns surmounted by crosses, and natural arches of various forms, may be combined in a variety of modes. For the building of real arches, centerings must be provided, and also a substitute for mortar in the shape of numerous little keystones or wooden wedges, one of which is to be inserted in each joint of the arch before the centering is removed.

It will be apparent that this play cultivates the imagination, as well as the observing powers, and leads, under the guidance of a teacher, to habits of precision in observing and in acting.

The second means of geometrical education is to be found in the Chinese tangram or geometrical puzzle. This consists in giving a child the outlines of a figure, and requiring him to form the figure by placing together a given number of pasteboard triangles. Outlines should at first be given, which may be formed by placing together two or three triangles, and the complexity of the outline may afterwards be increased so as to require as many as seven pieces of pasteboard. These puzzles are adapted for children of the age of from four to twelve years. They cultivate the power of exact observation, and of the rapid analysis or dissection of forms.

When the child is able to analyze figures composed of three or four triangles, which may be at the age of from six to eight years, he will be ready for geometrical truth in an abstract form of words; but great care must be taken that he do not learn to say the words by rote. The great value of geometry, to a child of that age, lies in the power, which it may give him, of building a clear and precise image in his mind of that which he has not actually seen. Care must also be taken not to attempt to make him understand the proof of the proposition which you announce to him; — let him receive it on trust, as food for his imagination, and not attempt to establish it as a datum for reasoning. If the child asks for proof, and the demonstration is fully within the grasp of his mind, it may be well to give it to him; but there are few children under ten years who are capable of understanding the simplest geometrical demonstration. On the other hand, there are primary schools in Waltham in which scores of children, under ten years of age, have been made thoroughly acquainted with the leading truths of the geometry of the triangle and the circle; many also, under the age of twelve, who have obtained a clear knowledge of the relations of the cycloidal curves to their evolutes, and of some of the principal theorems concerning conic sections and the catenary curve. The value of this knowledge to these children will be manifold. It has already afforded to each of them an excellent culture of the power of clear and definite conception; it has enlarged their sphere of thought, and linked the highest mathematical truth with their playthings, — the hoop, the swing, the jumping-rope, and the ball; it has made them partakers in the fruit gathered by the highest spirits of our race. This clearness and precision of observation and of conception will be of use in every occupation of life, and render their testimony and their judgment of more value to them-

selves and to other men; even the powers of the eye and of the hand will be more likely to receive an accurate self-culture, for use in the mechanic arts, from this imposed culture of the geometrical imagination. And if there be, among the children thus early furnished with the germs of this science, any scholar whose natural gifts peculiarly fit him to advance its progress, or to use to advantage the higher mathematics, there is nothing which could more surely lead him to application than to give him the curious and interesting results which have been attained by the application of others. As the imagination is stimulated to action by the visible forms of nature, so is the reason stimulated to action by the creations of the imagination. The sight of a hanging chain, for example, stimulates the imagination to conceive of the curve line formed by a chain of infinitely small links. This conception arouses the logical powers to inquire into the relations of the parts of such a curve to each other. A boy of ten years old, playing with a chain fence, may be taught, and may, by his muscular power, roughly test the truth of the assertion, that the horizontal tension of a chain is equal to the weight of a piece of chain equal in length to the radius of curvature of the lowest point of the curve; and may easily draw the corollary that no amount of power can draw a flexible thread horizontally, *perfectly*, straight. The marvellousness of this corollary will fix the theorem ineradicably in his remembrance; and, if he be a boy of mathematical power, he will, years afterwards, when he takes up the demonstrations of geometry, wish to know the proof of the proposition. But he will find that simple geometry is not enough. He takes up algebra, and applies it to geometry, but the theorem is still too difficult; he adds the resources of trigonometry, but is no nearer the proof that he desires. He enters college, and learns the marvellous uses of Descartes' coördinates, but this simple problem is beyond the reach of their magic. Finally, his curiosity, aroused so many years before, is gratified when in his senior year he has learned something of Leibnitz and Newton's Calculus, and something of the Analytical Mechanics of Lagrange, and takes up the discussion of the catenary curve. Nor does the student who has early learned such truths come to these studies under the same disadvantages as ordinary scholars. The young men of our colleges, when entering on the study of the higher curves, have a twofold difficulty, that of mastering the conception of the curves, and that of mastering the use of the analytical instrument by which they are investigated. But when the student has already a knowledge of the curve, and an ease in producing geometrical pictures

before his fancy, he can bend his whole force upon the mastery of the analytical instrument.

At the same time that the child is expanding his powers of geometrical conception, — that is, from the age of six or eight to that of eleven or twelve, according to his ability, — he should also be gaining simple ideas of numbers. And, in doing this, he should follow the order of nature, and begin with concrete numbers, such as beans, corn, balls, or counters. Beans are, on the whole, the cheapest and cleanest. They should not be employed in a niggardly way. Let the child see heaps of ten, heaps of a hundred, and heaps of a thousand. He should not be accustomed to use the names of numbers in counting, without gaining by sight a just conception of their meaning, which he cannot do from the petty number of balls upon an ordinary abacus. Not that the pupil is to be principally occupied with large numbers. On the contrary, he will find in numbers under thirty occupation for many a series of most interesting and instructive experiments with beans. Give him, for instance, 29 beans, and bid him divide them into any number of equal heaps that he can. When he has found that his task is impossible, take away one bean, and let him find that 28 may be divided either in four sevens or seven fours. Then add two, and let him discover that 30 may be divided into six fives or five sixes; two fifteens or fifteen twos; two groups of three fives, or two groups of five threes; three groups of five twos, or three groups of two fives, and so on. Thus alone can a clear knowledge be given of the actual difference between a prime and a composite number. Nor is this the simplest example. Begin with two beans, — teach the child to recognize it as a couple, as two, in whatever position. Add one, — teach him to recognize it as a triplet, as three, in whatever position. Show him that $2+1=3$, and $3-1=2$, $3-2=1$. Add another bean. Show him it can be divided into two couples. Show him that $3+1=4$, $2+2=4$, $4-1=3$, $4-2=2$, $2\times 2=4$. Add another bean; it is no longer divisible into equal parts; drill him on recognizing five as a quintette, — as five, in whatever position they are placed, and on the addition and subtraction of its parts. Take up six, — lead him to divide it into three couples, or into two triplets. Explain by the beans the two meanings of dividing six by three, — that is, of either separating it into three equal parts, or of separating it into equal parts each of which consists of three. Show the identity of 3×2 and 2×3, each equalling 6. Proceed in this way with all the numbers, and you will find many months pass before the pupil will recognize a dozen as a dozen, at a glance, and before he will unravel the various combinations of groups, simi-

larly constituted, into which 24 beans may be arranged, such, for instance, as two groups, each of three couples of twos.

The teacher of the common school may object that he has no time for such an exercise. He should then make it, by omitting the more difficult and abstract studies to which a pupil of this age is sometimes condemned. The quickness of perception given by the exercise of counting small parcels of beans, under twenty, at a glance, is more valuable to a child of that age than the intellectual discipline of mental arithmetic. In nearly every school of New England a disproportionate amount of time is given to arithmetic. The science is taught backward, beginning with reasoning instead of with observation, and is hampered also with factitious difficulties produced by a variety of unessential names and processes.

When, by means of the beans, the idea of numbers has been made familiar as well as their names, the pupil should take up written arithmetic; this may, perhaps, be at the age of eight or ten. The decimal notation is to be taught, and by means of a thousand or so of beans rendered intelligible and impressive. For decimal fractions, which should be taught (as in Pliny E. Chase's treatise) at the commencement of exercises on the slate, break up two or three dry beans into small pieces, from which select ten that are nearly one tenth each, and also some of the finer powder, which may represent hundredths. When the pupil thus perceives that the decimal scale is capable of representing the infinitesimal as well as the infinite, let him also be made familiar with the fact that the unit is in general an arbitrary standard, and that the same quantity of beans may, by removing the decimal point, be represented as so many tens, or hundreds, tenths, or hundredths.

After the pupil has made himself complete master of the four fundamental rules (including long division, in decimals), and of the principal characteristics of prime and composite numbers, let him take up mental arithmetic, and be kept at it until he is complete master of Warren Colburn's first lessons. This may not, however, be accomplished before he has, at the same time, made himself a proficient in all the ordinary operations of arithmetic. In the choice of a treatise upon this science, we have given a decided preference to Pliny E. Chase's over all others, because of its simplicity, and because of the immense number of its examples, — which two qualities render the learner expert in figures in a much shorter time than is usually given to this study. The whole subject is usually introduced to the child's mind too early, and he is kept at it to too late a period in his education.

By the time that the pupil has mastered his ordinary arithmetic he will be ready to return to geometry, and take a simple course of instruction in geometrical demonstrations, and in the application of geometry to practical use. The great master of antiquity has left in his "Elements" a model of the reasoning art, but it is not in a form best calculated for young minds. The process of analysis naturally precedes synthesis, and must necessarily precede it in the mind of one who would demonstrate a new proposition; hence, a text-book ought to give more examples of analysis than of synthesis. Moreover, the object of a geometrical demonstration is not simply to prove the theorem demonstrated, but also to impart to the pupil the power of demonstration; for which reason a text-book ought to be interspersed abundantly with undemonstrated propositions and unsolved problems, as is the case in works on arithmetic and algebra. If no such text-book is readily accessible, the teacher should select, from books not in the scholar's hands, theorems allied to those which the scholar is studying, and propose their solution as an exercise for the class.

When the pupil has made some progress in geometrical demonstrations, say at the age of thirteen to fifteen, he should be taught the use of logarithms. Only a few weeks' practice will be required to give him ease and rapidity in the use of this "wonderful rule," this marvellous "new instrument" of the seventeenth century. Logarithmic tables, while in all the more difficult calculations of astronomy, geology, and civil engineering, they are an indispensable aid, are very seldom resorted to in other cases where arithmetical results are required. Yet, as there is nothing whatever difficult in their practical application, and a facility in using them once acquired is not easily lost, there seems no reason why they should not be found in every counting-room, and used as occasion requires.

The scholar should also at this age begin to acquaint himself with algebra. With the mathematical preparation which we have now recommended, the ordinary processes of algebra will present few difficulties; and in one or two years the scholar will find the solution of equations of the first and second degree, and approximation to higher roots, by means of derivatives, a familiar and easy task.

A short and simple course of trigonometry, and a very elementary course of perspective, and of descriptive geometry in general, will finish a high-school course of mathematics.

The college course will vary according as the system of instruction embraces or omits voluntary studies. Our whole scheme of instruction, as exhibited in the tabular view (pp. 188–9 of this Journal), is

based upon the idea that every human being needs education in the five branches of the hierarchy, and in each of the great divisions of that branch. The amount of study in each branch will depend in part upon the capacity of the scholar. We have endeavored to lay down a scheme extended enough to satisfy all except rare instances of extraordinary talent, and yet simple enough to be within reach of a fair proportion of our children. From our observation of the public schools of our own town, we should say that twelve or fifteen per cent. of the children in New England can, without any over-exertion, go through all that we have here laid down.

In the tabular view given in our former article, we have placed the rhythm of verse and music among the early incidental studies of algebra. The connection between algebra and the science of time is not so obvious as that between geometry and the science of space, and this is not the place to introduce any discussion of the reality of the connection. But it is the opinion of some of the highest mathematical authorities of our day, that even the idea of number involves obscurely the idea of time as well as of space; and that the laws of algebra are primarily the laws of progression in time, — that they are rather illustrated than fulfilled by geometrical forms. If this be so, the cultivation of an ear for rhythm, the custom of beating time to music, and of attending to the balancing of musical phrases, will facilitate the subsequent conception of equations and of their transformations, as surely as the attention to forms, and the attempt to draw outlines, will facilitate the subsequent study of geometry. It may be objected to this statement, that the best draughtsmen are sometimes notoriously deficient in mathematical power — the best musicians notoriously ignorant of algebra. It must be conceded that space and time seem capable of being approached and handled from entirely opposite points of view, and that art and science flow, as it were, from opposite poles of the mental battery. But we are persuaded that there is not a real antagonism between them, and that the apparent conflict comes merely from the limited capacity of the human mind, in which close attention to one mode of viewing an object usually excludes all other modes. In souls of a larger growth there is found to be no incompatibility, and Art and Science are helpers of each other; Geometry and Optics justifying and sustaining Sculpture and Painting, and they in turn giving new interest and delight to those sciences; while Music and Poetry hold a similar, although more obscure, relation to Algebra.

We have treated of the mathematics, in the present article, as though they were isolated subjects; but the remarks which we have

made concerning their relation to art warn us that we must never forget the intimate blending of all themes of thought into one great universe of truth. The five branches of the hierarchy are all indispensable, and are all so interwoven that one is well taught only as it is perceived to lie in harmonious connection with the others. For this reason the teacher of mathematics should be prepared, during the whole of the course of instruction, to point out to the pupil the bonds that link his subject with the physical world, with the laws of astronomy, chemistry, botany, and zoölogy; with the history of man, of his speculation, and of his action, with mechanical inventions, with art and with commerce; with the nature of man, capable of apprehending the mathematical thoughts that have guided the Creator of the world in the formation of all things; with the nature of that Being who has made all contained in space, or evolved in time, and subjected them to laws which are a source of such instructive and delightful investigation for his children to pursue, and which, in the forms and appearances they produce, awaken also such manifold sources of pleasure in the beauty and harmony of His works.

The principal views which we have endeavored to present in this article may be summed up in three sentences: that geometry should precede arithmetic in the training of a child's mathematical powers,— that in each of these two studies concrete forms should precede abstract language, observation and conception precede reasoning,—and that the cultivation of the power of definite conception by geometry is as truly valuable as the cultivation of the logical power. We cannot agree with the opinion that arithmetic is of more practical utility than geometry; yet, if we were of that opinion, we should still teach our children geometry first, arithmetic afterwards. For a change of occupation is a rest, and the boy, who begins with geometry and reserves arithmetic to a later period, develops his powers in a more natural order, achieves his task with less fatigue, and, at the age of fifteen, not only knows more of other things, but more of arithmetic also, than he could have known, had his taste for numerical computations been destroyed by a premature, and too continuous application to that science.

In our next article we propose to consider the proper mode of introducing the young to Natural History.

VI. THE PROGRESSIVES OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

[Translated from the German of Karl Von Raumer, for the American Journal of Education.]

We have already become acquainted with the educational institutions of Protestant Germany, from the lowest elementary school to the university; and likewise with the character of the most important Catholic schools—those of the Jesuits.

We now approach the beginning of a new period in the history of the German systems of instruction; at the same time, the most frightful period in the history of Germany. Before delineating the character of this new epoch, I shall glance at the condition of the schools of learning in Germany, at the beginning of the seventeenth century.

First, the institutions of the Jesuits. The Order had early discerned the immeasurable importance to its purpose—the purpose of re-establishing an absolute hierarchy, and of nullifying the results of the Reformation—of securing to itself, if possible, the entire management of the education of youth. The Jesuits followed up their design with wonderful wisdom and skill, and indefatigable perseverance; and upon comprehensive and well-studied plans.* In 1550, they had no permanent foothold in Germany. The next year they founded their first school, in Vienna; in 1556, they established seminaries at Cologne, Prague, and Ingolstadt; in 1559, at Munich and Tyrnau; in 1563, at Dillingen; in 1569, at Brannsberg; and, in 1575, at Heiligenstadt.† They also established themselves firmly at Mentz, Aschaffenburg, Brünn, Olmütz, and Würzburg.

The Jesuits were accustomed to use every means of accomplishing their objects; and well understood how to put out of their way such institutions as obstructed them—not only Protestant, but Catholic ones—as in Treves, Posen, and Prague.

In Treves, the Hieronymites had established a Brothers' House, at the end of the 15th century.‡ Johannes Even, substitute-bishop of

* Ranke's account of the Counter-Reformation.—*History of the Popes*, Vol. 2, p. 25, &c.

† Director Rinke says, ("*Gymnasial Programme*," Heiligenstadt, 1837,) "In 1574 commenced the work of regaining Eichsfeld to Catholicism." Two years after the erection of the Jesuit school there, in 1577, it already had 200 scholars. The Jesuits remained there until 1773, when Dalberg came from Erfurt, and ordered them, in pursuance of the bull of abrogation of Clement XIV., to leave the city before daybreak of Sept. 30.—Ibid, pp. 5, 11, 41.

‡ "Contribution to the history of schools in the former electorate of Treves, by First Director J. H. Wyttenbach." In the Treves Gymnasium programme of 1841, p. 10, &c.

Treves, gives (about 1514,) a most favorable account of them, as good and respected priests, of virtuous life, and as having in his time 300 scholars. The people gave the Hieronymians the surname of "golden priests." A protestant movement appearing in the archbishopric, Archbishop Johann von der Leyen invited the Jesuits to Treves, in 1560. They begun by preaching; then the elector appointed them teachers; and, in 1566, they had a college, completely organized. "The Hieronymian College of St. Germain, was still in existence, although operations were already commenced to undermine the institution from a distance, since it did not seem practicable openly to overturn it. But it was easy to foresee that, by the side of that of the Jesuits, which received all the favors of the prince, it could not exist much longer." In 1570, the Jesuits got possession of a convent, which the Minorites were obliged to leave, "altogether against their will, and to remove into the building of the College of St. Germain, where the school of the Hieronymians had at last come to an end. Of these latter teachers was remaining, in 1569, only one." They were obliged "at Treves, as elsewhere, to give way to the new order. All the schools came into the hands of the Jesuits."* In Posen,† Bishop Lubranski had established a school, in 1519; the Jesuits founded theirs in 1573. They contrived to get such an influence over Bishop Konarski, that he not only favored and assisted the Jesuit college in every way, but altogether neglected Lubranski's school, and intentionally suffered it to decline. In 1574, most of its pupils had already left it for the Jesuit institution, in which they were permitted much greater liberty. Thus did this order use their seductive influence, as well against Catholics as Protestants. A merchant, Ryot, had founded an evangelical school here, in 1567; and still earlier, in 1555, one had been established by the Bohemian brothers. In 1616, both these schools, as well as the evangelical church, were "destroyed by the scholars of the Jesuits, and a mob acting in concert with them." In 1621, after the battle of the White Mountains, the Jesuits intrigued most recklessly against both Catholics and Protestants. In spite of the opposition of Archbishop Harrach of Prague, and in violation of the existing rights of the chapter, university, dean, and minister, they seized the exclusive control of all schools and institutions of education. In the same year, they drove the Calvinistic preachers into Bohemia.‡

* Ib., p. 14.

† "On the former schools of Poland, especially in Posen," by Prof. Czwalina. Posen Gymnasium programme, 1837, pp. 10, 14, 18, 19.

‡ Raumer's History of Europe, iii. 416.

With the purpose which the Jesuits had in view, they very naturally established themselves, as far as possible, in Protestant cities, or in their vicinity. And Protestant parents in various portions of Germany were, nevertheless, so blind, as to intrust their children to the Order, for instruction. Should they wonder or be angry, if they were thus enticed into the bosom of the Catholic church?

When the Jesuits, in 1621, were about building a stately college at Alt-Schottland, before the very doors of Dantzig, Johannes Schröder, teacher in the Dantzig Gymnasium, wrote to the council, that there was urgent need for their schools to rouse themselves; "lest," he says, "these fellows, with their institution, obtain the pre-eminence and the prize. Otherwise, much young blood will be seized upon by them, and thoroughly contaminated. I know these birds—I understand the Jesuits. I had twelve years' acquaintance with them in Brunswick."*

Against this far-seeing and deeply-planned educational activity of the Jesuits, we have already seen with what hearty zeal the Protestants, reformers, educators, and princes, exerted themselves for the erection or improvement of schools. Especially prominent, in the second half of the 16th century, is Johannes Sturm, as a normal educator. His method, says Morhof,† was followed not only by the German cities, but also by those of foreign lands. We have seen that the school system of Duke Christopher, of Wurtemberg, and that of August I., of Saxony, corresponded very nearly with Sturm's. His model was followed in the most different German cities. The plan drawn up for the Stralsund Gymnasium, in 1591, by Rector Jentzkow, was "no other than the method laid down by Johann Sturm, in his various writings, extended and adapted with great care and judgment."‡ In like manner, it is related by Rector Heinrich Petreus, that, in organizing the Göttingen Gymnasium, he took that of Strasburg for a model.§ In the gymnasium at Frankfurt-on-the-Mayne, Sturm's method was followed.‖ The introduction of decurions, in the gymnasium at Liegnitz, as well as at Frankfurt, was evidently after Sturm's plan.¶

The contest of the confessionals was transferred to the schools. But, nevertheless, Protestants and Catholics sought the same object in their efforts for literary culture. Sturm said: "I have observed what

* "History of the Academic Gymnasium in Dantzig, by Prof. Dr. Th. Hirsch." Dantzig Gymnasium programme, Aug. 3. 1837. Exceedingly valuable.

† Morhof Polyhistor. Ed. 4, 1747; 1, 333.

‡ Zober; Stralsund Gymnasium programme, 1846, p. 7.

§ Some account of the ancient schools of Göttingen, by Dir. Kirsten, 1840, p. 7.

‖ On the trecentennial jubilee of the Frankfurt Gymnasium, by Rector Vömel. 1829, p. 5.

¶ Gymnasium programme of Rector Köhler, in Liegnitz, 1837.

writers the Jesuits explain, and what method they follow; and it differs so little from ours, that it seems as if they had drank from our fountains."

Against this system of education, common to the Protestants and Jesuits of that day, adversaries now rose up. In the first decennium of the 17th century, commenced that contest of pedagogical principles, originating from Protestant sources, which, under varying forms, has lasted even to the present day.

Those who sought to introduce these new principles and new ideals into pedagogy, I shall for that reason denominate Progressives. This term is to be understood as implying neither praise nor blame. It is to indicate not at all whether the new matter brought forward by these men was good, or bad, or mingled of both.

Innovations were to be expected. When any mode of culture is exclusively adhered to, until it passes over into caricature; whenever only this or that subject of instruction is regarded, to the exclusion of others; and only the faculties employed about that subject developed, while others are neglected; sooner or latter, this condition of affairs brings its own retribution, in the reaction which must follow. And this reaction, moreover, commonly in its turn overpasses the limits of moderation, becomes a radicalism, and seeks entirely to extirpate what had previously been made too prominent.

Thus it happened in the pedagogical controversy which was now beginning. That the philological education had been pushed into caricature, Erasmus had already seen, and had satirized the imitators of Cicero. His "*Ciceronianus*" seems yet to have made no impression upon Sturm. The latter's ideal of attainment was, and remained, Ciceronian Latin eloquence; and he would make every school-boy, as far as possible, a Ciceronian. We wonder at his method, at the professional and literary skill with which he pursued his object, and concentrated all the mental powers upon it. But, if it be asked, Was his ideal of attainment the true one? We can not escape the reply, that he himself, and his innumerable imitators, in their zeal to train their scholars to a Ciceronian eloquence, undervalued almost every thing else worth learning, and every intellectual gift of the pupil as well, except that of speaking. We have moreover seen that Bacon and Montaigne, directly or indirectly, opposed this purely philological training. But neither of these was an educator, and they were therefore not in a condition.

But it was not long before there were teachers, also, contending actively against the cotemporary system of instruction. Two men appeared, who, for many years, made persevering and unintermitted

efforts to develop, and put in practice, a new method of teaching. These were Wolfgang Ratich and Johann Amos Comenius. With them commences a long series of educational methodologists, in which Locke, Rousseau, Basedow, and Pestalozzi, are most prominent. These men differed widely; from personal character, the influences of country, religious belief, and the times and circumstances in which they lived; yet we find something of a common character in the principles and tendencies of them all. I will preface, to the monographs upon these men, a short discussion of these common elements, as composers introduce into the overture of an opera the principal themes which are afterward to be heard in the work itself.

Sight was becoming clearer, views wider, and many new opinions and ideals of value had arisen. In truth, the horizon enlarged so rapidly, that the vision of the observers failed to command it. Frequently the Progressives were incompetent to work out the complete exemplification of their own ideals. It was with entire correctness that they recognized as indispensable, and as founded in human nature, and as demanded by the relations of actual life, elements of culture unthought of by preceding teachers. They were right in opposing their narrow one-sidedness, and the manifold errors in their courses of instruction. But, again, even from the short characterizations of the Progressives* which follow, it will appear, that they in their turn failed to recognize many valuable constituents of a perfected course of study; and, in opposing one extreme, fell themselves into the other. Let us hope that we ourselves, taking warning by this error, may shun both extremes, thankfully recognize the good existing in each of the two conflicting parties, and hold it fast; and thus accomplish an actual and solid reconciliation of both.

The traits common to the Progressives are these:—

1. They all vigorously controverted the systems of education and instruction prevailing in their day. They called the common methods of instruction, which remained substantially the same, from the Reformation nearly down to our own times—that of the *Grammatici* (Philologists)—a blind groping, without road or object.

2. They offered, not an improved method, but asserted that the teaching of the *Grammatici* was entirely unmethodical; and offered simply a method; as something entirely new. This was to conduct the student forward, from the simplest and most comprehensible elements of each subject taught, by a plain, short, and easy way, to the attainment of his end. They said even, in substance, that, with the

* In the course of the History, I shall furnish the proofs of this description.

inner organic necessities of the pupil, the blossoms and fruits of learning would be developed.

3. They wrote manuals, adapted to their methods; by the use of which, as they claimed, one as well as another, the intelligent and the stupid alike could learn well, if only he adhered to the text-book with diligent and even pedantic exactitude. This equalized talents; indeed, it was questioned whether independent and untrammeled teachers were not inferior, in pedagogic efficiency, to those of more moderate endowments.

4. These views were carried into actual caricature by some, who ventured to maintain: That intelligence or dullness is a matter of indifference to the scholar. The teacher who adheres closely to the method, will accomplish every thing by that means. He can carve a Mercury, and make grass grow, out of the same timber.

5. They opposed, in particular, the current modes of instruction; calling them vain, lifeless memory-cramming. (This was their usual term for it.)* This was especially the case with the usual methods of teaching the ancient languages; which the Progressives promised to teach in a shorter time, and an easier manner; one in one new way, and another in another.

6. They applied the term lifeless to the so-called memory-cramming, because by it the pupil was made to learn so many things which he did not understand. They aimed at imparting life to instruction, by calling into action the understanding of the child, in proportion as they omitted the drilling of memory. Some of them seem indeed to have had no reverence for the mystery of the memory, and even to have known nothing of any intellectually living human memory, but only of a mere echo-like parrot's memory; and not to have known how very common is the phenomenon of an understanding stupefied by drilling.

7. While undervaluing the receptivity, so natural to youth, they endeavored, on the contrary, to stimulate the learner to an incessant and unnatural effort after precocious production. Estimating all communicated knowledge at a low rate, they preached to the young generation the doctrine that they were to take pride in shaping out and accomplishing every thing for themselves; and that to themselves, therefore, were they to be indebted for every thing.

8. Since our method is conformable to nature, said the Progressives, the children will learn, voluntarily, with ease and pleasure. And they gave assurances that, by their method, all punishments, corporeal

* An expression somewhat appropriate for the military style in which the teachers put the children through their rote-exercises.

ones especially, would cease of themselves; being only the results of a course of instruction uncongenial, and stimulating to disobedience.

9. Some of the Progressives would have had each scholar taught according to his individual peculiarities and gifts; not all alike. Others, on the contrary, regarded only the human character in general. As there is only one and the same nature, they said, common to all men, so there should be only one and the same method of education. The former of these was the more aristocratic view, the latter democratic; the former was entertained by those who looked to the education of some single normal pupil, the latter by those who aimed at common education.

10. The Progressives had a regard for the mother tongue; indeed, a special one; and contended against the tyrannical dominion of the Latin, without altogether rejecting it. By this study of the mother tongue, by introducing it among subjects of instruction, they endeavored, if not to break up the sharp distinction maintained by means of Latin between educated and non-educated classes, at least to narrow it as far as possible, and to promote at once an education independent of Latin, and democratic sentiments.

11. They set great value upon real studies, and endeavored to connect them with studies in language.

12. Connected with these traits are the progress of bodily exercise, and the controversy against dark and dim school rooms.

13. As the mother tongue and real studies became prominent, opposition arose to the education of uneducated persons in the Latin schools; and separate real schools were demanded. Some, from true Christian love, turned their attention to the improvement of the common schools, which were undervalued by most of the Latinist learned men, and labored extensively in their behalf.

14. These Progressives opposed themselves not only to the memory, but the imagination—more however in effect than in theory. Their unnatural and precocious stimulation of the reason of the children destroyed their imagination. Of the beautiful they said nothing. If they taught music, drawing, &c., it was upon a rationalist, anti-artistic plan. Poetry was neglected, or taught with loveless and unfriendly coldness. The poems were analyzed and interpreted to death.

15. The intuition, of which there was so much said amongst them, tended to the development of imagination; although, for the most part, only apparently so. They disturbed the quiet necessary for it, by incessant repetition, and torturing questions, and destroyed the natural susceptibility to ideas by the most untimely and repulsive

reflections and reasonings. This word does not signify a complete expression in the mind of the scholar; it refers much more to words put too soon into the child's mind by the teacher. He was obliged to name and describe things entirely strange to him. Thus the so, called exercises in intuition were only empty exercises in talking, without any real substance.

16. They were especially strict in insisting that the pupils, even the youngest, should have a clear conciousnese in all their saying and acting; and should give a thorough account of all their doings and thinkings, in clear and well-chosen words. By diligent reflection upon language and speaking, it was thus expected that the pupils would become able to hear and to speak intelligently. In this manner they sought to drive the children away from their natural simplicity, and to train them into an unnatural, unchild-like condition; one occupied by themselves, and trying to manage and govern themselves.

17. With this controversy against the memory, was united, on the part of many, an undervaluation of history, and a deification of the present and the actual. Thus was induced the most powerful tendency to mere earthly, material interest, and earthly things and labors, and an entire contempt for a higher and freer culture.

18. With some of the Progressives of the eighteenth century there appeared a distinct form of Pelagianism. The problem of the educator, according to them, was only this: To promote the vegetative development of the natural good endowments of each child, after the fashion of a gardener, so that the inborn *potentia* may ripen into *actus*. *Naturam sequi*, is their principle. Of any case that the inborn bad *potentia* should become extinct, and should not ripen into *actus*, of the strife after holiness, they took no heed; with them the opposites of nature and of grace have no existence.*

Thus may the outlines of the new tendencies in instruction and education be described; we now come to the life and labors of the Coryphæus of the Progressives, Wolfgang Ratich.

*References will be made, further on, to the religious tendencies of the earlier Progressives, and to the irreligious ones of the later.

VII. LORD BROUGHAM.

BY EDWARD I. SEARS.

HENRY, BARON BROUGHAM and VAUX, was born in Edinburgh, September 19, 1778. His parents, though neither wealthy nor distinguished by aristocratic titles, were in comfortable circumstances, and occupied a highly respectable social position. In childhood he was delicate and feeble to such a degree—being subject to frequent attacks of illness—that only faint hopes were entertained that he would ever attain the age of manhood. The apprehensions thus excited were rather increased than diminished by the precocious development of his mental faculties—another child of the Brougham family, whose intelligence and memory had been equally remarkable, having died in his tenth year—for young Henry had not only learned to read with facility, and to perform the simpler operations in arithmetic, when six years old, but was capable of reciting whole passages from Waller, Dryden, and Pope, with unerring accuracy. The family physician concurred in the opinion that it was not desirable to encourage his intellectual progress as long as his health continued in this precarious state. For more than six months the child was scarcely permitted to see a book. Finding that he was nothing the better physically, if not the worse, for this privation, his aunt—a liberally educated, sensible maiden lady—took upon herself the responsibility not only of furnishing him such books as he wished, but devoted herself earnestly to teaching him. She had been engaged nearly a year at this labor of love before the secret was discovered; and, as "little Harry" had then become as healthy as any of his playmates, it is almost needless to say that she did not receive much blame from his parents; although the doctor felt somewhat mortified, when it became evident that, after all, it was not his learned and skillful advice which was attended with such excellent results.

This little episode, trifling as it is in itself, and early in the life of Brougham as it occurred, is worth mentioning thus parenthetically, as an additional instance of the important influence exercised by woman on the early education of illustrious men. It is one to which Lord Brougham refers himself with pride and gratitude to this day; and the remembrance of which has rendered him through life the

uncompromising friend of the gentler sex. The tutor who succeeded his aunt, had little trouble in preparing him for the High School of his native city, which he entered while a mere boy.* After a brief course here, he was admitted into the University, where he soon distinguished himself in mathematics and the physical sciences. He was only eighteen years old when he wrote a paper on "Refraction and Reflection of Light," which, though submitted anonymously, was honored by the Royal Academy of Sciences with insertion in its "Transactions." Another paper, which he prepared the same year, on "General Theorems," was similarly distinguished, and secured him the acquaintance and esteem of some of the most distinguished scientific men of the day. In 1798 he commenced the study of law, and in 1800 became a member of the Edinburgh Society of Advocates. At this time the "Speculative Club" had become famous throughout Europe. It had a reputation in England which was second to that of no similar association since the time of Johnson, Burke, Goldsmith, Garrick, &c. Mr. Brougham was scarcely twenty when he became a member of the Speculative Club. It was now he began to exhibit evidences of those splendid oratoric powers which have since placed him in the most exalted position which it is possible for a subject to occupy in one of the greatest nations in the world—that of Lord High Chancellor of England. No one took a more active part in the debates which formed one of the chief characteristics of the Club. But he always made it a point not to speak on any subject until he had made ample preparation for it. He thus acquired a habit of regular study and research, which he has retained to the present day. Lucid, eloquent speeches, enriched with apposite quotations from the great thinkers of ancient and modern times, will in time attract attention, even though they are the efforts of amateurs, who speak as well as they can, only that they may learn to speak well. It was so in an eminent degree with those of Henry Brougham. They increased

* Lord Brougham, in some remarks at a public dinner in Edinburgh, in 1825, thus refers to his connection with the High School:—

"A public school, like the Old High School of Edinburgh, is invaluable; and for what is it so? It is because men of the highest and lowest rank in society send their children to be educated together. The oldest friend I have in the world, your worthy Vice President, (Lord Douglas Gordon Halyburton,) and myself, were at the High School of Edinburgh together, and in the same class along with others, who still possess our friendship, and some of them in a rank of life still higher than his. One of them was a nobleman, who is now in the House of Peers; and some of them were sons of shopkeepers in the lowest parts of the Cowgate of Edinburgh—shops of the most inferior description—and one or two of them were the sons of menial servants in the town. There they were, sitting side by side, giving and taking places from each other, without the slightest impression on the part of my noble friends of any superiority on their parts to the other boys, or any ideas of inferiority on the part of the other boys to them; and this is my reason for preferring the Old High School of Edinburgh to other, and what may be termed more patrician schools, however well-regulated or conducted." * *

his circle of friends in a very short time. Among these were Horner and Jeffreys. The latter saw at a glance that he had genius; and from his unwearied industry, and remarkable success in adding to his stock of knowledge, and his ingenuity, and presence of mind in debate, as well as eloquence and vigor, he had no hesitation in predicting that he was destined to win an illustrious name.

One of the first fruits of the intimacy thus formed was the Edinburgh Review, the first number of which was issued in 1802, and to which Henry Brougham continued to contribute regularly for more than a quarter of a century. Nor did he confine his literary labors to his admirable essays in the Review, on ancient and modern learning, even while he contributed most to its pages, and took the most active part in establishing its reputation. In 1803 he published an "*Inquiry into the Colonial Policy of the European Powers*," which had an immediate and powerful effect. People of all shades of politics throughout the United Kingdom read it with avidity; the British government thought it worth while to inquire about the author; and it was immediately translated into French and German, though its noble sentiments in favor of freedom, its manly and eloquent vindication of the rights of man, were by no means pleasing to the authorities, either at home or abroad. Soon after, he traveled on the continent; visited the principal educational institutions of France and Germany; and collected a large mass of facts and statistics illustrative of the state of education, or rather the state of ignorance, among the working classes. Those who knew what an indefatigable student he was, took no notice of his researches among the parochial schools at home and abroad, further than to suppose that he was curious to know how the poor managed to obtain for their children whatever smattering of education the small minority of them had; nor did he take any pains to make known his motives. However good his intentions were, however powerful he was as a writer and speaker, he was yet but a private individual; and he was well aware that it required great political influence to effect any important improvement, for which money was required, in the social condition of the people. At all events, it was contrary to the rules of conduct which he had laid down for himself, to exhibit any plan in a crude state. It is doubtful, therefore, whether his most intimate friends had any knowledge of the course he intended to pursue, when he visited London in 1807, and was induced to settle there permanently. His studies during the ensuing year were devoted mainly to the common law of England; and in 1808 he was called to the English bar.

Some of the greatest ornaments of the bar and the bench have had to

struggle hard with poverty, before they got sufficient practice to procure them the necessaries of life. It was otherwise with Brougham. He was immediately afforded, by a friendly attorney, an opportunity of proving his abilities as an advocate, and this was all that was needed. That he was not slow in attaining distinction in his profession, is sufficiently evident from the fact that he had scarcely been two years at the English bar when he was employed by several merchants, who complained of the injurious effects of the "Orders in Council," to plead their case before the House of Lords. His speech on this occasion, though inferior in power to many which he has since delivered, was a manly, noble, and eloquent effort. It was so well appreciated by the Whigs, that they determined at once to secure the aid, where it could be most effectually rendered, of one who had produced such a powerful effect on the most august and learned tribunal in the world; and accordingly he got a seat in Parliament the same year, as member for the borough of Camelford.

Now he was in a position to do good with his eloquence, and he did not hesitate to avail himself of the opportunity. He commenced his parliamentary career as the avowed enemy of every species of injustice and oppression. One of his first steps was to attack the slave trade, and all who supported or encouraged it; and he never relaxed his efforts in favor of negro emancipation, aiding Wilberforce, Clarkson, and the other great philanthropists of the day, with heart and soul, until the memorable Act of August 3, 1833, was passed, by which the parliament gave a grant of $100,000,000, for the total abolition of slavery throughout the British Colonies, the promotion of industry among the manumitted slaves, and the compensation of those hitherto entitled to their services. His efforts in behalf of the poor, despised negro alone would have shed an unfading lustre on his name. But his sympathy was confined to no race, or hue; it embraced those who suffered among the whole human family, and he always acted accordingly, so far as his eloquent voice could reach their misfortunes. He was no less anxious to see justice done to the Hindoo than to the negro; as his speeches on reform in the government of India (some of which were remarkably prophetic of what has since happened in Hindoostan,) abundantly prove. There are many at the present day who are much concerned at the miseries of persons at a distance, but who are blind to those of their own neighbors and kindred. Lord Brougham has never belonged to this class. In proof of the fact, it were sufficient to refer to all he has done for the British soldier. He opposed the use of the lash in the British army and navy, in as eloquent and powerful appeals, as in the sugar

plantations of Jamaica and Barbadoes; and, although flogging is not yet entirely abolished in the former, his lordship has saved many a white back from laceration—prevented many a disgusting, not to say brutal, scene. And let his numerous speeches in favor of Catholic emancipation tell how nobly he has fought for striking off the shackles of the mind.

Rational liberty and justice for all, without regard to race, nationality, creed, or color, is the motto upon which he has ever acted, fearless of consequences. His speech in defense of Leigh Hunt, in 1811, from a charge of libel, founded on an article published in the "*Examiner*," of which he was editor, is, perhaps, the ablest and most thorough vindication of the liberty of the press ever delivered, and it seems to have been duly appreciated by the jury who tried the case; for they pronounced the editor "not guilty;" although the proprietor of the "*Stamford News*" was convicted merely for having copied the same obnoxious article, without note or comment.

In 1816 he commenced his public labors in favor of popular education. Thus he had to allow nine years to elapse, from the time he first took an interest in the good cause, before attempting to bring his plans before the public; such were the prejudices well known to exist, among the governing classes in England, against appropriating public money to the instruction of the poor. The general opinion was, even at the beginning of the present century, that the working classes needed little education, if any—that if they could read their Bible and prayer-book with tolerable correctness, and sign their name when called upon to do so, they were sufficiently learned. Nay, there were those who conscientiously believed that it would not be safe for the state to teach them more; and it was taken for granted that such of of them as were disposed could easily learn this much at the private village schools, or from the parish clergyman. And the people themselves easily believed what their betters told them. That such opinions should have been entertained in England, at so recent a period, may well seem strange; but the fact is indisputable. Those who look a little further back, however, at the history of education in England, can hardly be surprised at the opposition which Henry Brougham had to encounter at every step of his progress in the good work. When the learned Erasmus undertook to promote the study of Greek in Oxford University, he met with still more serious obstacles. There were those, even among the professors of that now famous institution of learning, who regarded Greek with so much horror as an heretical if not satanic language, that they pronounced the Greek New Testament "an impious and dangerous book." while they regarded a Latin

version of the same as the Holy Scripture. No wonder that Erasmus was forced to withdraw from a college in which such professors were the principal instructors; and that those known to be studying the satanic language were hooted and hissed at in the streets. After many vain efforts, on the part of learned men from the Continent, to reconcile the most enlightened of the islanders to the language of Homer and Plato, Æschylus and Aristotle, Euripides and Longinus, it required the absolute and determined interference of Henry VIII., and Cardinal Wolsey, to secure its students protection within the walls of the university.* But there is this material difference between Erasmus and Brougham. The object of the former was to render the rich learned, that of the latter to render the poor intelligent. It was not expected that the condition of the wealthy would be much improved by a knowledge of Greek; whereas the benefits accruing to the poor from even the rudiments of education would be incalculable. Erasmus was employed and encouraged by the great, and liberally paid for his services; Brougham was opposed by the great, had no encouragement but that afforded by his own generous aspirations, and, far from receiving any pay, freely opened his private purse for the advancement of the good cause.

Fully aware of the strong prejudices he had to contend with, he proceeded with the utmost caution in the development of his great plans. First he confined his exertions to the city of London, and succeeded in obtaining the appointment of a parliamentary committee, to inquire into the state of education in the metropolis. Although this had no immediate result, it was quite a triumph. The committee recommended that a portion of the educational funds should be devoted to the education of the poor. Parliament was not yet prepared for so much liberality. The recommendation of the committee was not approved of. But this was no discouragement to Brougham. He continued to collect facts and statistics as before, and lost no

* Priestcraft had still its hold even on the minds of the educated classes. Nor had its influence altogether ceased when Mr. Brougham commenced his educational labors, at the beginning of the present century. This state of things was not peculiar to England. Similar prejudices and superstitions had resulted from the same causes in every other country in Europe; but Germany and France cast them off much sooner than England. We have abundant evidence that, so early as the time of Louis XIII., the Greek language was extensively studied in France. In the reign of Louis XIV., it was studied even by the women. Molière's Comedy of "*Les Femmes Savantes*" would be sufficient authority on this point; for it was written for the express purpose of ridiculing the tendency, on the part of the gentler sex, to value themselves too much on their acquaintance with Attic lore. Thus, in the third act, Philaminte is made to address Vadius, the savant:—

> "Quoi! monsieur sait du grec! Ah! permettez, de grâce,
> Que pour l'amour du grec, monsieur, on vous embrasse.
> * * * * * * * * *
> Monsieur, avec du grec, on ne peut gâter rien."

opportunity to persuade others, who had influence, and whose co-operation would be valuable, that no money could be more advantageously laid out than that which was required for affording the poor and laboring classes the means of acquiring the rudiments of education.

Two years were spent in preparing to make another bold attempt in the House of Commons. In the meantime liberal ideas had made considerable progress. The debates on the slave trade, and Catholic Emancipation, had set many to read the newspapers who had never before read more than their prayer-books. They began to grow interested, even if they did not very intelligently discuss the political events of the day. Brougham saw, however, that it was yet too soon to propose a general system of popular education, to be supported by the state. Accordingly he contented himself, in 1818, with obtaining a parliamentary committee, to inquire into the abuses, of charitable institutions connected with education. Of this committee he was appointed chairman himself. A careful and searching investigation was made; and, although it was very difficult to elicit the facts, the interested parties—those chargeable with the abuses doing their best, as a matter of course, to screen themselves—revelations were made which attracted the attention of all classes. Honest and conscientious men were taught to see, for the first time, how the money, bequeathed for the express purpose of improving the condition of the poor, was shamefully monopolized by the rich; so that many, who had hitherto been opposed to any general scheme of popular education, now began to ask themselves whether such would not after all be desirable. Brougham immediately availed himself of the advantage thus gained by the publication of a Letter on the same subject to Sir Samuel Romily. This brought the subject before the public in the most prominent manner; ten editions of it having been sold in two or three months. An extract or two will give those who have not seen the Letter itself a sufficient idea of its character. In enumerating the various expedients, by which the money designed for the education of the poor was appropriated by the rich, the author says:—"A free school, too, is especially appointed to be kept for all the inhabitants of Croydon; but none has, within the memory of man, been taught, although the master receives his emoluments, teaching another school for his own profit, and although the inhabitants have established a seminary upon the new plan, to give education at their own expense to the poor of the place, in the very school room which Archbishop Whitgift devised for their gratuitous instruction."

It was alledged, by those opposed to the investigation, that the committee had gone beyond its powers, in "attempting to pry into the in-

stitutions intended for the upper classes;" but Brougham proved the reverse in his letter to Romily, as may be seen from the following extract:

"For as often as we examined any establishment, the production of the charter or statutes proved that it was originally destined for the education of the poor. '*One free school for the instructing, teaching, maintenance, and education of* POOR CHILDREN *and scholars*,' says the charter of the 'Hospital and free Grammar School in the Charter House. 'PAUPERES *et* INDIGENTES *scholares*,' say the statutes of Winchester College, '*Unum Collegium perpetuum* PAUPERUM ET INDIGENTIUM *scholarium Cantabrigiæ, et quoddam aliud collegium perpetuum* ALIORUM PAUPERUM *Et* INDIGENTIUM *scholarium Etoniæ*,' says the statutes which founded King's College, Cambridge, and Eaton College; and they further require the scholars to take a solemn oath, that they have not five marcs (£3, 6*s*.,) a year to spend. The Westminster statutes expressly prohibit any boy being elected on the foundation, 'who has, or at his father's death will inherit, a patrimony of above ten pounds.' The same poverty is the qualification required by the statutes of Trinity College, Cambridge; the scholars are there called 'PAUPERES,' and, in choosing them, where other merits are equal, the preference is ordered to be given 'INOPIÆ.' In choosing the fellows of St. John's College, a preference is prescribed in favor of the most deserving, '*et inter hos, illis qui* INDIGENTIORES *fuerint*;' for scholars, the 'INOPES' are directed to be preferred, and an oath of poverty, similar to that of Eaton and Winchester, is solemnly taken."

The whole matter, as it stood between the rich and poor, was thus placed in a clear light. The facts stated by Brougham could not be denied; for they were proved by the charters and other documents belonging to the institutions to which they referred; not excepting those of the universities of Oxford and Cambridge. The public became aware for the first time that, if the poor were ignorant, it was not because ample provisions had not been made for their education by the wealthy and charitable of other days. Upon an examination of the various endowments, it was found that the annual income of charitable trusts, designed for grammar schools, exceeded $800,000; and that the amount for elementary schools exceeded $1,000,000. The total annual sum yielded by these trusts was subsequently estimated by Mr. McCullock at more than $4,000,000. It is easy to understand how unpalatable it was to the government, and to those who enjoyed the monopoly of this money, to see the whole system exhibited to vulgar gaze. Accordingly many attempts were made to suppress the facts. But the public had taken such a deep interest in the exposition, that this was found impossible. The only course left them was to attack the Education Committee, of which Wilberforce, Sheldon, and Douglas were members, and Mr. Brougham chairman. Mr. Peel (since, Sir Robert,) being then one of the representatives in Parliament of Oxford University, and one of the ablest and most eloquent speakers on the Tory side, was deemed the most suitable person to make the attempt. His speech on the occasion was one of the most elaborate he ever delivered. The various grave charges against the committee, which it contained, took Mr. Brougham

by surprise. Hitherto he had been in the habit of preparing his speeches. There was no time for preparation now. His colleagues became anxious; although they had the utmost confidence in his oratoric powers. He did not hesitate a moment. He never rose to address the House more calm or self-possessed; he replied to the charges in detail, repelled each with scorn; availing himself alternately of all those scathing weapons which always rendered him so terribly formidable in debate. His success was complete. In the eyes of both Houses, and of the country, the committee was fully vindicated. Mr. Peel himself admitted, soon after, that he had wronged Mr. Brougham; adding that he had never thought so highly before of "the extraordinary powers of his adversary." Those to whom the committee and its chairman had become most obnoxious, including the Faculties of Oxford and Cambridge, could not deny that this speech was one of the most eloquent efforts they had ever listened to. As it does not, however, bear directly on the subject of education, we will confine ourselves to the following extract, which, brief as it is, will serve as a specimen of the whole, and at the same time illustrate the peculiar style of the orator:—

"But if I do not now satisfy all who hear me that the committee were right, that this House was right, and the Right Honorable Gentleman wrong—if I do not succeed in proving to the heart's content of every one man of common candor and ordinary understanding, that the Right Honorable Gentleman is utterly wrong in all his charges—wrong from the beginning to the end of his labored oration—if I do not, in a few minutes, and by referring to a few plain matters, strip that performance of all claim to credit—if I do not show him to be mistaken in his facts, out in his dates, at fault in his law, ignorant of all parliamentary precedent and practice, grossly uninformed, perhaps misinformed, upon the whole question, which in an evil hour he has undertaken to handle, with no better help than the practical knowledge and discretion of those who have urged *him* on to the assault, while they showed only a vicarious prodigality of their own persons—then I will consent to suffer—what shall I say?—to endure whatever punishment the Right Honorable Gentleman may think fit to inflict upon me and my colleagues—even the weight of his censure—which will assuredly, in his estimation, be fully equal to our demerits, how great soever they may be. But I venture to hope that the House, mercifully regarding my situation while such a judgment is suspending, will allow me, ere the awful decree goes forth, to avert, if it be possible, from our devoted heads a fate so overwhelming!"

Mr. Brougham had now become one of the most popular men in the kingdom. There was scarcely any case of importance for which his legal services were not sought after, either by plaintiff or defendant. This, however, did not prevent him from establishing a model school for the use of the poorer classes in London, in 1819, immediately after the debate on the Education Committee was brought to a close. He visited the new school twice or three times a week; often taking part in the exercises himself, and always taking a deep interest both in the moral and intellectual progress of the students. This is the manner in which he was spending his leisure hours when Queen Caroline

and her friends turned their attention to him, as the ablest and most conscientious lawyer which they could find in England—the best qualified and most suitable in every sense—to defend Her Majesty from the foul charges preferred against her by her royal husband, and, if possible, restore her to her lost privileges and dignity. He did not hesitate to undertake the case; although he saw at a glance the serious responsibility he should incur by doing so. He had already rendered himself sufficiently obnoxious to the court and nobility by his efforts on behalf of the poor; and he was aware that there were many who had given him their support in his exertions in favor of popular education who, if he became the champion of Queen Caroline against the King, would be forced for their own sakes to abandon him. But his resolution was formed. A woman, whom he believed to have been wronged, who could now only regard herself as in a foreign land, among strangers, many of whom were her enemies, claimed his professional protection, and his noble and chivalrous nature would scorn to reject her appeal. The sequel is well known. Those best acquainted with his undaunted boldness and generosity were surprised at the vehemence and vigor with which he attacked all, without exception—treating sovereign and subject alike—who were known to have taken any part against his unfortunate client. Although we are chiefly concerned, in the present article, with his educational labors, designing no more than to glance at his efforts in other directions, we quote the following extract from one of his speeches in her defense, before the House of Lords; merely premising that he had the unparalleled boldness, not only to address their lordships in this reproachful, sarcastic, and trenchant manner, but he designated the King himself as "the ringleader of the band of perjured witnesses:"—

"But who," he asked, "are they that bring this charge, and above all before whom do they urge it? Others may accuse her—others may blame her for going abroad—others may tell tales of the consequences of living among Italians, and of not associating with the women of her country, or of her adopted country; but it is not your lordships that have any right to say so. It is not you, my lords, that can fling this stone at Her Majesty. You are the last persons in the world—you, who now presume to judge her, are the last persons in the world so to charge her; for you are the witnesses whom she must call to vindicate her from that charge. You are the last persons who can so charge her; for you, being her witnesses, have been the instigators of that only admitted crime. While she was here, she courteously opened the doors of her palace to the families of your lordships. She graciously condescended to mix herself in the habits of most familiar life with those virtuous and distinguished persons. But, when changes took place—when other views opened—when that power was to be retained which she had been made the instrument of grasping—when that lust of power and place was to be continued its gratification, to the first gratification of which she had been made the victim—then her doors were opened in vain; then that society of the peeresses of England was withholden from her; then she was reduced to the alternative—humiliating indeed—either to acknowledge that you had deserted her, or to leave the country and have recourse to other society, inferior to yours."

Whatever may have been the faults of Queen Caroline, and it is beyond question that she sometimes acted imprudently, it is impossible to read any of Mr. Brougham's eloquent appeals in her defence, without being moved to that kind of sorrowful tenderness which Homer inspires in behalf of Argive Hellen, even when she reproaches herself with guilt.*

υἷϊ σῷ ἐκόμην, θάλαμον γνωτούς τε λιποῦσα.

His efforts on behalf of the unfortunate Queen did not cease even with her life. On several subsequent occasions he delivered noble orations in vindication of her honor. In this rapid sketch, we can only refer to an instance or two. When she died, in August, 1821, shortly after the coronation of her husband—which she was rudely prevented from attending—most of the church-bells throughout the kingdom were tolled. Those of the diocese of Durham formed an exception, which attracted general attention. Mr. Williams, editor of the "*Durham Chronicle*" noticed the omission, and commented on it in no approving terms. His article was shown by the bishop to one of the law officers of the crown, who immediately had the editor indicted for libel against "the clergy residing in and near the city of Durham." The prosecution was conducted by the late Lord Abinger, then Mr. Scarlet, attorney-general for the County Palatine; and Williams was defended by Mr. Brougham. The crown prosecutor informed the jury, in his opening address, that the only reason why the bells had not been tolled at Durham as well as elsewhere was, that the clergy there felt too deeply to give public expression to their sorrow. This afforded Brougham an opportunity of exercising his peculiar powers to the fullest extent; and he availed himself of it accordingly, as follows, making both the bishop and clergy quail beneath his withering irony and sarcasm.

"The venerable the clergy of Durham, I am told now for the first time, did nevertheless, in reality, all the while, deeply sympathize with her sufferings in the bottom of their reverend hearts! When all the resources of the most ingenious cruelty hurried her to a fate without parallel, if not so clamorous as others, they did not feel the least of all the members of the community—their grief was, in truth, too deep for utterance—sorrow clung round their bosoms, weighed upon their tongues, stifled every sound—and when all the rest of mankind, of all sects and of all nations, freely gave vent to their feelings of our common nature, THEIR silence, the contrast which THEY displayed to the rest of their species, proceeded from the greater depth of their affection; they said the less, because they felt the more! Oh! talk of hypocrisy after this! most consummate of all the hypocrites! After instructing your chosen official advocate to stand forward with such a defence—such an exposition of your motives—to dare to utter the word hypocrisy, and complain of those who charged you with it! This is indeed to insult common sense, and outrage the feelings of the whole human race! If you were hypocrites before, you were downright frank, honest hypocrites to what you have

* Iliad, iii, 174.

made yourselves—and surely, for all you have ever done, or ever been charged with, your worst enemies must be satiated with the humiliation of this day, its just atonement and ample retribution!"

Two years after this Mr. Peel censured Mr. Brougham, in the House of Commons, for having spoken in public of a private letter, written by Mr. Saurin to Lord Normanby. The charge did not amount to much, since the letter in question had previously found its way into the newspapers; but Mr. Brougham made it the occasion of one of the most cutting retorts he ever gave; his main object being, not to exculpate himself, for that was scarcely necessary, but once more to remind the nation of the cruel persecution of Queen Caroline, which had brought her to a premature grave. The following passage had a powerful effect in reviving public odium against the persecutors of the ill-fated Queen:—"I entirely agree with the Right Honorable Gentleman in his condemnation of those who have been concerned in obtaining the letter, for the purpose of publishing it. Their conduct may not be criminal by the enactments of the law; but it is morally dishonest, and it is revolting to every honorable feeling. I go heartily along with him in reproaching all such odious practices; I hold with him that it is shameful, indecent, abominable, to encourage them; I consider it truly detestable to hold out the encouragement of bribes for the purpose of corrupting servants, and inducing them to violate their first duty, and betray the secrets of their master—aye, and of their mistress, too!—*I say of their mistress!—of their mistress!—and not only to betray her secrets, and to steal her papers, and to purloin her letters, but to produce them for the treacherous, the foul, the execrable purpose of supporting a charge against her honor and her life, founded on the documents that have been pilfered by her servants and sold to her enemies!* the proofs obtained by perfidy suborned, and larceny perpetrated! and then to carry on a prosecution wholly grounded on matter drawn from sources so polluted as at once insulted, *disgraced, and degraded the nation*—a prosecution so foul, so utterly abominable, making the sun shroud himself in darkness, as if unwilling to lend the light of day to the perpetration of such enormous wickedness!"*

* This prosecution would almost show by itself that the Reformation had not entirely destroyed the intolerant spirit of the clergy. The disposition to stifle the expression of public opinion, so far as it did not harmonize with their own views, at least as far as it attempted to question their motives, still remained. In other words, they were as ready as ever to persecute those who attempted to think for themselves; they had lost the power, not the will, to shackle thought. If Mr. Brougham seems to have been needlessly harsh in his language toward them, it was not without reason; for his untiring exertions for the education of the poor, encountered more opposition from the wealthy parsons than from all other bodies of men in the kingdom put together. More than one bishop affected to discover "an infidel spirit" even in his "*Observations on the Education of the People;*" while there was scarcely a church dignitary in England who was not filled with holy indignation

Constantly as Mr. Brougham was occupied, from 1820 to 1823, with his professional and parliamentary duties—performing daily a larger amount of intellectual and physical labor than any other man in the United Kingdom, with the sole exception, perhaps, of Daniel O'Connell, (whom he resembled much in his powers of endurance,) he did not relax his efforts in favor of popular education for a single week.* His model school proved highly successful. This encouraged the benevolent to establish several others, in different parts of the country; so that, in the course of two years, he had the gratification to see hundreds of children not only relieved from destitution and misery but

against him for his exposition of the manner in which the charity funds were disposed of. In short, if the clergy had sufficient power to prevent him, he could have published few, if any, of his speeches, or pamphlets, in favor of education and civilization. By a mere change of names, the sarcasm of Voltaire would have applied, in 1823, in Protestant England, with as much force as it had in France nearly half a century earlier, when he wrote, in regard to the liberty of the press:—"Never print certain truths, or certain paradoxes. Never attempt to think, until you have demanded permission from a monk or an officer. It is against good order for a man to think for himself. Homer, Plato, Cicero, Virgil, Pliny, Horace, never published any thing, but with the approbation of the doctors of the Sorbonne, and the Holy Inquisition."

There are many at the present day, who, though not deficient in intelligence in other respects, imagine that, because they enjoy more liberty than their ancestors, it must follow that liberty was scarcely known before what are called the dark ages; whereas, the truth is, that even now the human mind is not more free, if so free at all, even in England, or in the United States, than it was for ages among the Greeks and Romans. There is sufficient evidence of this in the Greek and Roman classics, as compared with works written in our own time. No modern writer has so well accounted for this difference as M. Guizot. In his "*History of Civilization in France*," he says:—

L'ordre spirituel et l'ordre temporel, la pensée humaine et la société humaine, s'etaient développés chez les anciens parallelement plutot qu'ensemble, non sans une intime correspondance, mais sans exercer l'un sur l'autre une influence prompte et directe. * * Platon, Aristotle, et la plupart des philosophes soit de l'antiquité greque, soit plus tard de l'antiquité gréco-romain, *pensaient en pleine liberté* ou à peu près. L'Etat, la plotique, n'intervenaient guère dans leurs travaux, pour les gêner, pour leur imprimer telle ou telle direction. Eux, à leur tour, se mêlaient assez peu de politique, s'inquietaient assez peu d'exercer sur la société au milieu de laquelle ils vivaient, une influence immediate et decisive: sans doute ils exergaient cette influence indirecte, eloignée, qui appartient à toute grande pensée humaine jetée au milieu des hommes; mais l'action, l'influence directe de la pensée sur les faits exterieurs, de l'intelligence pure, sur la société, les philolosophes anciens n'y pretendaient guère, ils n'aspiraient à gouverner ni la conduite privée des hommes ni la societe, en général. Le caractère dominant, en un mot, du developpement intellectual dans l'antiquite *c'est la libérté de la pensée et son disinteressement pratique; c'est un developpement essentiellement rationnel, scientifique.* Avec le triomphe du christianisme dans le monde romain le caractère du developpement intellectual changea; ce qui etait prilosophie devint religion; la philosophie alla s' *affaiblissant de plus en plus;* la religion invahit l'intelligence, la forme de la pensée fut essentiellement religieuse. Elle prétendit des lors à beauconp plus de pouvoir sur les affaires humaines; le but de la pensée dans la religion est essentiellement pratique; elle aspire à gouverner les individus, souvent même la société." Tome ii, p. 239.

* It is said that, "on one occasion, after having practiced all day as a barrister, he went to the House of Commons, where he was engaged in active debate through the night, till three o'clock in the morning; he then returned home; wrote an article for the Edinburgh Review: spent the next day in court, practicing law, and the succeeding night in the House of Commons; returned to his lodgings at three o clock in the morning, and 'retired, simply because he had nothing else to do.'" Although there is doubtless some exaggeration in this, it might have been added that there was scarcely a day of his life but he devoted at least an hour to some classic author, in the original. Even when on a visit, his portmanteau was never without one or more of the principal Greek and Latin poets.

placed in a position to secure them a respectable maintenance in the future; for a large proportion of them received their food and clothing, as well as their education, at the model school.

In 1823 Mr. Brougham aided in founding the London Mechanics' Institution. To Dr. Birkbeck is due the credit of having first suggested the value of such an establishment to the mechanics of the metropolis; although it may be doubted whether he could ever have succeeded in carrying his plans into practice, had he not received the powerful co-operation of Mr. Brougham and his friends. The Institute soon became popular, and attracted the attention of the provincial cities and towns. A similar institution was established in Newcastle-upon-Tyne almost immediately. This had scarcely been inaugurated, when the people of the small town of Kendal founded another. The Institutions of Carlisle, Harrick, Haddington, Alnwick, Manchester, and Leeds, followed in rapid succession, until there was scarcely a town of any importance in the kingdom, that could not boast a Mechanics' Institution, before 1840.*

In the meantime, Mr. Brougham continued his labors in the cause of education, taking an active part, at the same time, in every important philanthropic and liberal movement of the day. He did more, in 1824, to disgust England with slavery, than had been done for seven years previously. The case of the Rev. John Smith, missionary in Demerara, who had just died in a Demerara prison, while under sentence of death, on the charge of exciting the slaves to revolt, afforded him abundant materials. His two speeches, delivered in June, 1824, on this case, startled all Europe, by the terrible revelations which they made in regard to the British system of colonial slavery. Nor did he allow this occasion to pass, without making it subservient, as far as possible, to the cause which he had most at heart. It was proved that the planters did all in their power to prevent their slaves from receiving any instruction, and that they were but too successful. It appeared, upon the other hand, that the missionaries had taught some of the free negroes to read and write. The comparative results need hardly be stated.

In 1825 he published his "*Practical Observations on the Education*

* The history of the *Mechanics' Institution* in England, from the earliest Young Men's Mutual Improvement Society, established in London, in 1690, with the encouragement of Defoe, Dr. Kidder, and others, under the name of "Society for the Reformation of Manners"—"the Sunday Society" in 1789, and the Brotherly Society in 1796, in Birmingham—the popular scientific lectures by Dr. Anderson, to the tradespeople and mechanics of Glasgow in 1793, and by Dr. Birkbeck in 1799—the Edinburgh School of Arts in 1821, the Glasgow Mechanics' Institute, the Liverpool Apprentices' Library, and the London Mechanics' Institution in 1823, down to the Yorkshire Union, and the Union with the London Society of Arts, will form the subject of a separate article in this Journal. In 1849, there were over 1000 institutions of this class in England, with upward of 130,000 members, 400 reading-rooms, and 1,000,000 volumes.

of the People, addressed to the Working Classes and their Employers." The valuable pamphlet bearing this title was dedicated to Dr. Birkbeck, and it was almost universally read; twenty large editions of it having been required in the course of the year. This pamphlet although adapted to the times, contains some passages, which will always be interesting to the friend of popular education.* Speaking of self-exertion, he says:—"It is, no doubt, manifest that the people themselves must be the great agents in accomplishing the work of their own instruction. Unless they deeply feel the usefulness of knowledge, and resolve to make some sacrifices for the acquisition of it, there can be no reasonable prospect of this grand object being attained. But it is equally clear that, to wait until the whole people with one accord take the determination to labor in this good work, would be endless. A portion of the community may be sensible of its advantages, and willing at any fair price to seek them, long before the same laudable feeling becomes universal; and their successful efforts to better their intellectual condition can not fail to spread more widely the love of learning, and the disrelish for sensual and vulgar gratification. * * In some lines of employment, there is a peculiar difficulty in finding time for acquiring knowledge; as in those which require severe labor, or, though less severe, yet in the open air; for here the tendency to sleep immediately after it ceases, and the greater portion of sleep required, oppose very serious obstacles to instruction; on the other hand, those occupations are less unfavorable to reflection, and have a considerable tendency to enlarge the mind."

On the subject of encouraging education he remarks:—

"The first method, then, which suggests itself for promoting knowledge among the poor, is the encouragement of cheap publications; and in no country is this more wanted than in Great Britain, where, with all our expertness in manufactures, we have never succeeded in printing books at so little as double the price required by our neighbors on the Continent. A gown, which any where else would cost half a guinea, may be made in this country for half a crown; but a volume, fully as well or better printed, and on paper which, if not as fine, is quite fine enough, and far more agreeable to the eyes, than could be bought in London for half a guinea, costs only six francs, or less than five shillings, at Paris.† The high price of labor, in a trade where so little can be done or at least has been done by machinery, is one of the causes of this difference. But the direct tax upon paper is another; and the determination to print upon paper of a certain price is a third; and the aversion to crowd the page is a fourth."

He thinks "It is not necessary that all who are taught, or even any large proportion, should go beyond the rudiments; but whoever feels within himself a desire

* The "*Observations*" were immediately republished in this country, and had a powerful influence in stimulating mechanics to the establishment of societies for their own improvement, as well as of their apprentices, and to the development of the "Lyceum" and the system of "Popular Lectures."

† Books still continue vastly dearer in England, for the reasons mentioned above, than on the Continent; although English books are much cheaper now than when the "*Observations*" were first published. Generally speaking, the volume that costs a dollar in England could be got up in just as good style in France for half a dollar, and in Germany for still less.

and an aptitude to proceed farther, will press forward; and the chances of discovery, both in the arts and science itself, will be thus indefinitely multiplied. Indeed those discoveries immediately connected with experiment and observation are most likely to be made by men whose lives, being spent in the midst of mechanical operations, are at the same time instructed in the general principles upon which these depend, and trained betimes to habits of speculation. He who shall prepare a treatise simply and concisely, unfolding the doctrines of Algebra, Geometry, and Mechanics, and adding examples calculated to strike the imagination, of their connection with other branches of knowledge, and with the arts of common life, may fairly claim a large share in that rich harvest of discovery and invention which must be reaped by the thousands of ingenious and active men, thus enabled to bend their faculties toward objects at once useful and sublime."

In recommending cheap publications as a means of encouraging the improvement of the working classes, Mr. Brougham observes:—

"That the demand for books, cheap as well as dear, must tend to produce them, no one denies; but then it is equally certain that the publication of cheap books increases the number of readers among the poor, and one can hardly conceive a greater benefit than those would confer who should make a judicious selection from our best authors upon ethics, politics, and history, and promote cheap editions of them in numbers, without waiting until the demand was such as to make the sale a matter of perfect certainty. Lord John Russell, in his excellent and instructive speech on Parliamentary Reform, delivered in 1822, stated that 'an establishment was commenced, a few years ago, by a number of individuals, with a capital of not less than a million, for the purpose of printing standard works at a cheap rate;' and he added that it had been 'very much checked in its operation *by one of those acts for the suppression of knowledge*, which were passed in 1819, although one of its rules was not to allow the venders of its works to sell any book on the political controversies of the day.' The only part of this plan which appears at all objectionable, is the restriction upon politics. Why should not political, as well as all other works, be published in a cheap form, and in numbers? That history, the nature of the constitution, the doctrines of political economy may safely be disseminated in this shape, no man nowadays will be hardy enough to deny. Popular tracts, indeed, on the latter subject, ought to be much more extensively circulated, for the good of the working classes as well as of their superiors. The interests of both are deeply concerned in sounder views being taught them; I can hardly imagine, for example, a greater service being rendered to the men, than expounding to them the true principles and mutual relations of population and wages; and both they and their masters will assuredly experience the effects of the prevailing ignorance upon such questions, as soon as any interruption shall happen in the commercial prosperity of the country. * * To allow, or rather to induce, the people to take part in those discussions, is therefore not merely safe, but most wholesome for the community, and yet *some points connected with them are rather of warm contention in the present times;* but these may be freely handled, it seems, with safety; indeed, unless they are so handled, such subjects can not be discussed at all. Why then may not every topic of politics, party as well as general, be treated of in cheap publications? It is highly useful to the community that the true principles of the constitution, ecclesiastical and civil, should be well understood by every man who lives under it. The great interests of civil and religious liberty are mightily promoted by such wholesome instruction; but the good order of society gains to the full as much by it. The peace of the country and the stability of the government could not be more effectually secured than by the universal diffusion of this kind of knowledge."

We conclude our extracts from the "*Observations*" with the following excellent suggestions:—

"To the upper classes of society, then, I would say, that the question no longer is, whether or not the people shall be instructed—for that has been determined long ago, and the decision is irreversible—but whether they shall be well or ill-taught, half-informed or as thoroughly as their circumstances permit and their wants require. Let no one be afraid of the bulk of the community becoming too accomplished for their superiors. Well-educated, and even well-versed, in the most elevated sciences, they assuredly may become; and the worst consequences

that can follow to their superiors will be, that, to deserve being called their *betters*, they too must devote themselves more to the pursuit of solid and refined learning; the present public seminaries must be enlarged; and *some of the greater cities of the Kingdom, especially the metropolis, must not be kept destitute of the regular means within themselves of scientific education.*"

In the foregoing passage, Mr. Brougham not only anticipated the inevitable result of calling public attention to the deficiency in the means of scientific and artistic training in the great centers of trade and manufactures, and which the World's Exhibition in 1851 exposed in damaging contrast with almost every other European nation—but foreshadowed his own determination that Oxford and Cambridge should no longer monopolize the learning of England. So early as 1815, he contemplated establishing a university in London, with the aid of his friends, which would be free from the vexatious religious tests which virtually excluded from the honors and advantages of the other principal English universities all who had conscientious scruples about subscribing to the thirty-nine articles of the Established Church; that is, the members of all other religious denominations. But the public mind was no more prepared for such an undertaking than it was for a general system of popular education.

This Mr. Brougham understood, and he resolved to "bide his time" accordingly. In the ten years which had now elapsed a great change for the better had taken place in the public mind. Although the London Mechanics' Institute had yet been only a year in operation, it had a powerful effect, not only in creating a thirst for the higher branches of knowledge among the young men of the metropolis, but also in convincing the wealthy citizens that it was their interest to have a local institution which, while it would afford as good facilities for securing a liberal education as either Oxford or Cambridge, would, unlike those institutions, enable all to enter it on equal terms, independently of creed or profession. This was an important step in the right direction, and Mr. Brougham resolved to make the most of it.

The same year that Mr. Brougham published his "*Practical Observations*" he was invited to offer himself as a candidate for the office of Lord Rector of Glasgow University. He had no less distinguished an opponent on this occasion than Sir Walter Scott. The author of "*Waverly*" was, however, defeated; Sir James Mackintosh, the retiring Lord Rector, having given the casting vote in favor of the champion of popular education. In the Discourse, which he pronounced on the occasion of his inauguration, he availed himself of the opportunity not only to advocate all liberal study on the part of the young men of that university, and especially of the art of oratory, but

to assail the clamors of bigotry at the spread of science and free inquiry. "To those who feel alarmed, as statesmen and friends, of existing establishments, I would address a few words of comfort. Real knowledge never promoted either turbulence or unbelief; but its progress is the forerunner of liberality and enlightened toleration. Whoso dreads these, let him tremble; for he may be well assured that their day is at length come, and must put to sudden flight the evil spirits of tyranny and persecution, which haunted the long night now gone down the sky. As men will no longer suffer themselves to be led blindfold in ignorance, so will they no more yield to the vile principle of judging and treating their fellow-creatures, not according to the intrinsic merit of their actions, but according to the accidental and involuntary coincidence of their opinions. The great truth has fully gone forth to all the ends of the earth, THAT MAN SHALL NO MORE RENDER ACCOUNT TO MAN FOR HIS BELIEF, OVER WHICH HE HAS HIMSELF NO CONTROL."

In the whole range of English literature, there is scarcely a passage more deserving of the student's attention than the following extract from the same discourse.

"It is an extremely common error among young persons, impatient of academical discipline, to turn from the painful study of ancient, and particularly of Attic composition, and solace themselves with works rendered easy by the familiarity of their own tongue. They plausibly contend that, as a powerful or captivating diction, in a pure English style, is, after all, the attainment they are in search of, the study of the best English models affords the shortest road to this point; and, even admitting the ancient examples to have been the great fountains from which all eloquence is drawn, they would rather profit, as it were, by the classical labors of their English predecessors, than toil over the same path themselves. In a word, they would treat the perishable results of those laborers as the standard, and give themselves no care about the immortal originals. This argument, the thin covering which indolence weaves for herself, would speedily sink all the fine arts into barrenness and insignificance. Why, according to such reasoners, should a sculptor or painter encounter the toil of a journey to Athens or to Rome? Far better work at home, and profit by the labor of those who have resorted to the Vatican and the Parthenon, and founded an English school adapted to the tastes of our own country. Be you assured that the works of the English chisel fall not more short of the wonders of the Acropolis, than the best productions of modern pens fall short of the chaste, finished, nervous, and overwhelming compositions of them that 'resistless fulmined over Greece.'"

The peroration which follows is a fine specimen of his own vigorous oratory and generous sentiments.

"Let me therefore indulge in the hope, that, among the illustrious youths whom this ancient kingdom, famed alike for its nobility and its learning, has produced, to continue her fame through after ages, possibly among those I now address, there may be found some one—I ask no more—willing to give a bright example to other nations in a path yet untrodden, by taking the lead of his fellow-citizens, not in frivolous amusements, nor in the degrading pursuits of the ambitious vulgar—but in the truly noble task of enlightening the mass of his countrymen, and of leaving his own name no longer encircled, as heretofore, with barbaric splendor, or attached to courtly gewgaws, but illustrated by the honors most worthy of our rational nature—coupled with the diffusion of knowledge—and gratefully pronounced

through all ages, by millions whom his wise beneficence has rescued from ignorance and vice. To him I will say, 'Homines ad Deos nulla re propius accedunt quam salutem hominibus dando: nihil habet nec fortuna tua majus quam ut possis, nec natura tua melius quam ut velis servare quamplurimos.' This is the true mark for the aim of all who either prize the enjoyment of pure happiness, or set a right value upon a high and unsullied renown. And if the benefactors of mankind, when they rest from their pious labors, shall be permitted to enjoy hereafter, as an appropriate reward of their virtue, the privilege of looking down upon the blessings with which their toils and sufferings have clothed the scene of their former existence; do not vainly imagine that, in a state of exalted purity and wisdom, the founders of mighty dynasties, the conquerors of new empires, or the more vulgar crowd of evil-doers, who have sacrificed to their own aggrandizement the good of their fellow-creatures, will be gratified by contemplating the monuments of their inglorious fame! Theirs will be the delight—theirs the triumph—who can trace the remote effects of their enlightened benevolence in the improved condition of their species, and exult in the reflection, that the prodigious change they now survey, with eyes that age and sorrow can make dim no more—of knowledge become power—virtue sharing in the dominion—superstition trampled under foot—tyranny driven from the world—are the fruits, precious though costly, and though late reaped, yet long-enduring, of all the hardships and all the hazards they encountered here below!"

The time had come now (1825) for the London University; accordingly Mr. Brougham lost not a day in preparing and introducing a bill for its incorporation. The opposition which himself and his friends had to encounter in their new project was very great. But he was not to be discouraged by any obstacles which seemed at all surmountable. He thus expressed his resolute and sanguine purpose in an article on the subject in the "*Edinburgh Review*" for Feb., 1826.

"We would not be too sanguine. But there are signs of these times and principles of human nature, to which we trust as firmly as ever any ancient astrologer trusted to the rules of his science. Judging from these, we will venture to cast the horoscope of the infant institution. We predict, that the clamor by which it has been assailed will die away—that it is destined to a long, a glorious, and a beneficent existence—that, while the spirit of its system remains unchanged, the details will vary with the varying necessities and facilities of every age—that it will be the model of many future establishments—that even those haughty foundations which now treat it with contempt, will in some degree feel its salutary influence—and that the approbation of a great people, to whose wisdom, energy, and virtue, its exertions will have largely contributed, will confer on it a dignity more imposing than any which it could derive from the most lucrative patronage, or the most splendid ceremonial.

"For us, our part has been deliberately chosen, and shall be manfully sustained. We entertain a firm conviction that the principles of liberty, as in government and trade, so also in education, are all-important to the happiness of mankind. To the triumph of those principles we look forward, not, we trust, with a fanatical confidence, but assuredly with a cheerful and steadfast hope. Their nature may be misunderstood. Their progress may be retarded. They may be maligned, derided, nay, at times exploded, and apparently forgotten. But we do, in our souls, believe that they are strong with the strength, and quick with the vitality of truth; that when they fall, it is to rebound; that when they recede, it is to spring forward with greater elasticity; that when they seem to perish, there are the seeds of renovation in their very decay—and that their influence will continue to bless distant generations, when infamy itself shall have ceased to rescue from oblivion the arts and the names of those who have opposed them, the dupe, the dissembler, the bigot, the hireling—the buffoon and the sarcasm, the liar and the lie."

Though his new scheme was attacked by all the bigots and Tories in both houses, he continued to urge the claims of those whom

Oxford and Cambridge would ostracize, until his efforts were crowned with complete success. No wonder that he now began to attract the attention of all Europe; for certain it is that no other individual had accomplished more for the cause of civilization since 1816. Other men have become famous in devoting their energies to one object. But Mr. Brougham never confined himself to any single movement, however liberal, great, and good in itself; but, as we have already observed, was ever ready to aid the cause of liberty and right, no matter in what form it came before him. While making war on the mal-practices of the two great universities of England; dragging their misdeeds before the public; exciting the scorn of Europe against their bigotry; establishing model schools and mechanics' institutions; pleading the cause of the negro slave; delivering a speech to-day in behalf of the tortured Hindoo, and to-morrow on behalf of the British soldier, condemned to be lashed like a dog for some slight violation of the army regulations; he found leisure at the same time to denounce the oppressors of Ireland; to expose the monstrous iniquity of the Irish state church; to proclaim to the civilized world how Irish law was bought and sold as an article of merchandise under the connivance, if not with the actual consent, of English officials; to aid Daniel O'Connell, with some of his noblest orations in favor of Catholic emancipation; and to write splendid essays for almost every number of the "*Edinburgh Review.*"

One would think that all this would be sufficient to engross the time of any individual, however great his intellectual and physical resources. Still Mr. Brougham had leisure. He found it somehow or other, at least sufficient of it to enable him to be chiefly instrumental in founding, in 1827, the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, becoming chairman of its managing committee, and delivering an inaugural discourse on "The Objects, Pleasures, and Advantages of Science," which formed its first publication.

In this Discourse, after dividing the whole of human knowledge into grand classes, with many illustrations of the uses of each, he closes with an eloquent exposition of the advantages and pleasures to be derived from the study of these sublime and interesting sciences. The following passages will illustrate his manner of treating these topics:—

"Reflect how many parts of the reading, even of persons ignorant of all sciences, refer to matters wholly unconnected with any interest or advantage to be derived from the knowledge acquired. Every one is amused with reading a story: a romance may please some, and a fairy tale may entertain others; but no benefit beyond the amusement is derived from this source: the imagination is gratified; and we willingly spend a good deal of time, and a little money, in this gratification, rather than rest after fatigue, or in any other bodily indulgence. * * It

may be better to read these than to sit yawning and idle—much better than to sit drinking or gaming, which, when carried to the least excess, are crimes in themselves, and the fruitful parents of many more. But this is nearly as much as can be said for such vain and unprofitable reading. If it be a pleasure to gratify curiosity, to know what we are ignorant of, to have our feelings of wonder called forth, how pure a delight of this very kind does natural science hold out to its students? Recollect some of the extraordinary discoveries of mechanical philosophy. How wonderful are the laws that regulate the motions of fluids! Is there any thing in all the idle books of tales and horrors more truly astonishing than the fact, that a few pounds of water may, by mere pressure, without any machinery, by merely being placed in a particular way, produce an irresistible force? What can be more strange, than that an ounce weight should balance hundreds of pounds, by the intervention of a few bars of thin iron? Observe the extraordinary truths which optical science discloses. Can any thing surprise us more, than to find that the color of white is a mixture of all others—that red, and blue, and green, and all the rest, merely by being blended in certain proportions, form what we have fancied rather to be no color at all, than all colors together? Chemistry is not behind, in its wonders. That the diamond should be made of the same material with coal; that water should be chiefly composed of an inflammable substance; that acids should be almost all formed of different kinds of air, and that one of those acids, whose strength can dissolve almost any of the metals, should be made of the self-same ingredients with the common air we breathe; that salts should be of a metallic nature, and composed, in great part, of metals, fluid like quicksilver, but lighter than water, and which, without any heating, take fire upon being exposed to the air, and, by burning, form the substance so abounding in saltpeter and in the ashes of burnt wood: these, surely, are things to excite the wonder of any reflecting mind—nay, of any one but little accustomed to reflect. And yet these are trifling, when compared to the prodigies which astronomy opens to our view: the enormous masses of the heavenly bodies; their immense distances; their countless numbers, and their motions, whose swiftness mocks the uttermost efforts of the imagination.

"To pass our time in the study of the sciences, in learning what others have discovered, and in extending the bounds of human knowledge, has, in all ages, been reckoned the most dignified and happy of human occupations; and the name of philosopher, or lover of wisdom, is given to those who lead such a life. But it is by no means necessary that a man should do nothing else than study known truths, and explore new, in order to earn this high title. Some of the greatest philosophers in all ages have been engaged in the pursuits of active life; and an assiduous devotion of the bulk of our time to the work which our condition requires, is an important duty, and indicates the possession of practical wisdom. This, however, does by no means hinder us from applying the rest of our time, beside what nature requires for meals and rest, to the study of science; and he who, in whatever station his lot may be cast, works his day's work, and improves his mind in the evening, as well as he who, placed above such necessity, prefers the refined and elevating pleasures of knowledge to the low gratification of the senses, richly deserves the name of True Philosopher.

"One of the most gratifying treats which science affords us is the knowledge of the extraordinary powers with which the human mind is endowed. No man, until he has studied philosophy, can have a just idea of the great things for which Providence has fitted his understanding, the extraordinary disproportion which there is between his natural strength and the powers of his mind, and the force which he derives from those powers. * * * It is surely no mean reward of our labor to become acquainted with the prodigious genius of those who have almost exalted the nature of man above its destined sphere; and, admitted to a fellowship with those loftiest minds, to know how it comes to pass that by universal consent they hold a station apart, rising over all the great teachers of mankind, and spoken of reverently, as if NEWTON and LAPLACE were not the names of mortal men."

No sooner had this society gone into efficient operation—placing wholesome food for thought, and useful practical information, within

the reach of all, than Mr. Brougham commenced his labors in favor of law reform. He spoke for six hours on this subject in the House of Commons, Feb. 7, 1828, making a deep impression both on the Parliament and the nation, convincing a large number of opponents as well as friends, Tories as well as Whigs, that there existed serious abuses in the existing laws, which ought to be remedied as soon as possible. It would be foreign to our purpose to enter into particulars in regard to the character of these abuses.* Suffice it to say that they operated chiefly if not wholly against the poor, and that Mr. Brougham resolved that, so far as it was in his power, the people should have cheap laws as well as cheap books; as he eloquently set forth in the peroration of his great speech.

"The course is clear before us; the race is glorious to run. You have the power of sending your name down through all times, illustrated by deeds of higher fame, and more useful import, than ever were done within these walls. You saw the greatest warrior of the age—conqueror of Italy—humbler of Germany—terror of the North—saw him account all his matchless victories poor, compared with the triumph you are now in a condition to win—saw him contemn the fickleness of fortune, while, in despite of her, he could pronounce his memorable boast, 'I shall go down to posterity with the code in my hand!' You have vanquished him in the field; strive now to rival him in the sacred arts of peace! Outstrip him as a lawgiver, whom in arms you overcame! the luster of the Regency will be eclipsed by the more solid and enduring splendor of the Reign. The praise which false courtiers feigned for our Edwards and Harrys, the Justinians of their day, will be the just tribute of the wise and the good to that monarch under whose sway so mighty an undertaking shall be accomplished. Of a truth, the holders of scepters are most chiefly to be envied for that they bestow the power of thus conquering, and ruling thus. It was the boast of Augustus—it formed part of the glare in which the perfidies of his earlier years were lost—that he found Rome of brick, and left it of marble; a praise not unworthy a great prince, and to which the present reign has its claims. But how much nobler will be the sovereign's boast, when he shall have it to say, that he found law dear, and left it cheap; found it a sealed book, left it a living letter; found it the patrimony of the rich, left it the patrimony of the poor; found it the two-edged sword of craft and oppression, left it the staff of honesty and the shield of innocence! To me, much reflecting on these things, it has always seemed a worthier honor to be the instrument of making you bestir yourselves in this high matter, than to enjoy all that office can bestow—office of which the patronage would be an irksome incumbrance, the emoluments superfluous, to one content with the rest of his industrious fellow-citizens, that his own hands minister to his wants; and, as for the power supposed to follow it—I have lived near half a century, and I have learned that power and place may be severed. But one power I do prize; that of being the advocate of my countrymen here, and their fellow-laborer elsewhere, in those things which concern the best interests of mankind. That power, I know full well, no government can give—no change can take away."

He now became as obnoxious to the attorneys as he had previously

* In comparing the laws of England with those of other European nations, M. Voltaire, with his usual sagacity, remarks:—"The English nation has more uniformity, but having extricated itself from servitude and barbarism, only by occasional efforts, by fits and convulsive starts, and having, even in its state of freedom, retained many laws formerly promulgated, either by the great tyrants who contended in rivalship for the throne, or the petty tyrants who seized upon the powers and honors of the prelacy, it has formed altogether a body of laws of great vigor and efficacy, but which still exhibits many *bruises and wounds, very clumsily patched and plastered.*" These "bruises and wounds," at least the most serious of them, it was reserved for Lord Brougham to heal, without clumsiness or patchwork.

been to the clergy; and the former as well as the latter determined to give him all the opposition in their power. This seemed a great deal to themselves. They were credulous enough to think they could crush him. With this view they formed a combination against him. He was to receive no briefs after this; the attorneys being the medium in England between clients and counselors. But Mr. Brougham's talents as a lawyer were too well known to render a scheme like this successful. Those who had important suits to gain or lose would secure the most eminent counsel they could, let selfish, vindictive attorneys say what they would; so that not only did the combination prove a failure, but as soon as its true character was known it had an effect directly the reverse of that intended. Mr. Brougham got more briefs than ever, and was offered vastly more than he could attend to. The people every where entertained sentiments of sincere gratitude to a man who was doing all in his power to lighten their burdens, and who had already given them so much aid in the education of their children This feeling was manifested to him in a manner not to be mistaken. There was scarcely a constituency in England, which was independent of Tory influence, but was anxious to elect him as its representative in Parliament. In 1830 he accepted the invitation of good old Yorkshire, at the general election, on the accession of William the IV., and was triumphantly returned, free of expense.

This was not without its effect on his political friends. Catholic Emancipation had been carried the year before; there were Catholics now in both Houses of Parliament; Lord John Russell was preparing the Reform Bill; and, amid this rapid progress in liberal ideas, it was necessary to confer some suitable distinction on the people's ablest and best champion. Accordingly the Grey ministry immediately made him Lord Chancellor, on the resignation of Lord Lyndhurst, with the title of Baron Brougham and Vaux.

As Lord Chancellor, he had to encounter strong prejudices. The Tories affected to regard his decisions as fraught with evil—tending to undermine the most cherished institutions of the country. Their organs admitted, in order to render their pretensions the more plausible, that possibly he meant well enough; but that it was hardly to be expected that a Scottish lawyer, however good his talents, could sufficiently understand the laws of England in a few years to be qualified to discharge the duties of the highest judicial office in the empire.

The attorneys were glad to have an opportunity of bearing their testimony against him. They, forsooth, were astonished at his ignorance of English law; and in no other way could they account for the unprecedented expedition with which he disposed of all cases brought

before him. Suits, which the most active of his predecessors used to keep on hand for years, were now brought to a close in a few weeks, frequently in a few days. An immense amount of expense was thus saved to the people. But the resources of the lawyers were cut short in a similar ratio; so that the latter were now more bitterly opposed to him than ever. This, however, did not deter him from persevering in the cause of reform. On the contrary, the more he was abused and slandered, the more he insisted on the removal of abuses.

He was no sooner seated on the woolsack than he began to prepare reformatory measures for the House of Lords. These were warmly opposed at the outset, on the ground that the pretensions of the attorneys were well-founded. This excuse, however, was but of short duration. In several appeals, brought before the House, his decisions were ratified; none were reversed; and his almost irresistible eloquence did the rest. Among several measures now rapidly become law, mainly, if not exclusively, through his instrumentality, was one, prepared and introduced by him, which reduced his own salary, as Lord Chancellor, £7,000. In justice or reason, the attorneys could no longer blame him, after this, for the reduction which he had caused in their profits; and accordingly they ceased by degrees to misrepresent and annoy him; a large proportion of them becoming his warmest friends. Although the Reform Bill was introduced by Lord John Russell, that eminent statesman has admitted himself that he would not have ventured it before Parliament so early as 1831, had he not calculated on the valuable aid he was sure to receive from Lord Brougham in the House of Lords. His expectations in this respect were fully realized. The new Lord Chancellor exerted himself to the utmost in behalf of the bill. His speech, Oct. 17, 1831, on this subject, is one of the most eloquent and powerful displays made in either house in favor of the measure, during the long series of protracted debates to which it gave rise, for a period of more than a year; and, when it passed, in 1832, votes of thanks were presented to him, as well as to Lord John Russell, from all parts of the country, each assuring him of the high appreciation in which not only his efforts in this particular instance were held by the people, but all his labors in favor of freedom, justice, education, and civilization.

His popularity was now at its hight. But popularity is ever precarious, more especially when its object is one who, like Brougham, will always pursue the course he thinks right himself, though the public at large think it otherwise. At the best of times he was in little favor with the court. Owing to his manly, bold, and persistent defense of the unfortunate Queen Caroline, the usual legal distinction of

King's Counsel was withheld from him until 1827—at least seven years after he had become justly entitled to it. William IV. seemed disposed to be friendly to him on his accession. But, if the disposition was sincere, it did not continue long. Before he was one year on the throne, he could not conceal his dislike of the Lord Chancellor, whom he regarded, and doubtless with good reason, as having contributed most powerfully, in 1831, toward forcing His Majesty to dissolve the Parliament. He did not hesitate to oppose even his colleagues, when he thought they deviated from the right course; and his opponents—those he had most vigorously attacked—might calculate on his support, when they introduced measures which he thought likely to advance the cause of civilization. Thus, in 1823, he accused Mr. Canning of "truckling," &c. The latter replied, "It is false, &c." Yet, in 1828, he warmly supported the same statesman, on account of his "liberal and manly foreign policy."

Soon after the Reform Bill was carried, the Grey ministry became unpopular. Lord Grey had considerable difficulty in keeping a "working majority," until 1834, when he was forced to resign the reins to Sir Robert Peel. The resignation of the Lord Chancellor followed, as a matter of course; and his lordship has never since held office under any government.

Although Lord Brougham allowed nothing to restrain his efforts in favor of education, he had now more leisure than ever to mature his plans; nor was he slow in availing himself of it. We have already seen what indignation he had created in 1819, as chairman of the education committee, by the determined boldness with which he exposed the gross abuses practiced in all the higher institutions of learning, not excepting Oxford and Cambridge. But it was then too soon to attack the bigotry of those establishments. However much courage it required on the part of a Scotchman, who was yet merely a member of Parliament, to show that the funds of Oxford and Cambridge were systematically misappropriated, and that, if they had been honestly applied, the poor rather than the rich would have profited by them, it would have required a great deal more to tell the truth in regard to their intolerance. Now it was different. Catholic Emancipation and the Reform Bill had effected a radical change in public opinion; although the statute-book still contained many remnants of the dark ages; nor were those who differed in their religious opinions from the King and the Archbishop of Canterbury (if indeed either of those illustrious persons had any religious views, apart from the thirty-nine Articles" and the enormous revenues and patronage of the state church,) yet free from serious privations. Now, indeed, dis-

senters were not disqualified as such from sitting in Parliament, or on the bench; but the institutions of learning, which ought to have been the first to set examples of liberality and tolerance, continued to punish them for not saying their prayers in the orthodox way. Lord Brougham resolved to try, in 1834, whether Parliament could not be induced to put an end to this discreditable state of things.

In his speech in favor of abolishing subscription (to the Thirty-nine Articles,) delivered August the first, 1834, he paid the usual respect to the predilections and prejudices of his audience; but at the same time he spared no rules, regulations, or practices, which, for the advancement of the cause of civil and religious liberty and education, it was necessary to attack and expose. This will sufficiently appear from an extract or two. The sort of "equality before the laws" secured to dissenters by the Emancipation Bill, or as it is more commonly called the Relief Act, may be seen at a glance from the following passage:

"If it be not a practical grievance, that because a man happens conscientiously to differ from you upon religious questions—you being, from conviction, members of the Church of England, and he, from the like conviction, dissenting from its doctrines—that because, while you, from conscientiously approving of its doctrines and its discipline, subscribe to the one and yield to the other, he, from as conscientious a persuasion, refuses his assent to either, without any interest, but against his interest—(for, even if all tests are removed, he dissents from the established church to his inevitable injury in many respects)—if, I say, it be not a practical grievance that he who, against his interest, and on account of his conscience alone, can not, unless he play the hypocrite, adopt your doctrines and submit to your discipline, is, for that reason, and that only reason, excluded from some of the most valuable temporal rights which a citizen can enjoy; if that be not a practical grievance, then I admit that there is no foundation whatever for the present measure. But, first of all, is it nothing, that the man who conscientiously dissents from the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England can not educate his children, or, if he be a young man, can not himself receive the advantages of education, at either of the two most illustrious, most ancient, and most justly renowned seminaries of public instruction in the whole civilized world? Is it nothing that, in order to obtain the advantages of education, either for himself or for his son, he must resort to other countries at a great expense, and undergo besides a species of banishment, instead of being admitted to institutions which you yourselves, by way of giving my argument greater force, and of stamping the grievance of the dissenter with evidence of greater value, are the first to boast are infinitely better than any other seminaries established, or ever likely to be formed in this country? Is that no practical grievance?"

There are, perhaps, some of our readers who would think there must be a mistake, if told in conversation that, so recently as 1834, an Englishman had to leave his own country, in despite of her free institutions, Magna Charta, &c., if he happened not to believe in the Book of Common Prayer, and wished, notwithstanding, to become a respectable physician.* Lord Brougham puts the question thus clearly, in the speech already quoted:—

* At this very time nothing was more common than to abuse Russia as "despotic," "scarcely emerged from barbarism," &c.; yet that same despotism might have taught constitutional England, more than half a century previously, to respect the rights of conscience.

"Is it nothing that a dissenter can not be a Doctor of Medicine, either at Oxford or at Cambridge; but, in order to obtain this degree, he must resort either to Paris or Pavia, to Edinburgh or Glasgow? Some noble lords, perhaps, of large incomes, and knowing nothing of pecuniary difficulties but by report, may think this nothing; but let me remind your lordships, that the rule which says, 'Because you are not a member of the Church of England, you can not be an English physician, without going abroad for two or three years, and obtaining, in some foreign university, a doctor's degree,' is a law savoring of persecution—a law entailing upon the subjects of the realm the very practical grievance of expense which they may be unable to defray, and of banishment which they must dislike to endure—and all because they are honest, conscientious, and pious men."

A large portion of this speech was copied by the leading journals of Europe; and the strange state of things which it so eloquently described were freely commented upon. This aided his lordship to no inconsiderable extent in forcing the universities to relax their intolerance, if not to assume a liberality consistent with the enlightened spirit of the age. At the same time it turned not a few against him, who ought to have known better. There is good reason to believe that this exposition, most necessary as it was, had considerable influence in the quarrel which he had with his colleagues, or rather which they had with him, soon after it was made. Be this as it may, when the Whigs returned to power in 1835, it does not appear that they offered him any office. They thought it sufficient to give him the pension of £5,000 a year, which the law allowed him as Chancellor, placing Mr. Peppys, a third-rate lawyer, on the woolsack in his stead, with the title of Lord Cottenham. Whether Lord Brougham felt slighted at this or not, certain it is that he showed no disposition to connive at the faults of the Whigs. On several occasions he chastised, without mercy, such of them as he believed to have deserved the lash. There are many who think, to this day, that his castigation of Lord Durham, governor-general of Canada, contributed to hasten, if it did not actually cause, that nobleman's death. Nor is the fact strange. His onset was always terrible. The stoutest heart might well quail before the man who, to-day, could pour forth such an overwhelming torrent of scorn and invective in the House of Lords; to-morrow launch a thunderbolt from the *Times;* and the next day, perhaps the

One of the greatest historians of modern times says: "The legislatrix of the north, in 1767, collected deputies from all the provinces which contained about twelve hundred thousand square leagues. These were Pagans, Mohammedans of the sect of Ali, and others of the sect of Omar, and about twelve different sects of Christians. Every law was distinctly proposed to this new synod; and, if it appeared conformable to the interest of *all* the provinces, it then received the sanction of the empress and the nation.

"The first law that was brought forward and carried was a law of toleration, that the Greek priest might never forget that the Latin priest was his fellow-man; that the Mussulman might bear with his Pagan brother; and that the Roman Catholic might not be tempted to sacrifice his brother the Presbyterian.

"The empress wrote with her own hand, in this grand council of legislation—'Among so many different creeds, *the most injurious error would be intolerance.*'"—*Dictionnaire Philosophique*, de M. Voltaire, Vol. II., p. 102.

same night, concentrate all his powers of sarcasm, ridicule, irony, &c., in an article for the "*Edinburgh Review.*"*

But no matter how many he had to chastise in a week or a month, he was ever ready to speak and write in favor of the education of the people. His speech in the House of Lords, on this subject, delivered May 23, 1835, will always be read with interest. We quote a few extracts. In speaking of the utter inadequacy of the existing schools, he says:

"The whole amount of this kind of education I have stated as given to not much more than one-twelfth of the population. But this is the average, and unfortunately it is unequally distributed, being most abundant in places where it is least wanted, and where it is most required least liberally afforded. The average of all England and Wales we shall say is one in twelve; but what is the proportion in certain counties? Why, one-thirteenth, one-fourteenth, and one-fifteenth. And which are those counties, I would ask, where education is the least expanded? They are Middlesex and the County Palatine of Lancaster; and I believe, though I have not the returns, I may add Surrey. Of Middlesex and Lancaster, however, I can speak with certainty, that the proportion is little more than one-fifteenth, being in each a deficiency of near 60,000 children; and these are the two counties in all England in which the importance of education is the greatest; so that the provision for instruction is scanty, exactly in proportion as the circumstances of the people require that it should be abundant. For I ask whether the metropolitan and the great manufacturing counties are not those which every consideration of public policy and of public morals (if things which are one and the same must be spoken of as distinct,) prompts to us to instruct most liberally—to fill with the means of education—to stud over with schools? Nor is this inequality of distribution confined to provinces; it pervades districts also. In those populous counties, with their large towns, the general proportion is little above one-fifteenth. * * * Now, my lords, what is the melancholy result of this statement? It is neither more nor less than this—that in the great towns of England there is still so considerable a deficiency in the means of elementary instruction provided, whether as regards endowed schools, or schools supported by voluntary contributions and private exertions, that in those places where it is most important to have the people instructed, there are nearly one-half of the children of the poor destitute of all means of education."

In pointing out the relation between ignorance and crime, his lordship remarks, in the same speech:—

"There are in London thousands of juvenile offenders, as they are termed, and and not incorrectly, for they are eight, nine, ten, and eleven years of age, and they have offended; but they are as yet beginners in villainy; they are not adult criminals; they are not inured and hardened in vice; they have accidentally, occasionally, as it were, violated the law; but, inclosed for a week or two in Newgate, or some other school of crime, some receptacle for accomplished villains, the immature rogues perform their noviciate among the most finished adepts in the art, and return, thoroughbred, irreclaimable profligates, to that society which they had

* Lord Brougham has often been censured for the extreme severity of his castigations, both with tongue and pen. But had his censures been mild and gentle he would have uttered them in vain—they would have attracted no attention—produced no results. The true reformer must use the lancet when the gentle salve fails. It has been used by Socrates, by Luther, by Knox, by Chatham, and by Burke; and not one of these master-spirits has shown more gentleness and humanity in private life than the eloquent and sturdy champion of the injured queen, and of the poor, oppressed, hard-working subject; or has acted, through life, more as if he *felt*, with the American poet, that

"Mankind are all pilgrims on life's weary road,
And many would wander astray,
In seeking Eternity's silent abode,
Did Mercy not point out the way!"

left, raw and tender delinquents. If there were infant schools instead of Newgate schools, for receiving the children of the needy, a very different fate would attend those unhappy youths. Vice would be then prevented—nipped in the bud, instead of being fostered and trained up to maturity—and more could be done to eradicate crimes, than the gallows, the convict ship, the penitentiary, the treadmill, can accomplish, even if the prison discipline were so amended, as no longer to be the nursery of vice. * * *

* * "It is said, 'Education is increasing, but offenses are multiplying still faster than schools,' and so men cry out, 'You do no good with all your teaching.' Upon this I must first observe, that the increase of crimes is not evidenced by the increase of prosecutions, as circumstances have operated to bring before the public, of late years, many violations of the law which were formerly committed, and not visited with prosecution. Those juvenile offenders are now in vast numbers prosecuted for felonies, who used before to be whipped by their parents or masters, after being taken before a magistrate. It is deemed expedient, in the great desire of criminal justice, to hurry the children off to gaol, there to be instructed in all the arts of consummate villainy.

* * "The experience in other countries runs parallel with our own on this important matter; and it is principally from a conviction of the truth which I have been propounding, that so general a disposition prevails among the rulers even of arbitrary governments to promote public instruction. Indeed, the greatest exertions have been made for this purpose in those states which have not, as yet, a free constitution.* * * * * In Holland, it appears from the report of the celebrated Cuvier, that, as early as 1812, there were schools sufficient for the education of 190,000 children, and that the proportion was one in ten, being equal to Scotland nearly. In Wirtemberg, schools are required by law to be supported in every parish, out of the church funds. In Denmark, Bavaria, and Saxony, they are supported by a parish rate; and even in Russia, which I said was almost out of the European pale, so sensible is the autocratic government of the necessity of educating the people, at least in towns, that the public funds maintain schools in all the town parishes. Sweden is, perhaps, the best educated country in the world; for it is there difficult to find one person in a thousand who can not read and write. The accounts from those countries show that the progress of education, but especially of infant tuition, has been attended with marked improvement in morals; and it is well known that in Spain, the worst educated country in Western Europe, tenfold more crimes are committed of a violent description

* These exertions have since been increased; and great results have followed. The state of education on the Continent of Europe is so different now (so vastly improved) from what it was when the above speech was made that we have thought it best to omit such passages in our quotations, as no longer apply to the countries to which they refer. The present school system in France is one of the most complete and efficient in Europe. There are two grades of primary schools—the elementary and superior. Of the former there are 37,119, of the latter 302; the total number of pupils at both exceeding 3,200,000. There are besides supplementary schools for children and adults who can not attend the others: 1,490 for the former, which have an average of 100,000 pupils; and 6,680 for the latter, with an average attendance of 104,000 pupils. The secondary schools embrace sixty-one lycea, or classical high schools, with 21,378 pupils; 314 communal colleges, and 47 royal colleges, with an aggregate of 45,250 pupils. All these are supported by the state, and are open to all classes. Then there are besides numerous "faculties" of theology, law, medicine, &c., not to mention the great polytechnic and military institutions, or the celebrated Academy and Institute. Austria has also made great efforts in recent years to afford the people free education. She has now a national system of instruction which, though inferior to that of France, or Prussia, places within the reach of all, throughout the empire, the means of securing a good practical education for their children. The average daily attendance at the primary schools of Austria is estimated at about 3,000,000. There are besides eight universities, having an aggregate of 16,000 students; fifty-three philosophical colleges; 188 gymnasia; 14 lycea, &c. As for Prussia, another of the "despotisms," her school system is unequaled except by our own. Nor has Russia by any means neglected the great cause. Parochial schools have been established to a large extent since 1830. There are, besides twenty-seven colleges, the professors of which are selected from the leading universities of Europe, thirty-five agricultural schools, five schools of engineering, eight military academies, &c.

than in Germany, England, and France. The opinions of the jurists and statistical writers in Russia are strongly pronounced upon this subject; and I need not dwell upon what all your lordships know, the regular system of even compulsory education which prevails both there and in some parts of Switzerland."

Probably there is not one of these countries mentioned that has more strikingly illustrated the benefits of education, especially in its effects on the morals of the people, than Scotland. But, as already intimated, Lord Brougham has always avoided speaking of his native country in any terms which might awaken the jealousy of the people of England. He could not avoid referring sometimes to the Scottish schools; but he seldom, if ever, does them justice. This delicacy prevented him from availing himself of many facts and statistics which, if they would not have favorably influenced the public mind in England at this period, would certainly have served the cause, in the abstract. For example, Fletcher of Saltown, declared in 1698: "There are at this day, in Scotland, two hundred thousand people begging from door to door. And though the number oftener be perhaps double what it was formerly, by reason of the present great distress (a famine then prevailed,) yet in all times there have been about one hundred thousand of those vagabonds, who have lived without any regard or subjection, either to the laws of the land, or to those of God and nature; fathers incestuously accompanying with their own daughters, the son with the mother, and the brother with the sister." There were few abler statesmen or truer philanthropists of his time than Fletcher; yet so much disgusted was he with the state of public morals in Scotland, and so much discouraged at the frightful degradation to which ignorance and oppression had reduced the people, that he proposed, as a remedy, domestic slavery, as it existed among the Greeks and Romans in their best days. Had he only waited five years longer, he would have had a different statement to make. The Parochial School Act, passed in 1696, had not yet gone into operation. It was some time before the people, in the depth of their abasement, could be induced to avail themselves of its benefits; but when they commenced, the results were soon apparent. Dr. Currie, the well-known biographer of Robert Burns, who had fully studied the subject, and was well qualified to form a correct opinion upon it, observes:—

"The influence of the school establishment in Scotland on the peasantry of that country seems to have decided, by experience, a question of legislation of the utmost importance—whether a system of national instruction for the poor be favorable to morals and good government. * * * At the present day, there is perhaps no country in Europe, in which, in proportion to its population, so small a number of crimes fall under the chastisement of the criminal law, as Scotland."*

But to return to the efforts of Lord Brougham. The admirable

* Burns' "*Life and Works*," Vol. I., p. 351.

speech from which the above extracts are taken made many converts, and had the effect of greatly increasing the interest which his lordship's previous efforts had created in the popular mind, in favor of a national system of education. Two months after (July, 1835,) he delivered an able and valuable address to the members of the Manchester Mechanics' Institution. After having spoken at some length on the importance of mechanical knowledge, and the natural sciences generally, and the value of inventions, he alluded, as follows, to the source of all:—

"I am sure I should do a very useless thing, if I were here to enlarge on the benefits of education. They are admitted by all, even by those who formerly sneered at them. Some people tell us that 'education won't fill people's bellies,' and trash of that sort. Why, they might just as well complain of the baker or the butcher, because with their beef or bread they don't feed people's minds. But every one knows that 'man lives not by bread alone,' that knowledge leads to skill, that skill leads to useful and lucrative occupation, and that the gain derived from lucrative occupation enables men to get the staff of this mortal life, after getting the staff of that immortal life which improves and strengthens his better part—his mind. Therefore, it is not true, to say that learning does not fill people's bellies, as some grossly and stupidly say; for it puts the staff of common animal life within our reach; so the bread and beef, got through its means, ultimately tend to support the mind, inasmuch as, without the support of the animal part, the incorporeal portion of our nature would have but a small chance of surviving. But now, whatever improves men's minds tends to give them sober and virtuous habits; and with the knowledge of the community, clear I am that virtue is assuredly certain to be promoted; and I am quite confident that, with the knowledge of men, the rights of men—I mean their indefeasible rights of every kind, the rights which they have to civil liberty and to religious liberty, the greatest of earthly and social blessings—are sure to be infinitely promoted; nor do I know of any more certain mode of reforming a country, any better way of redressing her grievances, than giving education to her people. * * * * A man who makes war upon the poor-house by keeping people out of it, he is a charitable man; a man who makes war upon the gin-shop by teaching people that sobriety and knowledge are better than intoxication and ignorance—a man who makes war upon the 'rabble rout' of seditious, immoral, and licentious persons by reclaiming them from their evil habits, and improving them by early education, especially by planting infant schools—he is a truly charitable man. And, above all, a man who has bestowed his money, his time, and his exertions, so as to make war upon the gaol, the gibbet, the transport-ship, and the tread-mill, by lessening, through instruction, the number of victims sent for their crimes to these places—that man is indeed charitable; and the more he teaches his fellow-creatures, and refines their appetites, and removes them from low, sensual gratifications, the more charitable is that man."

This was not the only great educational address he delivered in July, 1835. It was in the same month, he was present, by invitation, at the laying of the foundation-stone of the new Mechanics' Institute, at Liverpool, on which occasion he delivered two characteristic speeches. The crowd that came to hear the eloquent champion of education and equal rights was so large, that the dinner, given after the ceremony of laying the stone, had to be taken in the theater. There are several passages in each of these addresses which deserve to be printed in letters of gold. Referring to the taunts with which

himself and his fellow-laborers in the great cause were assailed by those who would insist on keeping the people in ignorance, he addressed the immense assembly present, after dinner, as follows:—

"We are called schoolmasters—a title in which I glory,* and never shall feel shame. Our Penny Science is ridiculed by those who have many pence and little knowledge. Our lectures are laughed at, as delivered to groups of what those ignorant people in fine linen and gaudy attire call, after the poet, 'lean, unwashed artificers'—a class of men that should be respected, not derided, by those who, were they reduced to work for their bread, would envy the skill of the men they now look down upon. Let such proud creatures enjoy the fancied triumph of their wit; we care not for their light artillery (if, indeed, their heavy jests can be so termed,) half so much as we did for their serious opposition. If they are much amused with our Penny Sciences, I hope before long to see them laugh twice as much at our Penny Politics; because, when the abominable taxes upon the knowledge which most concerns the people are removed—I mean the newspaper stamp—we shall have a universal diffusion of sound, practical knowledge among all classes of the community; and if lectures divert them so mightily now, I can tell them that preparation is making for affording them much more entertainment in the same kind, by a very ample extension of the present system of lecturing, and by including politics in the course!"

A nobler, more eloquent, more truthful, or better deserved tribute, than the following to the schoolmaster, which forms the peroration of this admirable speech, has scarcely ever been paid by ancient or modern orator:—

"The conqueror moves in a march. He stalks onward with the 'pride, pomp, and circumstance of war'—banners flying, shouts rending the air, guns thundering, and martial music pealing, to drown the shrieks of the wounded and the lamentations for the slain. Not thus the schoolmaster, in his peaceful vocation. He meditates and prepares in secret the plans which are to bless mankind; he slowly gathers round him those who are to further their execution; he quietly, though firmly, advances in his humble path, laboring steadily, but calmly, till he has opened to the light all the recesses of ignorance, and torn up by the roots the weeds of vice. It is a progress not to be compared with any thing like a march; but it leads to a far more brilliant triumph, and to laurels more imperishable than the destroyer of his species, the scourge of the world, ever won.

"Such men—men deserving the glorious title of Teachers of Mankind, I have found laboring conscientiously, though perhaps obscurely, in their blessed vocation, wherever I have gone. I have found them, and shared their fellowship, among the daring, the ambitious, the ardent, the indomitably active French; I have found them among the persevering, resolute, industrious Swiss; I have found them among the laborious, the warm-hearted, the enthusiastic Germans; I have found them among the high-minded, but enslaved Italians; and in our own country, God be thanked, their numbers every where abound, and are every day increasing. Their calling is high and holy; their fame is the property of nations; their renown will fill the earth in after ages, in proportion as it sounds not far off in their own times. Each one of these great teachers of the world, possessing his soul in peace—performs his appointed course—awaits in patience the fulfillment of the promises—resting from his labors, bequeaths his memory to the generation whom his works have blessed—and sleeps under the humble but not inglorious epitaph, commemorating 'one in whom mankind lost a friend and no man got rid of an enemy!'"

During the two following years, no great measures occupied the at-

* To the same purport is Lord Brougham's famous declaration on the omnipotence of popular intelligence—"Let the soldier be abroad, if he will; he can do nothing in this age. There is another personage abroad, a person less imposing—in the eyes of some, insignificant. THE SCHOOLMASTER IS ABROAD; and I trust to him, armed with his primer, against the soldier in full uniform array."

tention of Parliament; and it was only on great occasions that he any longer cared to speak in that august assembly. At the same time, far from being idle, he has never been more active than at this period. He divided his attention between the pursuits of science, the prosecution of his educational plans, law reform, and the extension of the franchise. Meetings still continued to be held in the principal towns, as well as in the metropolis, for the abolition of slavery and the slave-trade, and there were few if any of these which he did not make it his business to attend and address. In 1836 he employed persons, at his own expense, to collect facts and statistics relative to the condition of the public schools in different parts of England, at the same time visiting as many schools himself as possible, examining the pupils, ascertaining what progress they made, what opportunities they had, what disadvantages they labored under, &c. This was the manner in which he occupied himself, when his opponents (those who, as already remarked, thought it would be a dangerous experiment "to make the people as wise as their betters,") began to congratulate themselves that they would no longer be annoyed with his pertinacious efforts in favor of popular education, especially as he had taken so deep an interest in the Scottish marriage and divorce question, which had now created a painful excitement north of the Tweed. They were not a little surprised, therefore, when, at the close of 1837, they found him again "making motions" in the House of Lords on the old subject. His speech, on moving the first reading of the Bills of Education, was delivered on the first of December. It might well be supposed that he had exhausted the subject before this; but his speech on this occasion is one of the most interesting, instructive, eloquent, and convincing he has ever delivered. In speaking of the qualifications, or rather of the utter incompetency, of the teachers employed in the schools already in existence, his lordship says:—

"Again, it should be kept in view, that it is not merely the means of instruction which are defective—not merely that the schools are too few, numerous as they are, or that the children are too few, compared with the population, numerous as they are also—for they amount, between the endowed and unendowed day-schools in England and Wales, to 1,270,000—but the *quality* of the instruction is much more defective than its amount. Many of those schools are called such by courtesy—and by the extension of courtesy, *we suppose that they give instruction to children*—though many of them should *be no more called schools*, if by *that is meant places for the extension of knowledge;* and the *teachers of them no more deserve* their name, if by *teaching is understood that which enables the pupil to learn*—that which leaves him better than it found him—*that which adds to the knowledge he possessed on entering the school—than any one thing can deserve to be* called by a name by which any other thing, however different, is known. * * * Upon this matter I can not, of course, enter now into details; but I feel convinced that I do not at all overstate my position, when I assert that at least one-fourth (I am confident above one-fifth,) of those schools are in such a state of indiscipline and utter want of accommodation, and, with respect to the learning and capacity of those who assume to conduct them, so totally un-

provided, that, except by courtesy—nay, *except in the language of gross flattery*—they can not be *characterized otherwise than as merely pretended and counterfeit schools.*"

After commenting with well-merited severity on this state of things, he goes on to say:—

"With a view to all three circumstances, I would proceed to offer my suggestions to your lordships' notice. First of all, it seems to be admitted on all hands that, whether we are to go further in the way of making grants of money or not, at any rate a public Department is essentially necessary—called abroad the Department of Public Instruction, but which we should call the Education Department. This establishment is absolutely necessary, if it were only to superintend and provide for the judicious and systematic application of those funds which are occasionally set apart for purposes of education. Accordingly the plan which I propose consists, in the first place, in the establishment of such a Board. My object now is to call your lordships' attention to the duties which that Education Board will have to discharge. * * * The system hitherto adopted in giving assistance from the parliamentary grants is exceedingly imperfect. The rule laid down by the treasury is that, as often as any application is made from any quarter for such assistance, it shall only be given after a certain proportion—one-half, I believe—of the sum required is undertaken to be raised by the parties making the application. This rule was represented as holding the balance quite even between the British and Foreign Society and the National Society. I myself thought at first it was so; and during the first year it was perfectly just, for the same number of applications were made from our society, and from the National School Society. When I say 'our,' it is because I happen to be a member of the British and Foreign School Society; having presided at its first meeting, thirty years ago." * * *

There is no doubt but Lord Brougham had an eye to the American system of School Committees when he observed:—

"And now the question arises, How is the constituency to be formed which is to choose the School Committee? Who are to be the voters at the district meeting which chooses the School Committee? I beseech such of your lordships as honor me with your attention upon this important question, not to be staggered with the proposition for the qualification of voters which I am about to explain; because I begin by stating that it is entirely new, and therefore *I know is not likely to find favor in the eyes of some of those whom I address.* It may also be objected to by *those who are against increasing the weight of the people in their elective capacity.* Furthermore, I admit that, after it has been once adopted in this measure, it may be extended to other kinds of election; and I am sure candor can go no further than I am now going. * * *

"Do your lordships suppose that it is universal suffrage that I propose to introduce? I think that something may be said for universal suffrage in an education bill. The qualification of those who are alone to levy the tax, requires that they shall pay the tax themselves, which they join in levying. I do not propose universal elegibility, or election without qualification, as regards the constitution of the School Committee. Not at all. The School Committee is to be composed of persons who pay as their neighbors pay, and who have no right to put their hands into their neighbors' pocket without at the same time, in the same proportion, putting their hands into their own. * * *

"But in truth it is not universal suffrage that I am anxious for. I propose a qualification for the franchise—a qualification not only, I am much afraid, infinitely restricted in comparison with universal suffrage—not only a qualification, I am sorry to add, that will exclude a vast portion of my industrious, honest, worthy, fellow-citizens in every part of the country—a qualification that will not only keep out from all concern and all voice in the affairs of any one parish or township a *vast many thousands* of those who would in every other respect be most fit to take part in the proceedings of these School Committees—but a qualification so restricted that, when I state the nature of it, your lordships will at once perceive how peculiarly appropriate it is, where the question is about choosing a committee

for superintending the affairs of a school. In a word, *I propose an education qualification.* * * *

"I propose, then, to take those men who have given a proof that they are of sober habits—that they are of industrious lives—that they are friends to education—that they have made efforts to educate themselves; men who, to a certain extent, have profited by their successful efforts, and have already, to a certain extent, become educated men."

He had more confidence now than on any former occasion; at least he expressed more at the close of his speech; appealing at the same time to the nobler feelings of his audience:—

"I have sanguine hopes of the success of this measure. If it be well administered—if education continue popular in this country—if nothing be done to raise the spirit either of political faction, or, above all, of religious discord in the course of the passing of the bill—and if, after it has passed and come into operation, those feelings shall continue which take their rise out of a common, and universal, and truly wise, as well as truly Christian regard for the right instruction of the people—then I verily believe that the legislature, which has passed the measure, will be acknowledged, in all time to come, as having bestowed the greatest blessing that ever lawgivers conferred upon a nation, and all generations of mankind, in all ages, pointing to this Parliament, will magnify and venerate its name."

These reasonable hopes were again disappointed, but Lord Brougham did not despair. Finding the government disposed to bring in a measure of its own—by which the annual grant for educational purposes would be increased, and that special aid would be given to Teachers' Seminaries, and that the entire expenditure would be made under governmental inspection, Lord Brougham, in 1838, in a meeting of his friends in the same room where, thirty years before, (in 1808,) he presided and proposed the organization of the British and Foreign School Society, and in 1839, in a published "*Letter to the Duke of Bedford on National Education,*" urged a co-operation with the government in carrying out its policy, as the only practicable scheme.

"It is certain that, as things now stand, the two great parties into which the community is unhappily split upon this mighty question, are resolved that we should have no system of education at all—no national plan for training teachers, and thereby making the schools, that stud the country all over, deserve the name they bear—no national plan for training young children to virtuous habits, and thereby rooting out crimes from the land. And this interdict, under which both parties join in laying their country, is by each pronounced to be necessary for the sacred interests of religion. Of religion! Oh, gracious God! Was ever the name of thy holy ordinances so impiously profaned before? Was ever, before, thy best gift to man, his reason, so bewildered by blind bigotry, or savage intolerance, or wild fanaticism—bewildered so as to curse the very light thou hast caused to shine before his steps—bewildered so as not to perceive that any and every religion must flourish best in the tutored mind, and that, by whomsoever instructed in secular things, thy word can better be sown in a soil prepared, than in one abandoned through neglect to the inexorable influence of the evil Spirit?

"But how long is the country to suffer that its best interests shall be sacrificed to this polemical strife? Rather let me ask, how long are we, the friends of education, to betray our duty, when we have it in our power, easily and extensively, and with a very little self-denial, satisfactorily to perform it?

"Let the people be taught, say I. I care little, in comparison, who is to teach them. Let the grand machine of national education be framed and set to work, and I should even view without alarm the tendency of its first movements toward

giving help to the power of the clergy. How? Just as my friend James Watt, when he has constructed some noble steam-engine, which is to bear the trade of England, and with her trade, the light of science and helps of art, into the heart of a distant continent, views without discomposure the piston-rod swerve from the perpendicular, well assured that the contrary flexure of the circles, his illustrious father's exquisite invention, has provided a speedy adjustment; and sees with still less apprehension the divergency of the balls, aware that the yet more refined provision of the same great mind has rendered that very centrifugal force the cause of its own counteraction, and prepared a remedy in exact proportion to the disturbance,—just so should I see unmoved the supposed tendency of a National School Bill to increase clerical ascendancy, being quite sure that the very act of spreading knowledge, which seems to increase the disturbing influence, must, in exact proportion to its own operation, control its evil effects upon our social system.

I know that nothing like a provision has been any where made for infant training, by far the most essential branch of tuition,—the one to provide which is the duty of our rulers, above every other duty imperative upon them, and which, if they discharge not, they forfeit their title to rule. But if they have not discharged that duty, if they have planted no schools where the habits of virtue may be induced, stretched forth no hand to extirpate the germs of vice—they have kept open other schools where vice is taught with never-failing success—used both hands incessantly to stifle the seeds of virtue ere yet they had time to sprout—laid down many a hot-bed where the growth of crime in all its rank luxuriance is assiduously forced. THE INFANT SCHOOL LANGUISHES, which a paternal government would have cherished; but Newgate flourishes—Newgate, with her thousand cells to corrupt their youthful inmates; seducing the guiltless, confirming the depraved. THE INFANT SCHOOL IS CLOSED, which a paternal government would have opened wide to all its children. But the penitentiary, day and night, yawns to engulph the victims of our stepmother system,—the penitentiary where repentance and penance should rather be performed by the real authors of their fall. THE INFANT SCHOOL RECEIVES NO INNOCENTS whom it might train or might hold fast to natural virtue; but the utterly execrable, the altogether abominable hulk, lies moored in the face of the day which it darkens, within sight of the land which it insults, riding on the waters which it stains with every unnatural excess of infernal pollution, triumphant over all morals! And shall civilized, shall free, shall Christian rulers, any longer pause, any more hesitate, before they amend their ways, and attempt, though late yet seriously, to discharge the first of their duties? Or shall we, calling ourselves the friends to human improvement balance any longer, upon some party interest, some sectarian punctilio, or even some refined scruple, when the means are within our reach to redeem the time and do that which is most blessed in the sight of God, most beneficial to man? Or shall it be said that between the claims of contending factions in church or in State, the Legislature stands paralyzed, and puts not forth its hand to save the people placed by Providence under its care, lest offense be given to some of the knots of theologians who bewilder its ears with their noise, as they have bewildered their own brains with their controversies? Lawgivers of England! I charge ye, have a care! Be well assured, that the contempt lavished for centuries upon the cabals of Constantinople, where the council disputed on a text, while the enemy, the derider of all their texts, was thundering at the gate, will be as a token of respect compared with the loud shout of universal scorn which all mankind in all ages will send up against you, if you stand still and suffer a far deadlier foe than the Turcoman,—suffer the parent of all evil, all falsehood, all hypocrisy, all discharity, all self-seeking,—him who covers over with pretexts of conscience the pitfalls that he digs for the souls on which he preys,—to stalk about the fold and lay waste its inmates—stand still and make no head against him, upon the vain pretext, to soothe your indolence, that your action is obstructed by religious cabals—upon the far more guilty speculation, that by playing a party game, you can turn the hatred of conflicting professors to your selfish purposes!

Let us hope for better things. Let us hope it through His might and under His blessing who commanded the little children to be brought unto Him, and that none of any family of mankind should be forbidden; of Him who has promised the choicest gifts of His Father's kingdom to those who in good earnest love their neighbors as themselves!"

The policy, thus eloquently urged, was followed by the great mass of the friends of popular education, and from year to year since, 1839, the annual grant for educational purposes, (including Science and Art.) has been increased from £30,000 till it reached in 1858 nearly £1,000,000, and the objects for which it is now applied includes most of the items of school expenditure—school buildings, furniture, books, maps, teachers, and inspection; and at the same time the application of this sum stimulates parents and benevolent individuals to a still larger contribution. Comprehensive as are the objects already embraced in the governmental grant, earnest and liberal as are efforts of the different religious denominations in establishing and supporting schools, the results do not realize all the legitimate aims of a system of national education, like that for which Lord Brougham again labored in 1854.

In the meantime, Lord Brougham took up another subject, which showed the nation what a small amount it would require to establish schools in each parish, in comparison with the immense sums squandered on royalty and royal pensions. This was rather a delicate question to treat in the House of Lords, especially just after the accession of a female sovereign, (for her present majesty had only come to the throne that year;) but no motives of false gallantry could divert Lord Brougham from what he conceived to be an important public duty. A brief extract from his speech on the Civil List, delivered Dec. 20, 1831, will give an idea of the boldness with which he denounced the encroachments of the reigning sovereign in recent years on the public revenue. In speaking of the scale of magnitude on which the nation had to provide for the children of the sovereign, &c., in reply to a certain "explanation" made by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, he asked, with one of his peculiar twitches, "Was ever yet displayed such astonishing unacquaintance with princely natures? The heir apparent live upon the reduced Cornish revenue! The Prince of Wales never came to Parliament for money? Why, *within seven years of his birth, the expenses of the King's family were given as a reason for debts of half a million having been incurred, which the country immediately paid;* and in nine years more the same plea obtained *a still larger sum, with an addition of* £100,000 *a year to the final settlement* of 1760! But grant that, on the Prince of Wales' coming *in esse* and during his minority, there was no specific application made to Parliament on his behalf, the instant he came of age a message was sent down and a sum of £50,000 a year granted *over and above* the revenues of the dutchy—those revenues which we are told preclude all occasion for an application to Parliament. From the hour that he became of an age *to be*

capable of spending money, the public treasure was lavished in providing for his support, *and in enormous sums from time to time to pay his debts.*"

The liberality thus shown, on the part of the Parliament, contrasted strangely with its niggardliness to the people who had to pay all; although even Lord Brougham was unwilling to tell the whole truth, on so delicate a subject, before an audience a large proportion of whom were personally interested in maintaining the expenditure complained of. Those who read his lordship's speech will see, however, that he said quite enough to satisfy any thinking person that, where money was lavished in such fabulous sums on persons most of whom did nothing but spend all they got, surely a decent amount ought to have been allowed to those best entitled to it, for so useful a purpose as the improvement of their minds. This enormous prodigality will be still more apparent from a few facts and statistics from parliamentary returns, which we will here note parenthetically. The most recent return within our reach, at the present moment, is that of March 23, 1842. According to this the annual direct cost of royality in England was $3,845,825; and the cost has vastly increased since. The following are a few of the items:—The Queen's privy purse, salaries of the household, tradesmen's bills, &c., $1,060,825; Prince Albert's annuity, $150,000; that of the Duke of Cambridge, $135,000; royal parks (Hyde, St. James, and Green,) $380,000; Windsor Great Park, and farm buildings, $450,000. The lord steward of the household, a sort of head cook, receives $10,000 a year. Her majesty's postillions, coachmen, and footmen alone cost $62,815 per annum. Next, there is the pension list, the details of which seem scarcely credible. It embraces a large number of mistresses and illegitimate children, besides all who can pretend to any lawful ties of consanguinity to any member of the royal family. Thus, His Grace, the Duke of Grafton, an illegitimate descendant of Charles II., has a salary of $42,000 from the excise revenue, and $17,000 from the post office revenue. The wealthy Duke of Sutherland, the owner of thousands of broad acres of the best land in the country, while thousands of honest, hard-working men have no acre, has his two sisters on the pension list, receiving thousands annually of the money wrung, in the form of taxation, from the poor. Those who bear in mind that there are many other peers who have similar advantages, will hardly wonder, after all, that the House of Lords has never regarded the diffusion of knowledge with much favor.

For similar reasons, it is not very strange that the dignitaries of the state church desire to have whatever smattering of education the

poor are to receive given under their own auspices, for there would be danger that a liberal amount of secular knowledge, or knowledge imparted by persons independent of the clergy, would lead to too close a scrutiny of the ecclesiastical revenues. If the people generally were made intelligent, they would be apt to think that the church might dispense with a somewhat smaller revenue than $52,420,735—at least that the archbishops and bishops could support themselves comfortably on a less annual sum than $1,030,235 between them. It is very well to regard his Grace, the Archbishop of Canterbury, as a meek and pious prelate, and principal successor of the apostles; but, if it were generally understood that, for being thus meek, pious, &c., he is paid a revenue of $138,000, his preaching, when he does preach, in praise of poverty and resignation, and against wealth and luxury, would be likely to suffer somewhat in its moral effect. Even if we had space to spare, it would be needless to add any thing to this—we need say nothing on the subject of sinecures or pluralities—in order that our readers may understand how it is, that in reading Lord Brougham's speeches in favor of education, his most uncompromising opponents are dukes, marquises, and bishops—the very parties who owe most to the people; and the same facts and figures will afford us not a little aid in examining, at the close of our article, the results which his lordship has been able to accomplish by his unceasing and indefatigable labors, extended, as they have been, over a period of half a century.

In 1838 Lord Brougham took an active part in the affairs of Canada. In each of his three speeches, delivered in the House of Lords, Jan. 18, Feb. 2, and Feb. 8, respectively, he ably defended the colonists, and vindicated their claims to fair representation; warning the government against the possibility of another American war of independence, and calling on the nation to be prepared for a peaceful and friendly separation. The closing sentence of his speech of Feb. 8, deserves to be quoted, if only for the wise, philosophic, and humane sentiments which it breathes; but we have the further reason for transcribing it, that it is one of the many evidences which go to prove that, let Lord Brougham's subject be what it may, if it has any connection with human rights, or the relations between the strong and the weak, his manly and eloquent voice is sure to be in favor of the latter. "My prayer is," says the chancellor, "that we may so order our policy with respect to North America, as, when the hour of separation does arrive—and sooner or later, by common consent, come it must—we may be found to have done nothing that shall leave wounds to rankle; but that the relation of colony and mother-coun-

try—the relation of temporary dependence and sovereignty—on either hand ceasing in the cause of nature, other relations may be substituted of one free state with another—not enemies but friends, and in the honest emulation of rivals, running together the great race of social improvement, with an emulation which the high descent of the new state makes her worthy of sustaining with the old."

A still stronger evidence of the generosity of his nature is to be found in his eloquent appeal, made in the same place and year, on behalf of the Negro apprentices of the West Indies. Here there was no "high descent" to enlist his sympathies in favor of the victims of oppression. It was sufficient for him to know that the weak were cruelly suffering at the hands of the strong. The news had just arrived in England that eleven female slaves had been brutally flogged, and then forced to work on the tread-mill until exhausted nature could stand the torture no longer. Even the famous speech of Burke on the Begum charge contains no more startling burst of indignant, impassioned eloquence than the following:—

"Ask you if crimes like these, murderous in their legal nature, as well as frightful in their aspect, passed unnoticed; if inquiry was neglected to be made respecting these deaths in a prison? No such thing! The forms of justice were, on this head, peremptory, even in the West Indies; and those forms, the handmaids of justice, were present, though their sacred mistress was far away. The coroner duly attended; his jury was regularly impanneled; eleven inquisitions were made in order, and eleven verdicts returned. Murder! manslaughter! misdemeanor! misconduct! No—but 'Died by the visitation of God!' A lie! a perjury! a blasphemy! The visitation of God! Yes; for it is amongst the most awful of those visitations by which the inscrutable purposes of His will are mysteriously accomplished, that he sometimes arms the wicked with power to oppress the guiltless; and if there be any visitation more dreadful than another—any which more tries the faith and vexes the reason of erring mortals—it is when Heaven showers down upon earth the plague, not of scorpions, or pestilence, or famine, or war, but of unjust judges and perjured jurors; wretches who pervert the law to wreak their personal vengeance, or compass their sordid ends, forswearing themselves on the gospels of God, to the end that injustice may prevail and the innocent be destroyed!"

More recently, he pleaded the cause of the Hindoos, with equal zeal and eloquence. A speech which he delivered at Leeds, on the use of torture in India, only four years before the recent Sepoy rebellion broke out (April, 1853,) has since proved remarkably prophetic. He was coarsely assailed at the time, by the Tory press, for what was designated his "violent and most uncalled-for attack" on the Company's government. While denouncing the oppressors of the Hindoo, as it were, to his face, he paid a high tribute to America, through her favorite song-writer. "We are treating the Hindoo in the nineteenth century," says the eloquent vindicator of the rights of man, "as our ancestors treated the red man in the sixteenth century. But the former, strong as he is, and doubtless conscious of his

strength, will not submit much longer. Already he has sworn, on the altar of his country, that the day of retribution is at hand. It is not in human nature to endure such wrongs, as the recent investigation* has brought to light as being constantly inflicted on the people of India, by those who pretend to be their friends and protectors, without a terrible effort to avenge them and be free; and that a large proportion of them hate us accordingly—that the majority detest our rule, and would rejoice to see our scepter broken, it is idle to deny. I find no language which, if I rightly understand the subject, so truthfully and eloquently describes the feelings with which they regard us at the present moment, as that which an American poet, the author, I believe, of "Woodman spare that tree,"† puts into the mouth of the red man, in his Indian poem:"—

> "Right they forget while strength they feel;
> Our blood they drain, our land they steal;
> And should the vanquished Indian kneel,
> They spurn him from their sight!
> Be set for ever in disgrace,
> The glory of the red man's race,
> If from the foe we turn our face,
> Or safety seek in flight!"

But it would require a large volume to give those who are not acquainted with the multifarious labors of Lord Brougham any adequate idea of his unwearied exertions in the cause of freedom and civilization. The limits of our article preclude us from noticing many of his best and most eloquent efforts; and, in the brief space which now remains, we can do little more than allude to speeches and publications, a due consideration of which would require a much larger paper than the whole of the present rapid sketch. Busily as he was engaged, as we have already seen, after retiring from office, in 1834, he found time to annotate and publish an excellent edition of Paley's "*Natural Theology.*" He was thus instrumental in rendering a work popular which hitherto had been comparatively neglected. In 1839 he went again to the Continent, in order to examine personally the progress of education; so that he might embody in his own plans any improvements which he found in the new system of teaching, and at the same time collect such facts and statistics as he thought would aid him in convincing the House of Lords that its prejudices against instructing the people were unfounded. In the midst of his labors, during this visit, he found leisure to write an elaborate pamphlet on the state of parties in France, which, though published anonymously, attracted attention throughout Europe, having been immediately translated into French and German. So well

* A government inquiry regarding the use of torture. † George P. Morris.

pleased was he with the reception every where given him by the French during his travels and inquiries amongst them, that he determined to spend all the time he could spare, from the great work of his life, in France. With this view, he purchased the beautiful villa Louise Eléonore, near Cannes, in view of the Mediterranean, and commenced to reside there in 1840. The agitation of the Corn Law League had now created considerable excitement in England. Lord Brougham, having never liked displays of physical force, however anxious at all times to aid the people in claiming their rights, denounced the movement as unconstitutional. This lost him much of his popularity.* In accordance with the same views, he voted, in his place in the House of Lords, in 1844, against the writ of error in the case of O'Connell; *i. e.*, in favor of confirming the sentence of fine and imprisonment, passed by the Court of Queen's Bench against the great Irish agitator, who was just then in prison with his fellow "conspirators." It seemed strange to find his vote in the minority against a man who, like himself, had devoted his life to the cause of liberty, and whom he had always zealously and powerfully aided, not only in favor of Catholic emancipation, but also the abolition of tithes, penal laws, &c. But O'Connell never thought any thing the worse of him for it; knowing that, while delivering his most eloquent speeches in denunciation of the wrongs of Ireland, he would have voted against any infraction of the laws, as he did in the present instance. "It is simply a whim of Brougham's," said O'Connell. "His many eloquent appeals in behalf of Ireland, designed to break the fetters which bound her mind as well as her body—his manly co-operation with myself when it was almost treason to advocate liberty of conscience—are sufficient evidence, notwithstanding his recent vote, that his heart is in the right place."

In 1854, Lord Brougham made another, and probably his last, effort to introduce a system of National Education, which should in-

* It is doubtful, however, whether there is any man in England, at the present day, whom the people would obey sooner. An interesting instance of this occurred about two years ago, during the Sunday riots in London. On one occasion the crowd of working men drove the police out of Hyde Park. The authorities utterly failed to prevent or dissuade them from acts of violence. Just as they were bidding defiance to the magistrates and police inspectors, the venerable Lord Brougham happened to be passing; he approached and addressed them a few gentle words of advice. "Who are you?" cried the ringleader. "Your old friend, Lord Brougham." The effect was magical. After giving three hearty cheers for Brougham, and pledging themselves like one man to do any thing he told them, they dispersed at once. This incident will remind the classic reader of Virgil's beautiful comparison.

> Ac veluti magno in populo cùm saepe coorta est
> Seditio, saeritque animis ignoble vulgus;
> Iamque faces et saxa volant, furor arma ministrat
> Tum, piete *gravem* ac meritis si fortè *virum* quem
> Conspexere, silent, *arrectisque auribus astant*:
> Ille *regit* dictis *animos*, et *pectora mulcet*.

clude the principles which had been incorporated into the practice of the government, and of the people, since 1833, and at the same time embrace such additional features as the experience of other countries, and the still amazing destitution of educational facilities in certain localities of England and Wales, showed to be desirable and necessary. He had seen, in 1831, the Government appoint a Board of National Education for Ireland, and the annual grant of £4,000 for schools in Ireland increased, from year to year, till it reached, in 1854, the sum of £215,000. He had seen the House of Commons, in 1833, make an annual grant of £20,000 to aid in the erection of new schools in England and Wales, and of £10,000 for the same purpose in Scotland, under the direction of the Lord of the Treasury—he had seen these sums expended, as had been suggested by him in 1818, through the two school societies, the National, and the British and Foreign. He had seen, in 1835, a special grant of £10,000 voted by the House of Commons to establish normal and model schools to improve the qualifications of teachers, which, in his speech in that year, he showed "would lead to the indefinite improvement of education, and should be at once introduced into England;" and he had seen this sum, and still larger appropriations by government, applied to aid the establishment of training schools, until, in 1854, there were forty-one such institutions, erected at an expense of over $3,000,000, and requiring and receiving an annual expenditure of over $150,000 for their support. He had seen, in 1839, the Government instituting a Committee of Education in the Privy Council, and authorizing a system of governmental inspection of all schools aided out of the public grants, until the Committee has since been converted into an Educational Department, the president of which is a Cabinet officer. He had seen the subject of scientific and artistic education not only introduced into mechanic institutions and working-men's classes, but into the universities, old and new, and a department of art and science, with a central school of mining, a museum of economical geology, and local schools, erected and supported by the Government, at an annual expense of over £86,000. He had seen the management of public charities investigated, their abuses exposed, and to some extent remedied, their annual income increased and made more efficacious in the education of the country. To secure the progress already made, and give additional impulse and truer direction, Lord Brougham, in 1854, introduced the subject into the House of Lords, on the 24th of July, and the 4th of August, by a speech, and embodied the substance of his suggestions in a series of resolutions, which we give entire. (*See* p. 513.)

In 1853, he was elected foreign associate of the Institute of France, as a mark of appreciation of some papers he had written, giving the results of his experiments on the nature of light. The same contributions met with a similar recognition from the Royal Academy of Sciences of Naples, and they were published in the "*Transactions*" of the Academy of France and of the Royal British Academy of Sciences. Not content with these honors in the field of science, he published an "*Analytical View of Newton's 'Principia'*" in 1855, in conjunction with Mr. Routh. His lordship had previously attracted the attention of the literary world as a biographer. Between 1839 and 1843 he published his "*Sketches of Statesmen* who flourished in the time of George III.," which were followed in 1845 by his "*Lives of Men of Letters* who flourished in the time of George III." These were extensively read, both in Europe and America. His "*Philosophers of the Time of George III.*," written about the same period, is another work of similar character, which has also taken its position among the classics of our language. Each of these three works may be regarded as a picture gallery of the master-spirits, not only of England but of Europe. His "*Political Economy*" is the least read at the present time. It is a learned and profound work; and its valuable suggestions and judicious practical observations should always secure it a place in the larger editions of his miscellaneous writings. His translation of Demosthenes' "*Chersonese Oration*" is at once one of the most faithful and most elegant our literature can boast of; and there is no finer or more instructive specimen of criticism to be found in any modern language than his "*Dissertation on the Eloquence of the Ancients.*" Addison's criticisms, in the "*Spectator*," on Milton's "*Paradise Lost*," are perhaps the only English critical essays which deserve to be ranked with this admirable "*Dissertation*," as a source of instruction and pleasure to the classical student.

Although Lord Brougham is now in his eighty-first year, he has by no means abandoned his literary or scientific pursuits, or abated one jot of heart or hope in the great cause of human amelioration. So recently as the eighteenth of last May, he read a paper, before the French Academy, entitled "*Analytical and Experimental Inquiry on the Cells of Bees*," which received unqualified praise from the most eminent scientific men of Europe. In 1857, as president, he inaugurated the first meeting of the "*National Association for the Promotion of Social Science*," at Birmingham, by a Discourse, which breathes all the rhetorical vigor of his early days, and unfolds a scheme of associated labor by which all the great reforms in England—in juris-

prudence, law, public health, and social economy—will be carried on when in the course of events he has entered into his rest.

Like most of the great master-spirits of the world, Lord Brougham, who has battled so hard and done so much, in order that unborn generations might be able, in spite of their poverty, to enjoy the blessings of education, is himself childless. No man now living has stronger claims on the gratitude and affection of every friend of human progress—of all who sympathize with the oppressed, and yearn to ameliorate the condition of the poor—than the venerable orator, author, philosopher, scholar, and philanthropist, whose long life and valuable labors we have thus imperfectly sketched.

Since the foregoing memoir was in type, we have read the "*Proceedings of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science for* 1858." At this meeting Lord Brougham, on retiring from the presidency, read a discourse on the service which the Popular Press and Literature of the age could render and was rendering for popular enlightenment, for which Bishop Potter, of Pennsylvania, who was present, predicted a circulation as wide and as beneficent as his discourse on the Objects, Advantages, and Pleasures of Science. It is refreshing to read the record of the enthusiastic reception which greeted, every where, the presence of this "Patriarch of Philanthropy." In proposing a vote of thanks for his services in inaugurating the Association, the Earl of Shaftsbury remarked:—

"I am called upon to propose a vote of thanks to Lord Brougham—(great cheering)—to the noble lord who filled last year the office of president, and to whom we are indebted, in a great measure, for the foundation of the society, (hear, hear,) and for the good conduct and success that has marked its progress. (Hear, hear.) I think that I might stop here, and be content with having named him for your acceptance; but it seems to be almost impossible that, on an occasion like this, we should not say at least a few words in gratitude and respect for that noble and generous career that has marked him from his earliest days down to the period at which he now stands before you. (Great cheering.) Let me only indicate his great and valuable services in stirring up the country to the immense value, to the still more immense necessity, of national education. (Hear, hear, and applause.) Let me recall to you his great, generous, mighty, unwearied—and now, by the blessing of God—successful endeavors for the mitigation of the biggest wrong that ever desolated and disgraced mankind—that horrible and atrocious traffic in human flesh. (Loud applause.) Is there a single effort undertaken for the benefit of the human race that has not his sympathy? Nay, I say, is there a single effort undertaken for the benefit of the human race that has not, so far as he can give it, his co-operation? (Hear, hear.) And well he might say, according to the language of ancient times—and that which no ancient could truly have—'I am a man, and nothing that affects the interests of mankind is, or ever can be, foreign to my affections.' (Loud applause.) And mark him in his advancing years. They do not produce upon him the effect they produce upon ordinary men. His advancing years seem only to lead him to a renewal of those great efforts, to the exhibitions of that masterly eloquence, and to those great and vigorous sympathies, that characterized all the efforts of his earliest youth. (Applause.) And then, when we see him stand before us the patriarch of philanthropy—(hear, hear)—in a green

old age, entering upon a new career that even now seems to set at a distance all the younger portions of the community, let us as one man rise and express our thanks to him for the great services he has rendered, with a hearty wish that he may long enjoy the honors he has achieved, and a still more hearty wish that he may be spared by the blessing of God for further sympathy, counsel, and co-operation in every good word and work for the benefit of the human races. (Loud applause.) I therefore propose for your acceptance, that the thanks of the National Association to be given to the Right Honorable Lord Brougham, for his services as founder and first president of this Association. (Loud applause.")

During the session of the Association in Liverpool, a meeting was held at the hall of the Liverpool Institute, at which Lord Brougham presided, which was attended and addressed by several well-known champions of popular enlightenment—Lord John Russell, Sir John Pakington, the Earl of Carlisle, Sir James Kay Shuttleworth, Hon. W. F. Cowper, Hon. W. Brown, and others. At the close of the meeting Mr. Brown, the president of the Institute, offered the following resolution:—

"That the most grateful acknowledgments of this meeting be tendered to the Right Hon. Lord Brougham, for his kindness on this occasion, accompanied with the expression of an earnest hope that his valuable life may long be spared, to adorn and benefit a country in whose annals his name must ever stand among the foremost of its benefactors as the eloquent and indefatigable advocate of progress, liberty, and education."

This vote was seconded by Right Rev. Bishop Potter, of Pennsylvania, who was cordially received, and said—

"He could not forbear the opportunity to join in a vote of thanks to him who has been so pertinently and felicitously styled the patriarch of popular instruction—for Lord Brougham, as an earnest and effective advocate of popular education, does not belong to England—he belongs to the Anglo-Saxon world.

"Wherever the English language is spoken, there the chord which he has struck on the subject of popular education and popular progress is responded to. I recollect well, though I was young at that time, the state of things in 1813, when he first moved on this subject. Without the limits of New England, in the United States, there were no public legislative efforts for popular instruction. The voice which was then sent from the British Isles contributed not a little to draw attention to that subject in the great states of New York and Pennsylvania, and throughout a vast expanse of territory, now covered by twenty-five millions of people. My lord, is it not something that at that early period in your own career you should have set in motion a train of influences which so distend and spread over that vast tract, and fill that vast population with an intenser and a wiser interest in this, to a republican government, most vital subject? At every step of the discussion in England, light and heat were struck from the American mind and the American heart. Our English friends can not imagine the interest and the filial deference with which we listen to your great minds and your teachers on every subject which pertains to the progress and the regeneration of our common humanity. ( ) In the admirable discourse from Sir James Stephens, to which some of us listened to-day, there was an expression—which I thought somewhat faint—that there still beat in the heart of the great nation—which originally was but a colony of Britain—something of the filial piety of a child. There is much of it; vastly more than would be inferred from the tempest which seems to be raised when any question concerning the relative prerogatives of the two nations happens to be agitated. The enthusiasm which a few weeks since attended the proclamation of the fact that it had become possible to speak with and hear from Old England in the space of sixty minutes, that enormous enthusiasm, if it was not actually madness, which pervaded the entire American people, will serve to show that there is a child's heart on the other side."

NOTE.

Resolutions submitted to the consideration of the House of Lords, on the 24th of July, 1854, by Lord Brougham.

1. That the increase in the means of education for the people, which had begun a few years before the year 1818, when the first returns were made, and had proceeded steadily till the year 1833, when the next returns were made, has been continued since, although less rapidly as regards the number of schools and teachers, but with considerable improvement both in the constitution of the additional seminaries, and in the quality of the instruction given:

2. That the returns of 1818 give as the number of day schools of all kinds 19,230, attended by 674,883 scholars; of Sunday schools 5,463, and Sunday school scholars 425,533; the returns of 1833, 38,971 day schools and 1,276,947 scholars, and 16,828 Sunday schools and 1,548,890 scholars; the returns of 1851, 46,042 day schools and 2,144,378 scholars, 23,514 Sunday schools and 2,407,642 scholars:

3. That the population having increased during these two periods from 11,642,683 to 14,386,415 and 17,927,609, the proportion of the day scholars to the population in 1818 was 1 in 17.25, of Sunday scholars 1 in 24.40; in 1833, of day scholars 1 in 11.27, of Sunday scholars 1 in 9.28; in 1851, of day scholars 1 in 8.36, of Sunday scholars 1 in 7.45; showing a more rapid increase, but more especially of Sunday scholars, in the first period than in the second, while the population has increased more rapidly during the second period; its increase being at the rate of 180,000 a year during the first period, and 197,000 a year during the second:

4. That there is reason to believe that the returns of 1818 are less than the truth, that those of 1833 have considerably greater omissions, and that those of 1851 approach much nearer the truth; from whence it may reasonably be inferred that the increase during the first fifteen years was greater than the returns show, that the increase during the last eighteen years was less than the returns show, and that the increase proceeded during the last period at a rate more diminished than the returns show:

5. That before the year 1833 the increase was owing to the active exertions and liberal contributions of the different classes of the community, especially of the upper and middle classes, whether of the Established Church or of the Dissenters, the clergy of both church and sects bearing a large share in those pious and useful labors:

6. That in 1833 the plan was adopted which had been recommended by the education committee of the House of Commons in 1818, of assisting by grants of money in the planting of schools, but so as to furnish only the supplies which were required in the first instance, and to distribute those sums through the two school societies, the National and the British and Foreign:

7. That the grants of money have since been largely increased, and that in 1839 a committee of the Privy Council being formed to superintend their distribution, for increasing the number of schools, it has further applied them, for the improvement of the instruction given, to the employment of inspectors and the training of teachers:

8. That of the poorer and working classes, assumed to be four-fifths of the population, the number of children between the ages of three and fifteen are 3,600,000, and at the least require day schools for one-half, as the number which may be expected to attend school, regard being had to the employment of a certain proportion in such labor as children can undergo; and that consequently schools for one-eighth of the working classes of the poor are the least that can be considered as required for the education of those classes:

9. That the means of education provided are still deficient; because, of the 2,144,378 day scholars now taught at the schools of all kinds, not more than about 1,550,000 are taught at public day schools, the remaining 500,000 being taught at private schools, and being, as well as about 50,000 of those taught at endowed public schools, children of persons in the upper and middling classes, so that little more than 1,500,000 of the day scholars are the children of the poor, or of persons in the working classes; and thus there are only schools for such children in the proportion of 1 in 9.6 of the number of the classes to which they belong, instead of 1 in 8, leaving a deficiency of 300,000, which must increase by 20,000 yearly, according to the annual increase of the population:

10. That this deficiency is considerably greater in the large towns than in the other parts of the country, inasmuch as it amounts to 130,000 in the aggregate of the towns which have above 50,000 inhabitants, and is only 170,000 in the rest of the country; the schools in the great towns being only for 1 in 11.08 of the working classes, and in the rest of the country for 1 in 9.2 of these classes, deducting 50,000 taught at endowed schools:

11. That the deficiency in the number of teachers is still greater than in the number of scholars, inasmuch as eight of the largest towns appear to have public day schools with 208 scholars on an average, the average of all England and Wales being 94 to a school, that there are assistant and pupil teachers in many of these schools, and paid masters in others, but that there is the greatest advantage in increasing the number of teachers, this being one of the chief benefits of Sunday schools, while the plan formerly adopted in the new schools of instructing by monitors among the scholars themselves, is now properly allowed to fall into disuse:

12. That the education given at the greater number of the schools now established for the poorer classes of people is of a kind by no means sufficient for their instruction, being for the most part confined to reading, writing, and a little arithmetic; whereas, at no greater expense, and in the same time, the children might easily be instructed in the elements of the more useful branches of knowledge, and thereby trained to sober, industrious habits:

13. That the number of infant schools is still exceedingly deficient, and especially in those great towns where they are most wanted for improving the morals of the people and preventing the commission of crimes:

14. That while it is expedient to do nothing which may relax the efforts of private beneficence in forming and supporting schools, or which may discourage the poorer classes of the people from contributing to the cost of educating their children, it is incumbent upon Parliament to aid in providing the effectual means of instruction where these can not otherwise be obtained for the people:

15. That it is incumbent upon Parliament to encourage in like manner the establishment of infant schools, especially in larger towns:

16. That it is expedient to confer upon the town councils of incorporated cities and boroughs the power of levying a rate for the establishment and support of schools under the authority of and in co-operation with the education committee of the Privy Council; care being taken as heretofore that the aid afforded shall only be given in cases of necessity, and so as to help and encourage, not displace, individual exertion:

17. That the permission to begin and to continue the levying of the rate shall in every case depend upon the schools founded or aided by such rate being open to the children of all parents *upon religious instruction being given, and the Scriptures being read in them*, but not used as a school-book, and upon allowing no compulsion either as to the attendance of religious instruction or at divine service in the case of children whose parents object thereto and produce certificates for attending other places of worship:

18. That the indifference which has been found of the parents in many places to obtain education for their children, and a reluctance to forego the advantages of their labor, by withdrawing them from school, is mainly owing to the ignorance of their parents, and this can best be removed by the encouragement of a taste for reading, by the establishment of mechanics' institutions, apprentices' libraries, and reading-rooms, and by the abolition of all taxes upon knowledge:

19. That in towns there have been established upward of 1,200 of such institutions and reading-rooms, with above 100,000 members, but that by far the greater number of these members are persons in the upper and middle classes, a very small proportion only belonging to the working classes; but it has been found in some parts of the country, particularly in Cumberland, that when the whole management of the affairs of the institutions is left in the hands of the working-men themselves, a very great proportion of the attending members belong to that class, and both by frequenting the rooms and taking out the books to read, show their desire of profiting by the institution:

20. That in every quarter, but more especially where there are no reading-rooms in the country districts, the great obstacle of diffusing useful knowledge among the people has been the newspaper stamp, which prevents papers containing local and other intelligence from being added to such works of instruction and entertainment as might at a low price be circulated among the working classes, and especially among the country people, along with that intelligence:

21. That the funds given by charitable and public spirited individuals and bodies corporate, for promoting education, are of a very large amount, probably, when the property is improved and the abuses in its management are corrected, not less than half a million a year; and that it is expedient to give to the Board, formed under the Charitable Trusts Act of 1853, such additional powers as may better enable them, with the assent of trustee and special visitors (if any,) to apply portions of the funds now lying useless to the education and improvement of the people.

VIII. SCHOOL ARCHITECTURE.

Plans of Newberry Public School-house, Chicago, Illinois.

The Newberry Public School occupies the center of a lot, 148½ feet by 200. The width of the building in front is 78 feet, and that of the wing, in the rear, 58 feet. The depth of the front or main body is 74 feet and 4 inches, and of the wing 49 feet and 2 inches; making the entire depth 123 feet 6 inches.

The building is four stories high, and has no basement, for want of proper drainage.

The ground-floor contains six rooms, each 32 by 27 feet, besides the corridors, clothes rooms, and closets for books, apparatus, etc. These rooms are twelve feet high in the clear. The second and third stories are each 13 feet high, and each has six school rooms of the same size as those below The fourth story has four school rooms, 14 feet high, and a hall, 57 feet by 37 feet 4 inches, and 16 feet high;—in all twenty rooms, with twenty school rooms, accommodations for sixty pupils, at single desks, or in all 1,200 pupils.

The house is entered in front through a door-way 8 feet wide, opening into a corridor 10 feet wide, which extends back to the wing, where it connects with two side corridors of the same width, at the extremities of which are two outside doors, one opening to the girls', and the other to the boys' play-grounds.

Near the front door, at which point the corridor is widened to 19 feet, are two flights of stairs, leading to the stories above. Near each of the side doors, at the other extremity of the building, is a similar flight of stairs, also leading to the upper story, so that in case of accident by fire or any other cause, by which the children might be impelled to make a hasty exit from the building, there are four ample and easy stairways from the upper to the lower stories, each in close proximity to an outside door, and each so constructed that the children can not fall over the railings from one story to another.

The front entrance, besides being very wide, is provided with a set of *fly doors* inside of the principal doors, which are used for ordinary ingress and egress, and which will swing either way, thereby preventing the possibility of the door-way being obstructed so as to prevent the door being opened, in case of any sudden alarm.

Adjoining each of the school rooms is a brick shaft with two flues, one 12 by 28 inches, and the other 30 by 28 inches. Between these two flues is a thin brick partition. The smallest of the two flues is a smoke flue, for the heating apparatus in the lower story, and the larger one is a ventilating shaft. The action of the ventilating flue is greatly increased by the effect of the heat from the adjoining smoke flue.

If steam should be adopted for heating the building, a pipe will be placed in each of these ventilating shafts, for the purpose of increasing its action. Besides these principal ventilating shafts, there are, in each school room, two ordinary chimney shafts, with ventilators in each.

Each of the school-rooms has light from two sides, and the children sit with their backs or sides, but never with their faces, toward the light. The corridors and clothes-rooms, and also one side of each school-room, are finished with a wainscoting of narrow boards, 5½ feet high, neatly capped, and grained in imitation of oak, as is the entire internal finish of the house. The other three sides of each school-room have a wainscoting about 3 feet high, with a blackboard above. The windows in all of them are finished with inside blinds.

The building is of brick, with stone foundations, and is built in the most substantial manner. The exterior of the building is entirely plain, even to severity. The whole cost of this house, exclusive of furniture, was $24,137. *G. P. Randall, Esq., of Chicago, architect.*

Fig. 2.—First, Second, and Third Floors.

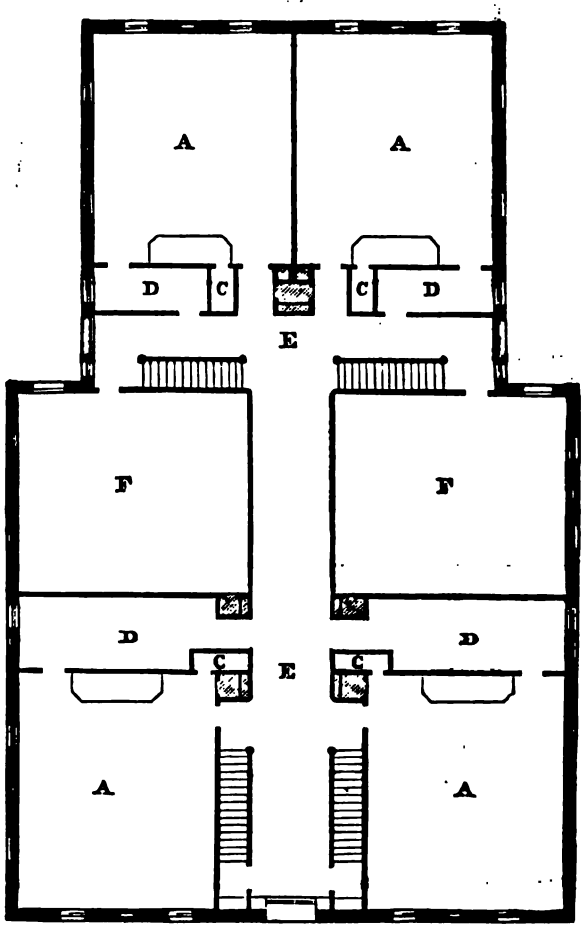
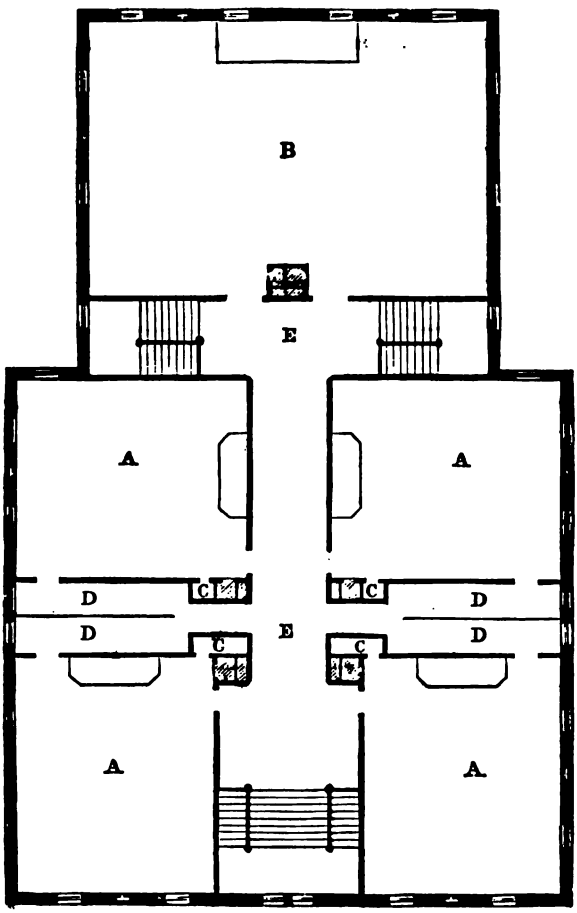


Fig. 3.—Fourth Floor.

There are four school-rooms (A) on the Fourth Floor, accessible by two flights of stairs, each 32 feet by 27 feet, to accommodate 60 pupils, besides a hall for general exercises, 57 feet by 37 feet 4 inches. The pupils of each class room have a separate clothes room (D,) and there is an open corridor (E) for easy access and ventilation, besides the flues specially constructed for the latter purpose in the inner walls for each class room. Each teacher has a separate closet (C.)



NEWBERRY SCHOOL.
1853.
R.R. WHITE, DEL'R &c.
GREENVILLE, MICH.
D. F. RANDALL, Architect

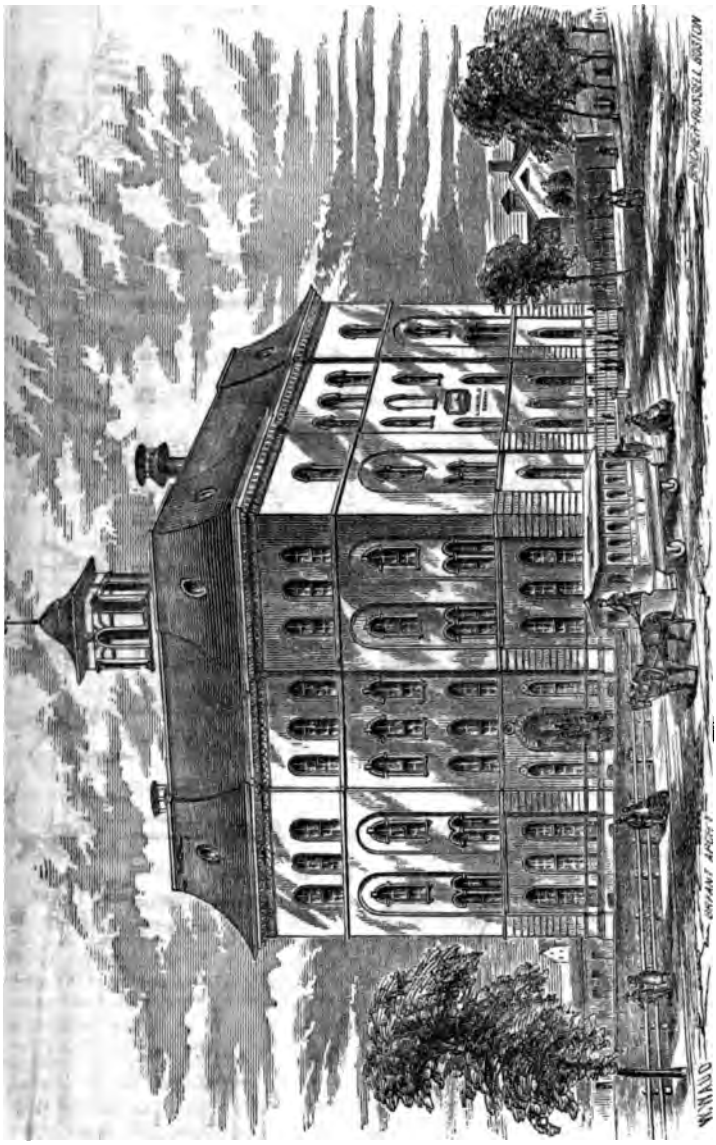


Fig. 1. Perspective View.

Plans of Lincoln Grammar School-House, Boston.

The following description of the Lincoln Grammar School-House is taken from the annual report of the school committee for 1859 :—

"In the design of the Lincoln School-House, which is located on Broadway, near K st., South Boston, it was the intention of the accomplished architect, J. F. G. Bryant, Esq., to combine all the advantages of the interior plan of the best buildings, with an effective and tasteful exterior, without any material *increase of expense*.

"There seems to be no good reason for perpetuating that baldness and almost primitive simplicity of style which have characterized most of the school edifices of the city. It can scarcely be deemed too much to demand, that the building which is the daily resort of our children and youth, and in which their mental and moral faculties are to be trained and unfolded, should be designed with careful reference to the rules of proportion, and even, in no small degree, of beauty. Certainly it would be well to keep this object in view, so far as it is consistent with a wise and proper economy. Harmony of style, and propriety and elegance of detail, will never be without their refining influences upon the mind of the pupil.

"The following mechanical description, extracted from the 'specifications' of the architect, will illustrate the interior conveniences of the building and its adjuncts, as well as the manner of construction and the formation of the exterior."

The building is a "parallelogram" in outline of ground plan, measuring ninety-three and four-twelfths feet in length, and sixty-one and two-twelfths feet in width, outside of its base or underpinning course, at the ground or sidewalk level in front of the building. It is four finished stories in hight, with an "unfinished" cellar story over the whole area, which is partially above and partially beneath ground. The cellar is nine feet high. The first, second, and third stories, respectively, twelve and one-half feet high, and the fourth story fifteen feet high. The top of the gutter of the outside walls is located four and two-twelfths feet above the ceiling of the fourth story, which ceiling is formed immediately upon the undersides of the tie-beams of the roof framing, or attic flooring. The roof is "hipped" from each of the four corners of the building, and is made a "Mansard," with curved sides and a "flat" top; the hight above the top of cornice to the top of the curve of the roof is fourteen feet; its "flat" is located in the center of the length and width thereof, and it measures eighty-six and one-half feet in length, and fifty-one and one-half feet in width, and has a pitch over its surface of one and one-half inches to a foot. The four corners of the roof are formed as projections; the spaces between the projections over all four sides of the building are recessed to intersect with recesses in the faces of the four exterior walls; said projections are hipped over the inner corner of each, in imitation of the hip over the outer corner thereof—being the corner hips of the building. The recesses in the faces of the four exterior walls aforesaid are located in the center of the length of each wall, and reach the whole hight of said walls, to meet the roof recesses abovenamed. The recesses in the front and rear end walls each measure twenty-one and five-twelfths feet in width, and those in the two side walls twenty-three feet in width. Besides the four recesses aforesaid, there are recesses in the faces of the projections, or corners, which are formed to each exterior wall, beneath the roof projections; these recesses reach from the ground level up to the top of the third story, where they are formed with semicircular heads. The recesses in the corner projections of the front and rear ends of the house measure eleven feet and three and one-half inches wide, and four inches deep, and are single recesses; and the recesses in the corner projections of the two side walls of the house are eleven feet and three and one-half inches wide, and four inches deep, and are double recesses, with a dividing pilaster located in the center of the width of each of the same, and double semicircular heads to each recess,

springing from said pilasters. The four exterior walls are crowned with a cornice, the upper portion of which is formed as a gutter.

The interior arrangement of the first, second, and third stories is similar: each containing four apartments, located in the four corners of the house, measuring thirty-two and three-twelfths feet by twenty-seven and ten-twelfths feet each; a clothes closet to each room, measuring fifteen feet by five and ten-twelfths feet each; two staircases, measuring fifteen and eight-twelfths feet by ten feet each; and a hall, measuring twenty-four and eight-twelfths feet by twenty-two and four-twelfths feet. Said rooms, closets, staircases, and halls are twelve and one-half feet high, in the clear, in each story. The interior of the fourth or upper story is arranged with two rooms in the two front end corners of the house, each measuring thirty-two and three-twelfths feet by twenty-seven and ten-twelfths feet; an exhibition hall, measuring thirty-eight and nine-twelfths feet by fifty-six and eight-twelfths feet, across the rear end of the house. There are two stairways, measuring five feet by ten feet; a clothes closet for each of the two rooms aforesaid, measuring five and ten-twelfths feet by fifteen feet each; two teachers' rooms (of L form,) measuring five feet by twenty-five feet each; and a hall, connecting with the exhibition hall, measuring twenty-two and four-twelfths feet by twenty-four and eight-twelfths feet. All the apartments, halls, closets, and staircases aforesaid in the four stories are "finished." The cellar story is subdivided into four apartments, in the four corners of the house, two staircases, and six closets. The apartments in the cellar are each to contain a furnace, and the closets are used for fuel. None of the cellar apartments or closets are "finished." There is also a hall in the center, of the length and width of the cellar story, into which the mouths of the four furnaces, the landing of the staircases, and the doors of the six fuel-closets all open.

All the apartments, halls, and closets in the fouth story are fifteen feet high. The teachers' rooms in this story have their floors located two feet above the floors of the other apartments. Each story is lighted by windows in the exterior walls. There are floor-lights in the hall of each story, immediately beneath the cupola or bell-tower, which crowns the roof of the house, in the center of its length and width. The four sides of the base or plinth of this cupola (above the roof level,) contain each an upright skylight. The attic or area beneath the roof is lighted by light stationary circular or "bull's-eye" windows, inserted in the upright circular sides of the "Mansard" roof. There are no chimneys, other than metal pipes, in any part of the building, excepting one brick chimney located over the wall which forms the inside end of the exhibition hall. There are two entrances to the building in the first story, in the two sides of the same.

The lot measures one hundred feet in front by one hundred and seventy-five in depth, and contains seventeen thousand five hundred square feet. It is inclosed on the sides and rear end by a substantial brick wall, and in front by a granite foundation, surmounted by an ornamental iron fence. The rear portion of the yard is divided into two equal parts, by a brick wall running from the center of the building to the rear boundary.

The building is warmed by Chilson's cone furnaces, four in number, located in the center apartment of the basement. The cast-iron smoke pipes pass up through and warm the corridors.

The ventilating apparatus consists of a separate ventiduct of wood, leading from each school room to the roof. Here they are brought into two groups, at the opposite ends of the building, each of which is surmounted with one of Emerson's ejectors, of a large size. The transverse section of each ventiduct is about fourteen inches square. In each room there is a sliding register near the ceiling, and another near the floor, opening into its ventiduct.

A. A., &c., School rooms, twenty-three by twenty-seven feet.

C. C., Closets for clothes.

B., Exhibition hall, two-hundred and thirty-eight by fifty-six feet.

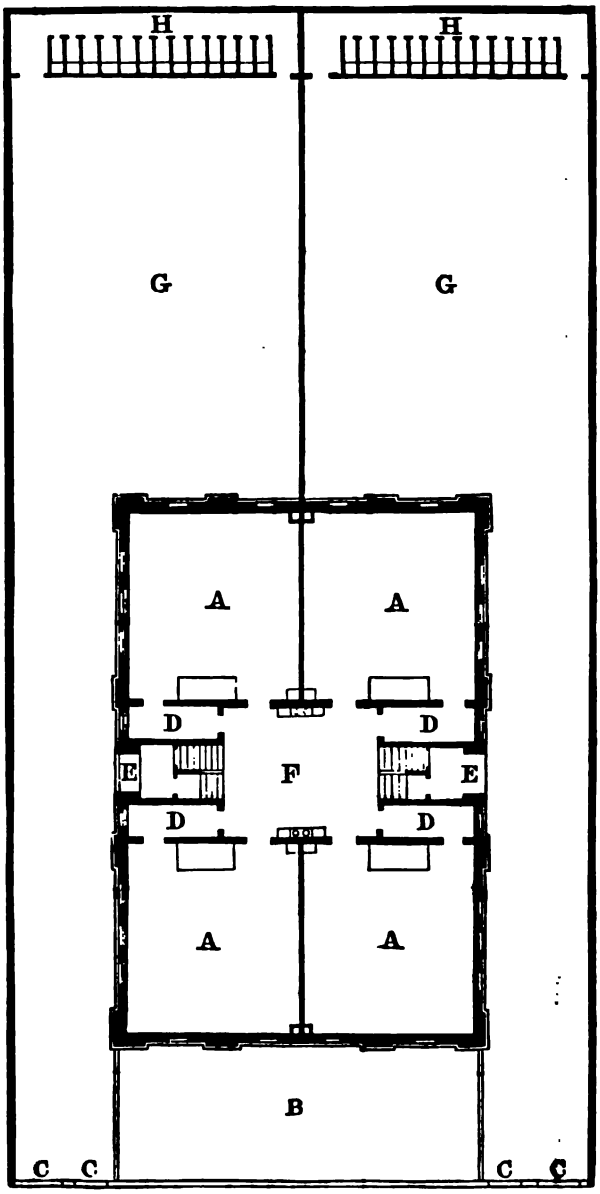


Fig. 2. Ground Plan.

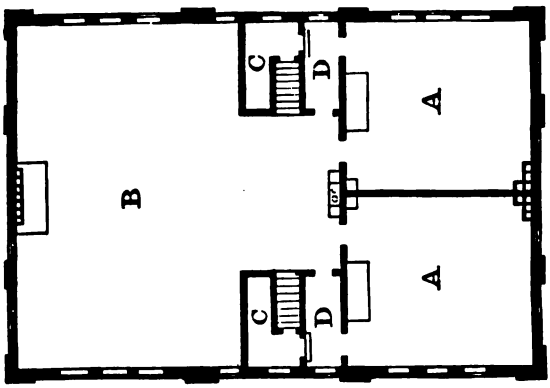


Fig. 5. Fourth Story.

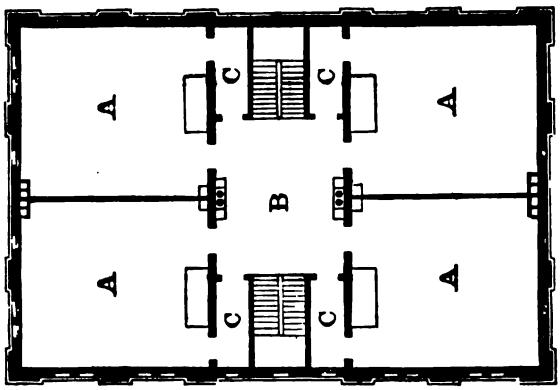


Fig. 4. Third Story.

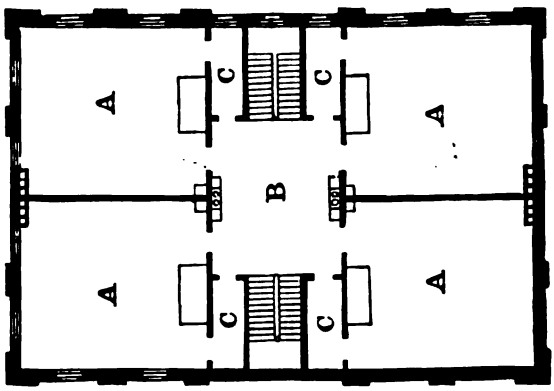


Fig. 3. Second Story.

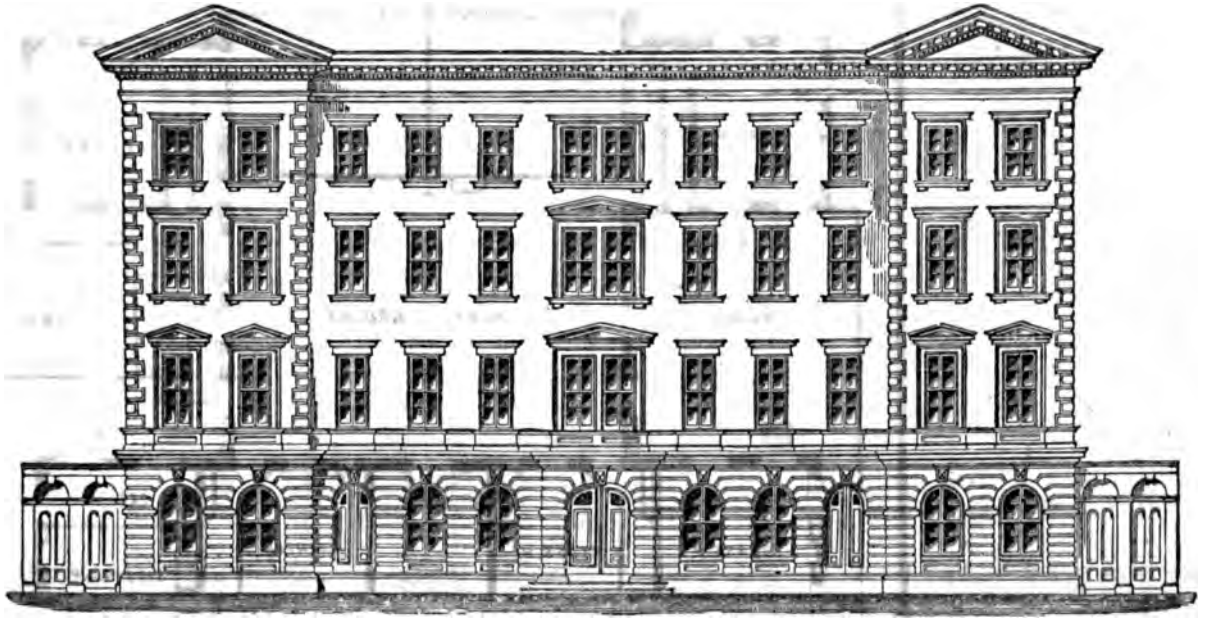


Fig 2.—First Floor, Play-grounds, &c.

Plans of Public School No. 33, New York City.

Public School-house No. 33, in Twenty-eighth street, near Ninth Avenue, was erected in 1857, after plans and under the supervision of Hon. N. J. Waterbury. The main building is 55 front by 100 in depth, with wings both in front and rear, which give the edifice a frontage of 105 feet. There are accommodations for a Primary Department of both sexes, and a Grammar School for Girls—a total of 1500 pupils. The lot (125 feet by 100,) cost $17,250, and the building and furniture $44,416.59—a total of $61,666.59.

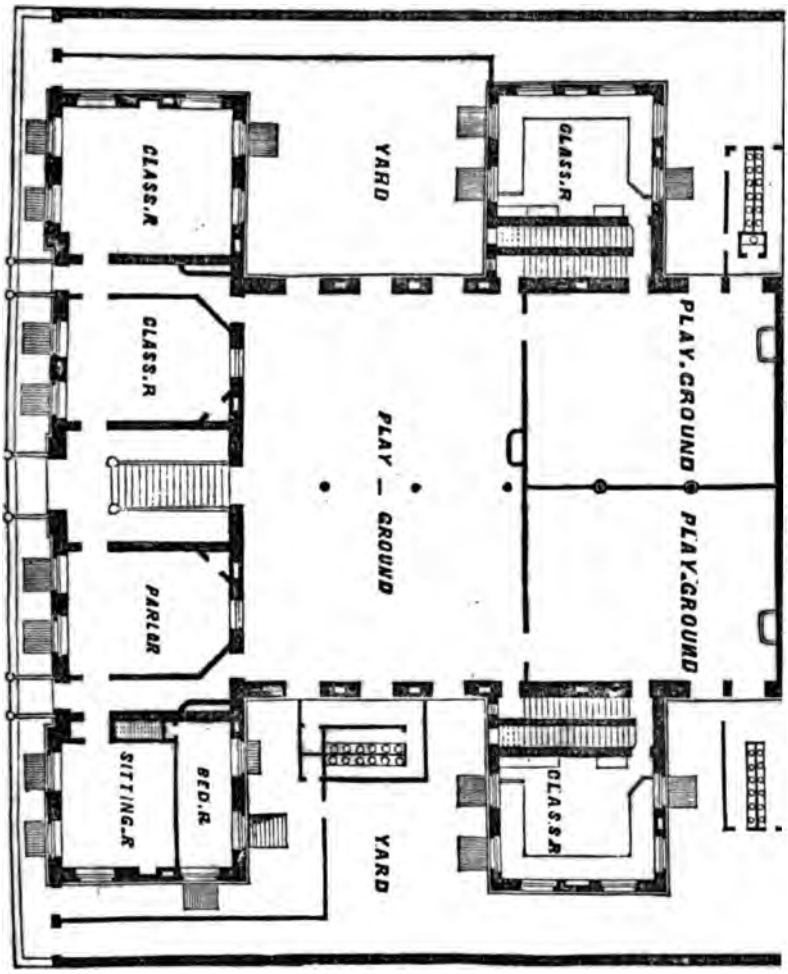


Fig. 3.—Second Floor, Primary Department.

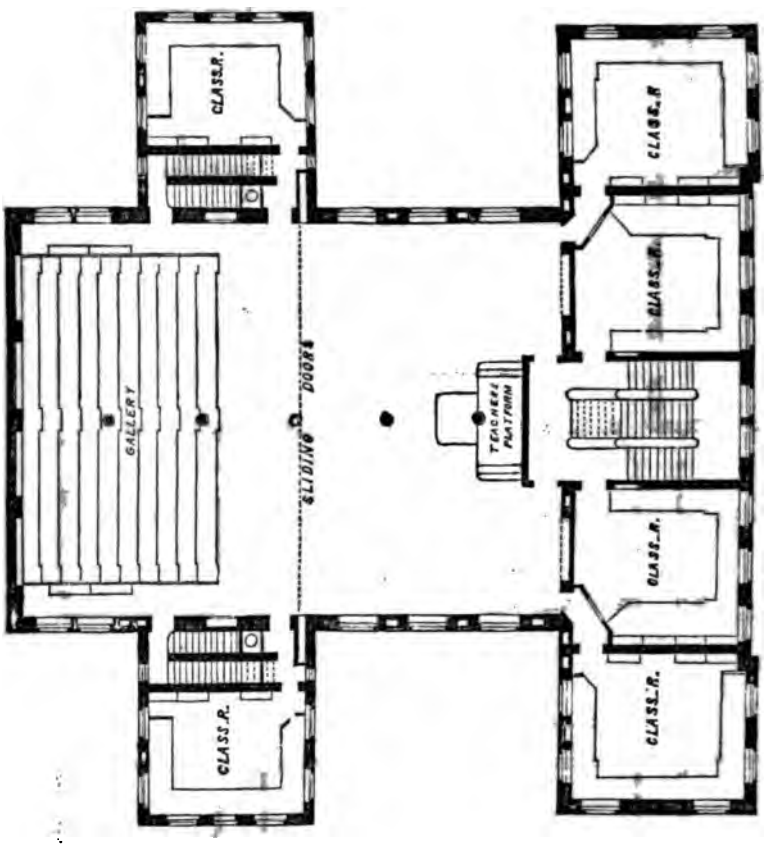


Fig. 4.—Third Floor.

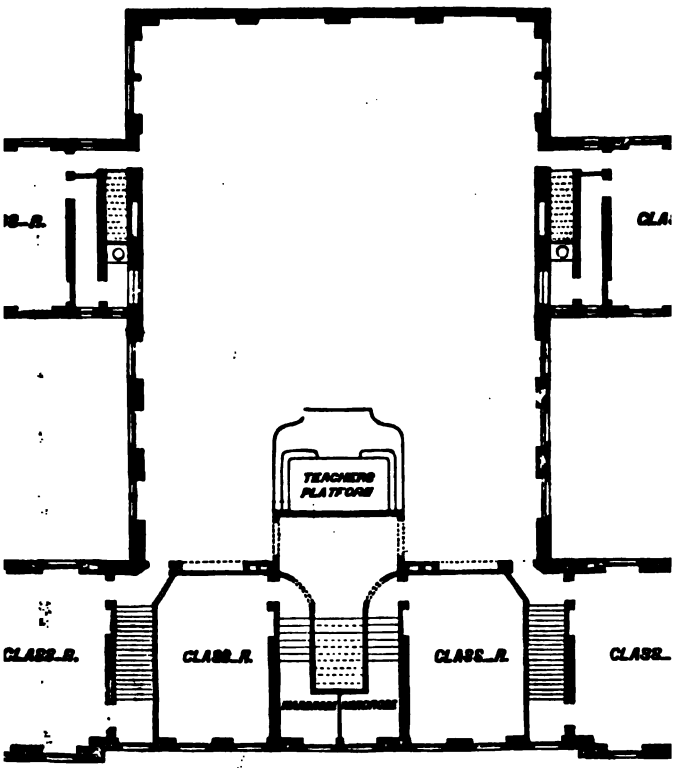
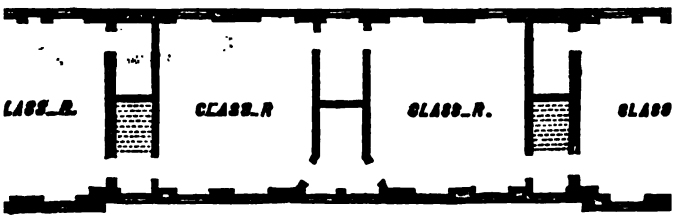


Fig. 5.—Class-room on Fourth Floor Front.



PLANS OF PUBLIC SCHOOL-HOUSE NUMBER TWENTY.

Public Grammar School No. 20 is located in Chrystie near Delancey street, in the Tenth Ward. The lot on which the building is situated is 100 feet square.

The main building is 50 by 97 feet, with four wings 25 by 28, and 25 by 33, which give it a frontage of 100 feet. The style of architecture of the front is Corinthian.

There is a cellar under four wings and front of the main building. The cellar is eight feet in the clear.

The basement story is ten feet in the clear, and the ceilings of the three remaining stories are fourteen feet in the clear.

The building is heated with Barrows' furnaces.

The rear stairs and platforms are constructed of stone and inclosed with brick walls, thereby rendering the stairs fire-proof.

The whole cost of the building, including the furniture and fitting up, is about $44,000.

Fig. 1.—PLAY-GROUNDS, JANITOR'S APARTMENTS, &c.

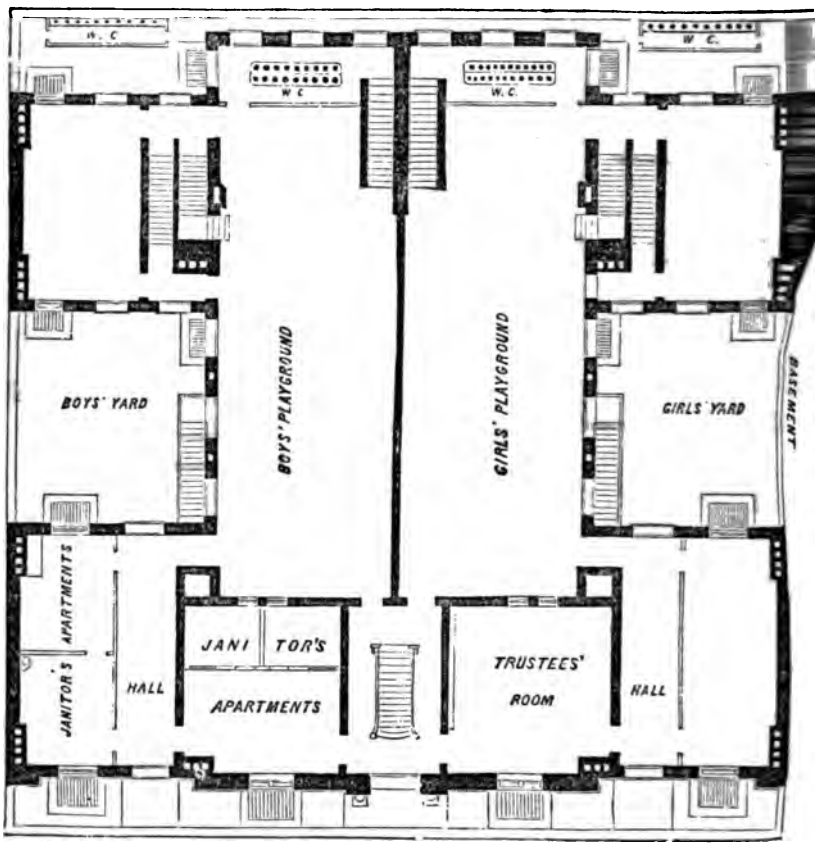


Fig. 2.—Second Floor, Primary Department.

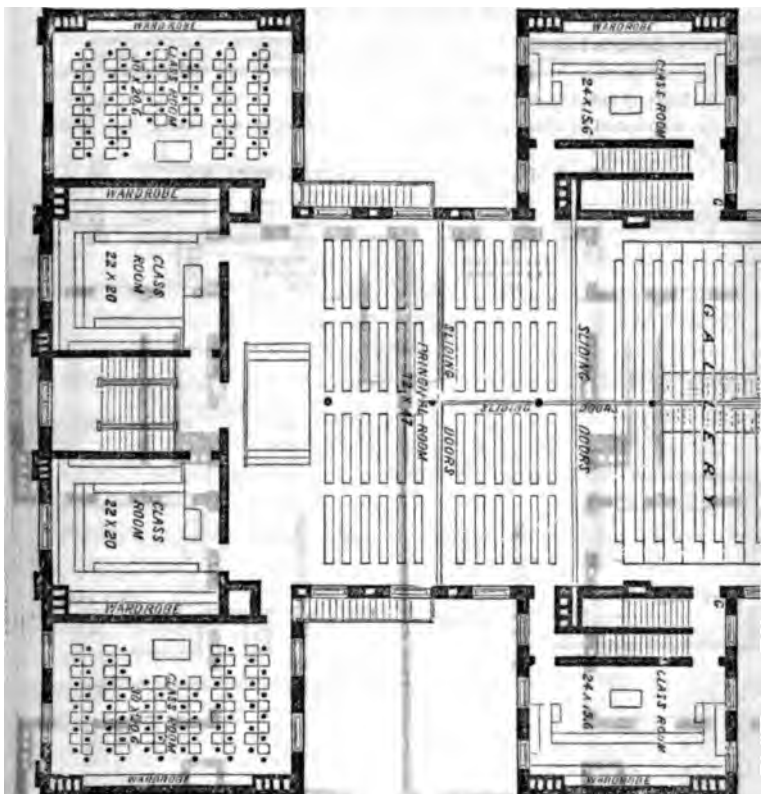
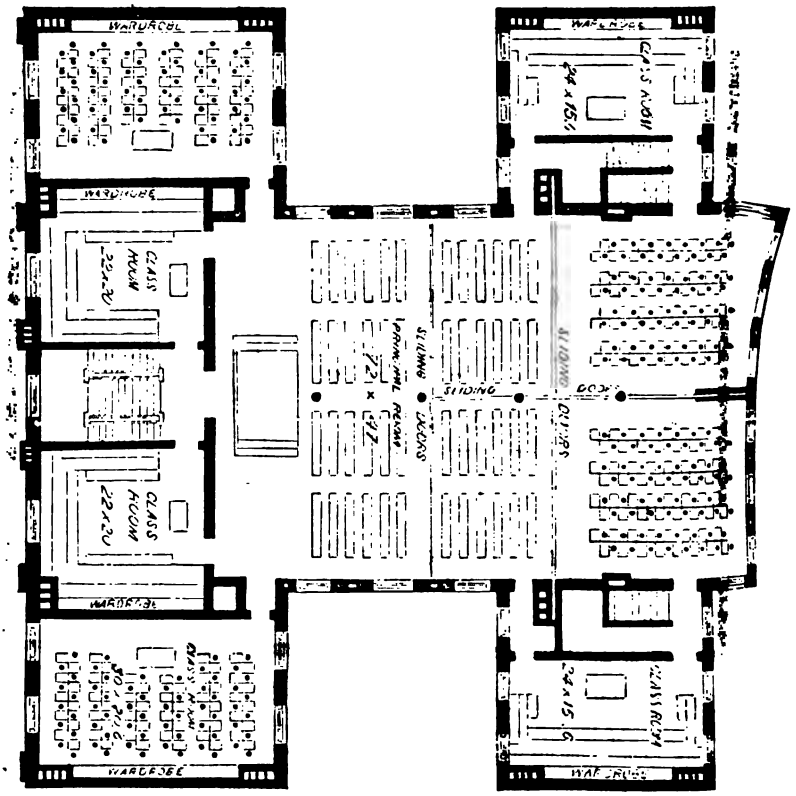
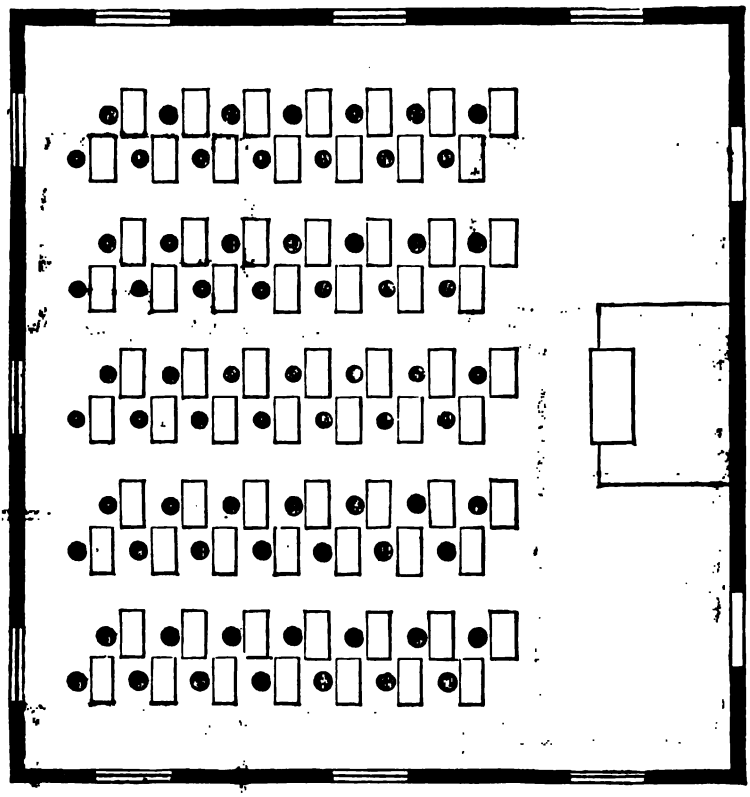


Fig. 3.—Third Floor, Female Department.



Diagonal Arrangement of School Desks.

Virgil Woodcock, of Swanzey, New Hampshire, has taken out a patent for an improvement in the arrangement of Desks and Seats in school-rooms, which is exhibited in the following Diagram.



The room represented is 30 feet by 32, and will seat Fifty-Six Scholars, providing each with a chair, and a desk, each desk being 2 feet long, and 16 inches wide, leaving the two side aisles each 2 feet 9 inches wide, and the seven other aisles, each 18 inches wide, with a sufficient open space in front, for the teacher's desks and evolutions of the school. The same room arranged on Mr. Woodcock's patented plan will seat Seventy-Six scholars, with similar desks and chairs, and a similar open space in aisles. In addition to this economy of room, Mr. Woodcock claims, and we think justly, that this diagonal arrangement gives to each scholar all the advantages of a single desk each, facilitates the inspection of the school by the teacher, and adds to its efficiency, by enabling teacher and scholars to perform their respective duties with the least interference. Each pupil can take a position in the aisle in a line with his seat without interfering with the pupil before or behind him, or with those in the adjoining range of seats.

IX. SYSTEM OF COMMON SCHOOLS IN OHIO.

BY WILLIAM T. COGGESHALL,

State Librarian.

(Continued from No. 16, page 103.)

At the fifth semi-annual meeting of the Teachers' Association at Dayton, July, 1853. E.V. Gerheart delivered an address upon "*Government in its Relations to Education,*" and Chauncey N. Olds spoke upon "*The Bible as a Basis of Education;*" Benn Pitman addressed the teachers upon Phonetic Reform; and discussions were had and resolutions were adopted, showing that the teachers of the association were well prepared for the increased advantages to them, and to their pupils, promised under the law of the March previous.

A new force was added to the educational instrumentalities of the state, by the appointment, at Dayton, of C. S. Royce, as agent of the State Phonetic Society, which had been organized in January, 1853, with Elias Longley, of Cincinnati, as president.

Mr. Royce issued circulars to the friends of education, and to educational societies, offering his services as a lecturer; and, from that time up to the present, has been a self-sacrificing laborer for the promotion of the general interests of education, as well as for the furtherance of phonetic sentiment, and the imparting of phonetic instruction.

The school law of 1853, like those of 1825 and 1837, encountered decided, not to say fierce, opposition. When the second general assembly under the new constitution assembled, in January, 1854, it was immediately called upon to consider petitions for the repeal of all the features the new law possessed, which were not a part of the different laws, or amendments to laws, it repealed. The senate committee reported adversely to these petitions, and the only change in the laws affecting its efficiency was a reduction of the state tax from two to one and a half mills. From that time until the present, the general school law has been changed only in such respects as experience suggested for its thorough administration and wider efficiency.

By the law of 1853, the *ex-officio* relation of the secretary of state to the common schools was abolished, but no provision was made for the immediate election of a superintendent. The election took place

in October, 1853. H. H. Barney and Lorin Andrews were the candidates. Mr. Barney was elected. He did not enter regularly upon his duties until February, 1854; but he assisted the secretary of state in responding to legislative resolutions calling for information, and in other efficient ways took active part in securing what the friends of education then strove for—time to give the new law a fair trial.

Mr. Barney's first annual report was made in 1855, for 1854. There was no session of the legislature in that year. His term of office was three years, and he made three reports; in which he gave a historical outline of school progress; argued ably the advantages of the new law; suggested important modifications; and discussed propositions for rendering common schools efficient; with a breadth of thought which makes his reports desirable to educators, not only in Ohio, but in older states.

He published also a pamphlet, reviewing objections to the school law, which, combined with active exertions on the part of educators in different parts of the state, prevented the legislature from granting petitions for changes in the school system, which would have materially impaired its efficiency.

The tax for libraries was levied in each year of Mr. Barney's administration, and he selected the books for 1854, 1855, and 1856. In 1856, in answer to numerous petitions, the legislature suspended the library tax for one year. The amount of money disbursed for books by Mr. Barney was $202,225; the amount for school apparatus $19,417. The total number of volumes distributed was 332,579.

The annual meeting of the Teachers' Association in 1853 was held at Columbus. E. Thomson, president of Delaware College, delivered the opening address. His subject was "*The Moral Influence exerted by Teachers.*" The evening address was by Horace Mann, on "*Motives of Teachers.*" Resolutions were adopted, providing for reports upon the history of educational movements in Ohio; and the legislature was requested to make provision for uniting townships and incorporated villages, for the purpose of organizing union and central high schools. Lorin Andrews was unanimously elected president of the association, M. F. Cowdery was chosen chairman of the finance committee, and A. D. Lord, resident editor of the "*Journal of Education,*" was made chairman of the executive committee, and general agent. A salary of $1,500 a year was voted him. The convention adjourned to meet at Zanesville, July 5th and 6th, 1854. Then was held the sixth semi-annual meeting of the State Teachers' Association. I. W. Andrews, of Marietta, addressed the teachers on their calling as

regards themselves; and James W. Taylor, then state librarian, gave a lecture on the early history of Ohio. It was resolved that drawing should constitute a branch of education in common schools; and that a geological survey of the state was desirable. An appeal was made for the establishment of a normal school, under the auspices of the association, and the executive committee was instructed to consider and report a plan at the annual meeting. That meeting, held at Cincinnati on the 27th and 28th of December, 1854, was perhaps the most important which the association had called. The opening address was given by Rufus King, on the "*Responsibilities of Teachers.*" Jehu Brainard, of Cleveland, delivered a lecture on "*The Relation the Study of the Natural Sciences sustains to the Course of Education;*" and Mr. Cady, of New York, gave a discourse on Music. A large portion of the two days and evenings, during which the convention sat, was devoted to a discussion upon normal schools, and upon the best means of establishing one in Ohio. Cyrus McNeely, of Hopedale, Harrison county, offered the association land and buildings valued at $11,000, on condition that the teachers would raise $10,000, to start a normal school, and provide it with necessary apparatus. After earnest and protracted discussion, Mr. McNeely's offer was not accepted, but the voice of the association was decidely in favor of the establishment of a normal school; and the executive committee was authorized to confer with Mr. McNeely, and report whether any more advantageous offer would be made to the association.

Resolutions were adopted, declaring it an essential duty of every teacher to exemplify in person, and daily inculcate by precept, the great principles of morality and piety; expressing high regard for the memory of Samuel Lewis and Nathan Guilford; approving of the labors of H. H. Barney, as school commissioner; and recommending teachers to encourage the phonetic agent, C. S. Royce, in his efforts to disseminate a knowledge of the phonetic method of teaching children to read. Andrew J. Rickoff, superintendent of Cincinnati schools, was elected president; A. D. Lord, chairman of the executive committee; M. F. Cowdery, chairman of the finance committee. It was decided that Dr. Lord should continue as editor of the "*Journal of Education,*" and as general agent of the association.

The following extract from Dr. Lord's report for the year 1854, shows, very pleasantly, what the influence of the teachers' association had been.

During the year 1847 (in which our society was formed,) the whole sum appropriated by the state for the education of 754,193 youths of school age, was $288,660.55, or a little more than thirty-eight cents per scholar. How many were benefited by the schools of that year is not known, as the number of schol-

ars enrolled was reported from only ten counties, and average attendance from only forty-six of the eighty-three counties; judging from those reported, about 500,000 were enrolled, and the average attendance was about 140,000. During the past year, the number of children enumerated was 811,957; the whole sum appropriated by the state was $1,233,276.26, or $1.51 for each youth between five and twenty-one years; the number enrolled in the schools was 612,185, and the average daily attendance 367,594; so that the state paid $2.00 for each child instructed, and $3.35 for each one in actual daily attendance.

At the commencement of 1847, there was not a single well-organized public high school in the state; now there are more than forty in which a thorough academic education is given, beside nearly an equal number in which instruction is given in some of the higher branches. Then no city or town in the state, except Cincinnati, had a system of regularly classified public schools; now about one hundred towns are enjoying the benefits of such schools. But the interest felt in the cause of education, and the appreciation of its benefits, may perhaps be judged more correctly by the salaries paid to teachers than by any other standard. At that time, the highest salary paid to any teacher of common schools was $600, and it is believed that no teacher out of Cincinnati received a salary of more than $540. During the past year, at least four superintendents and principals have received a salary of $1,500; five or six have been paid $1,200; perhaps twenty have received $1,000 or more; and a large number have been paid $600 or more. A similar increase of the compensation of females, and of teachers of every grade, has been made; though it is not possible to determine the average salaries paid to teachers of district schools in 1847, for the want of statistics.

This increase of compensation to teachers, and the change of public sentiment which has caused people in a large number of districts to pay $100 or more per quarter for the services of a teacher (when seven years since they were less willing to pay $45 or $50 for the same length of time,) may be attributed mainly to the efforts of our association for the professional improvement of teachers; since, even to the present time, the state has done next to nothing to encourage this work. Previous to 1847, only eleven teachers' institutes had been attended, in which 1,270 teachers had been instructed; during that year thirteen were held, which were attended by 1,200 teachers. Since that time an average of more than 3,000 teachers have been instructed in these schools each year. The expense of attending these sessions of one week, is not less than an average of $5.00 to each teacher; multiplying this by the number who have attended them, we have $15,000 as the lowest estimate of the sum which has yearly been expended in this manner by teachers, for their professional improvement.

At the seventh semi-annual meeting of the association, in Cleveland, July, 1855, the question most prominent for discussion and settlement, was that respecting normal schools, which had been adjourned from Cincinnati. Mr. Cowdery, from the finance committee, reported in favor of the establishment of such a school, and the proposition of Mr. McNeely was renewed, on his behalf, by Lorin Andrews. It was accepted, and a committee, of which M. F. Cowdery was chairman, was appointed to take legal possession of the property on behalf of the association.

In addition to the subject of normal schools, the attention of the teachers was called to the best methods of teaching penmanship; to the importance of improving school rooms and school room furniture; to the necessity of allowing time to complete the work of education; and to the importance of school libraries. A series of resolutions was adopted, recommending legislative measures to secure the attendance of all children at school; suggesting munic-

ipal regulations to prevent vagrancy and truancy, and urging the establishment of a state reform school for juveniles. Lectures were delivered by Rev. D. Shepardson, of Cincinnati, now principal of Woodward High School, on "*Humanities and Mathematics;*" Hon. J. M. Root, of Sandusky, on "*Common School Progress,*" and Rev. J. A. Thome, of Cleveland, on "*Topics for Educators.*" Rev. D. S. Burnett was appointed to deliver an address upon the life and character of Dr. Joseph Ray, president of the Woodward School, Cincinnati, and ex-president of the association, who had died on the 16th of April, in the 48th year of his age.

On the 14th of August, 1855, the committee authorized to take possession, of the property offered the Teachers' Association by Mr. McNeely, for a normal school, met at Hopedale, and procured, from the auditor of Harrison county, a certificate of incorporation. The trustees elected were Cyrus McNeely, Asa D. Lord, Lorin Andrews, Geo. K. Jenkins, M. F. Cowdery, John Hancock, James Taggart, John M. Black, M. D. Leggett, James Cape, Samuel Paul—officers: Cyrus McNeely, president; Asa D. Lord, secretary; Geo. K. Jenkins, treasurer. Executive committee: Cyrus McNeely, M. F. Cowdery, John Hancock. The executive committee proposed to raise the fund, required to secure the property permanently, by subscriptions from teachers and friends of education, in sums of from $25 to $100, to be paid in annual installments of ten per cent. Nearly $2,000 were that year pledged, a considerable portion of which was paid in; and the school was opened, with John Ogden as principal.

In the year about which I am now writing, a movement was known which deserves honorable mention, although its activity was temporary. On the 27th of December, 1854, a convention of school examiners was held at Cincinnati. W. N. Edwards, of Miami county, was chairman; and John Lynch, of Circleville, secretary. The convention decided against private examinations; demanded a high grade of moral as well as mental character; and recommended that certificates should be denied, when it was known to the board of examiners that applicants, from year to year, exhibited no progress in knowledge. The convention adjourned, to meet at the same place and on the previous day to which the semi-annual meeting of the Teachers' Association would be held. Accordingly, it met in Cleveland, July 6th, 1855. M. D. Leggett, of Trumbull county, on behalf of a committee appointed to report regulations, recommended a series of resolutions, that were unanimously adopted, among which were the following:—

That, as the law requires us to examine applicants, in reference to their qualifications for *teaching* the branches upon which they are examined, and not merely

as to their *knowledge* concerning them, examiners should consider the *physical* as well as moral and intellectual defects, and refuse certificates to all who are in any way incapable to discharge the duties of a teacher, either in teaching or managing schools; and that we believe the gift of hearing and the unobstructed *power of speech* are among the indispensables in a teacher.

That as the *intellectual discipline*, acquired by the study of those branches, upon which the law requires examination, is necessary to fit a person to take charge of the intellectual culture, however backward or young, we believe that persons are not qualified to teach *any* grade of schools, unless qualified to teach *all* of said branches.

That certificates should not be granted to persons whose youthfulness unfits them for the government and management of schools, whatever may be their scholarship.

That the following questions should be answered in writing, by each and every applicant, to wit:—

What school, if any, have you attended, with direct reference to fitting yourself for teaching?

What books, on the subject of teaching, have you read?

To what educational papers are you a subscriber?

Such movements show quite as distinctly as any other what is done in a state, to elevate the profession of teaching, and improve schools.

The annual meeting of the Teachers' Association in Columbus, December 26th and 27th, 1855, was numerously attended. H. H. Barney, school commissioner, spoke favorably of the educational progress of the state. I. W. Andrews, president of Marietta College, read a report on "*Elementary Classical Instruction*:" Rev. D. S. Burnett, of Cincinnati, delivered a discourse on "*Dr. Joseph Ray, as a Teacher and an Author;*" and Melvin Clark, member of the board of examiners of Washington county, addressed the teachers on "*Popular Education as an Element of Republicanism.*"

Resolutions were adopted, approving the labors of A. D. Lord, as editor and agent, and demanding legislative action with reference to truancy and vagrancy, and the proper care of juvenile criminals.

Normal schools were discussed with much interest. On motion of A. Holbrook, a memorial was adopted, asking the legislature to divide the state into four districts, and give to each $5,000 per annum, providing the friends of education therein secured $15,000 in lands and buildings for a normal school—the pupils for which were to be selected by county teachers' associations.

Rev. Anson Smyth, principal of the Toledo schools, was elected president; John Hancock chairman of the executive, and M. F. Cowdery chairman of the finance, committee. Trustees of the McNeely Normal School were chosen, of which Lorin Andrews was declared president, A. D. Lord secretary, and Geo. K. Jenkins treasurer. John Ogden was continued as principal of the school.

Dr. A. D. Lord, having accepted the post of superintendent of the Columbus schools, resigned the responsibilities with which the association had intrusted him, and Rev. Anson Smyth was elected editor

of the "*Journal of Education.*" He accepted the place and began his labors with the February number, 1856.

The educators of Ohio were not quiet in peaceful contentment, when they had adopted resolutions respecting normal schools, truancy, vagrancy, and the reformation of juvenile criminals. They discussed these questions in private circles, in public places, and in newspapers. The legislature which met in 1856, had petitions and memorials before it, urging immediate action. A bill to establish normal schools, in accordance with the memorial the Teachers' Association had adopted, was read in the senate, but failed to become a law. The movement for the reformation of juvenile criminals was more successful. The governor was authorized, in a law prepared by James Monroe, professor in Oberlin College, who was a member of the house of representatives, to appoint three commissioners, who were empowered to report a plan for the establishment of a reform school. Governor Chase appointed Chas. Reemelin, of Cincinnati, John A. Foot, of Cleveland, and Joseph D. Ladd, of Jefferson county. The plan of a reform farm and school, recommended by these commissioners, was accepted, and now Ohio has an institution for the reformation and instruction of juvenile criminals, which is approved by its wisest educators.

The eighth semi-annual meeting of the Teachers' Association was held at Mansfield, on the 2nd and 3rd of July, 1856. It was one of the most interesting conventions the teachers had held. Rev. J. B. Bittinger, of Cleveland, delivered an address on "*The Will as an Educational Power;*" Rev. Dr. Hitchcock, president of Western Reserve College, at Hudson, Ohio, lectured on the "*Objects of Intellectual Life;*" and Rev. Thos. Hill, of Waltham, Mass., spoke on "*Phonetic Reading for Primary Schools.*"

The legislature had suspended, for one year, the clause in the school law, which authorized a tax of one-tenth of a mill, for the purchase of district library books, and the voice of the association was expressed against that action in a very animated discussion. The Hopedale Normal School had been as prosperous as was anticipated, and liberal contributions were pledged to its support.

The second election for school commissioner occurred in October, 1856. H. H. Barney had been renominated by the democrats; Rev. Anson Smyth was the candidate on the republican ticket, and D. W. Stevens, of Clermont county, was the American candidate. Mr. Smyth was elected. At the annual meeting of the association, held in Columbus, December 30th and 31st, 1856, he resigned the editorship of the "*Journal of Education.*" The selection of his suc-

cessor was submitted to the executive committee, and John Hancock, principal of the 1st Intermediate School, Cincinnati, was chosen. He declined, and John D. Caldwell, then secretary of the Cincinnati school board, was elected in his place. Mr. Caldwell accepted, and took charge of the "*Journal*" with the first number of the sixth volume. That number contained the proceedings of the ninth annual meeting. Rev. W. S. Kennedy, of Sandusky, delivered a discourse on "*Educational Needs;*" William T. Coggeshall read an "*Historical Review of Common School Progress in Ohio;*" and Rev. J. B. Walker, of Mansfield, lectured on "*Moral Culture.*" Horace Mann, president of Antioch College, from a committee, reported a resolution that "*examiners ought not to give certificates to teachers who chew tobacco or use profane language;*" W. C. Catlin offered a resolution, asking the authorities to require teachers to use the Bible daily in their schools; and Prof. Merrick, of Delaware College, reported a series of resolutions against the common sentiment among students, that it is dishonorable to report the conduct of their companions. Mr. Mann's and Mr. Catlin's resolutions were adopted, but the "code of honor" suggested in Mr. Merrick's report, after warm discussion, was postponed. Resolutions, proposing to petition the legislature to make the governor, secretary of state, attorney-general, auditor of state, and treasurer, with the school commissioner, a board of officers for the selection of library books to be recommended to township boards of education, were also postponed; but resolutions were passed, urging editors of county papers to make up educational columns, in their journals, and approving of Mr. Barney's labors as school commissioner.

The officers elected for 1857 were: I. W. Andrews, president; E. D. Kingsley, corresponding secretary; W. C. Catlin, recording secretary; John Hancock, chairman of the executive committee; M. F. Cowdery, chairman of finance committee.

Immediately after the adjournment of the teachers' convention, the superintendents of city schools, who had taken part in its exercises, held a meeting for the purpose of organizing a superintendents' association; A. J. Rickoff was elected president; M. F. Cowdery, vice-president; A. Samson, of Zanesville, secretary; and Wm. Mitchell, of Norwalk, treasurer. An adjourned meeting was called at Cincinnati, April 28th, 1857. It was not attended by a majority of the superintendents of the state; and, though several questions of weighty importance were discussed, and another meeting called at Columbus in September, the association was permitted to expire.

The friends of the school libraries had good reason to believe that the library clause would be repealed in 1857, at the adjourned session

of the legislature, which had suspended it for one year in 1856. It was feared, also, that the school law might be impaired in other respects. Attempts were made, both in the senate and the house, to repeal the library clause, but votes enough could not be obtained for that purpose. It was, however, suspended for another year. Some changes were made in the school law, but none which affected its principles.

The friends of the free book cause then determined that, before another legislature was elected, the question of libraries or no libraries should be thoroughly discussed. Various propositions were talked about and written upon. When the semi-annual meeting of the Teachers' Association was held at Steubenville, in July, 1857, the most prominent topic for discussion was the best means for the awaking of public sentiment with regard to school libraries. After discussion and consultation, a series of resolutions was adopted, expressing the confidence of the members of the association, that a large majority of the people was in favor of the library tax, and proposing a committee to issue an address, expressing the sentiments of educators, and challenging discussion of the general question of the selection and distribution of books as a part of the duty of the state, for the promotion of public instruction. The resolutions were unanimously adopted. Lorin Andrews, president of Kenyon College; Rufus King, president of the Cincinnati school board; and William T. Coggeshall, were appointed as the committee for which they provided. The other exercises at the Steubenville meeting, were addresses, by Jehu Brainard, of Cleveland, on "*Physical Education, in connection with Chemical Analysis of Food;*" by Anson Smyth, school commissioner, on "*Prospects of Education in the State;*" and by the president of the association, on "*What Schools Had Been, and What They Ought to Be.*" John Ogden presented a report on the working of normal schools in other states; and a resolution was adopted, recommending the vice-presidents of the association to form county teachers' associations; but resolutions on "Self-Reporting," after animated discussion, were postponed.

The committee appointed to ascertain and develop public sentiment on the question of common school libraries, proceeded, immediately after the adjournment of the Stubenville convention, to discharge the duty with which it had been charged. In the August number of the "*Journal of Education,*" an address was published, signed by the committee, the following extract from which will not be out of place here:—

HISTORICAL FACTS.

There has never been a difference of opinion, among men well informed upon educational needs and instrumentalities, respecting the utility of good libraries,

free to all the people. Yielding to the pressure of public sentiment, the legislature gave a few counties authority to establish libraries, in 1848; but not until after the formation of the new constitution, when a thorough revision of our school laws was required, did the general assembly grant the petitions, which, for fifteen years, had been forwarded from all parts of the state. * * *

In 1853, a tax of one-tenth of a mill for district libraries was authorized. That tax was levied and disbursed during three years, producing not quite one dime for each youth of school age. * * *

In 1854, there was stern opposition to the library tax, but the legislature refused to repeal the clause granting it, in the belief that, when the system was understood and fairly in execution, the people would approve it. Opposition grew stronger, however, and in 1856 the tax was suspended for one year. In 1857, that suspension was renewed for another year.

Now the educationists of Ohio, having the same faith which the educationists of 1837 declared, appeal to the people for an emphatic expression of their will. They believe that the opposition which secured the suspension of the library tax, is because of defects in the law, and because of its unwise and incomplete local administration; not from conviction of any want of utility in libraries.

Opposition, arising out of narrow prejudice and short-sighted illiberality, is now and always has been exercised toward common schools which afford instruction higher than reading, writing, and arithmetic. If strong enough, it would promptly accomplish not only the repeal of the library feature of our school system, but would abolish union and graded schools. Such opposition we do not fear. The first constitution for Ohio declared that, "religion and knowledge being essential to good government, schools *and the means of instruction* shall forever be encouraged by legislative provision." Our present constitution indorses that sentiment, and it is legitimate to claim that libraries are chief among the means of instruction authorized by law.

Development of mind, culture of morals, and diffusion of knowledge—these are the primary objects of common schools. Common libraries are not merely auxiliary; they form an essential part of an adequate free school system. The friends of liberal popular education know that every argument good for a high school is good for a library; and they have confidence in the generosity and intelligence of a people which cheerfully supports deaf and dumb, blind, lunatic, and idiot asylums, and reform schools for juveniles.

The library system of Ohio has not met popular expectation, in smaller towns and districts, because too much was undertaken when sub-district libraries were ordered. The cities and larger towns cherish their school libraries devotedly; and, with a law adapted to the workings of our school machinery, they may be as highly regarded in every township as they are in Cincinnati, Cleveland, and Dayton.

WHAT IS PROPOSED.

We propose the establishment of township instead of district libraries—because our school system is based on township organization; and because, for each township, books enough may be distributed to make each library attractive.

The library should be convenient to the most central post-office; the township clerk to be librarian and superintendent of schools in the township; being paid a salary sufficient to enable him to give due attention to schools and the library, and being required to report school statistics.

Let there be a state board of library commissioners—that board to decide upon a catalogue of books and apparatus. Let the school commissioner forward that catalogue, with prices attached and the amount of library money due each township, to every board of education in the state. Let each board of education select, from the authorized catalogue, the books and apparatus required for its locality.

This plan would secure local attention to school interests, would afford a library accessible and attractive to all, will allow townships to select their own books and apparatus, and will, at the same time, secure to the state the advantage of purchase by wholesale. There will be no trouble for county auditors, in the apportionment of books. The commissioner will communicate directly with boards of education.

We ask the people to consider these suggestions candidly. We can not argue propositions or elaborate suggestions in this address; but, on behalf of the cause of popular education, present the following

PLATFORM.

1st. The opportunity for self-culture, as free and ample to the poorest as to the wealthiest, is an all-important consideration to citizens, among whom virtue and intelligence underlie public prosperity.

2nd. If public affairs are to be intelligently and equitably managed, school children must learn the means and the blessings of good government.

3rd. The advantages available to boys and girls in free libraries, assist, or succeed with permanent influence, the lessons which may be imparted at home, or in school.

4th. Libraries, well-selected, in every township in the state, will afford the cheapest and most available facilities possible for encouragement in the youthful mind of a taste for good reading, appreciation of public morals, knowledge of public affairs, and acquaintance with arts, mechanics, and science.

5th. The library is an economical adjunct to the common school, because it facilitates the accomplishment of the object for which schools are established.

6th. In whatever mind a love of reading is instilled, love of school is begotten. It is the unanimous voice of observing teachers, that pupils, who are diligent readers, lead their classes.

7th. If a taste for reading is not formed in early youth, it is rarely a blessing to middle or after-life.

8th. If society neglects to prepare youths for virtuous and useful careers, it must protect itself from vice and depredation. If it will not pay for schools and school-books, it must pay for courts and jails.

9th. By the encouragement of libraries, which instruct, refine, and ennoble, government can prevent, more effectually than by fines and imprisonments, the increase of gambling, intoxication, and profanity.

10th. Criminal and moral statistics abundantly prove that tastes for reading and for vulgar association and vicious resorts are always in conflict.

The property of the state should educate the children of the state; that is the fundamental idea of our common school system. One-tenth of a mill—one dollar in every $10,000 of the general revenue—is enough to purchase a library for every township. Will the people of Ohio, who spent $260,136 for the support of benevolent institutions, and $24,789 for criminal prosecutions and the transportation of convicts, in 1856, deny that trifling sum for the general diffusion of whatever good influence literature can exert? That is the issue. * * *

There need be no fear that the general assembly will not grant what the people want; therefore, whether school libraries shall be established in Ohio, is a question lying directly with the real friends of popular education in each county, in each township, in each sub-district.

This address was published by several of the leading newspapers of the state, and was commented upon by the press generally. It was also distributed as a circular, and was put into the hands of every member of the legislature elected in October, 1857.

When the Teachers' Association met at Columbus, to hold its tenth annual meeting, December 29th, 1857, the library committee reported its action, and recommended a memorial to the legislature, which expressed the firm conviction of the teachers assembled, that a large majority of those who sent pupils to the common schools wished the library tax to be allowed. That memorial was indorsed by the association, and, signed by its officers, was promptly laid before the

general assembly. The convention which took that action for libraries was large and influential. Anson Smyth, state commissioner, delivered an address, with this proposition for a subject, "*What you wish to appear in a Nation's Life, you must teach in its Schools;*" M. D. Parker, principal of an intermediate school in Cincinnati, read an essay on "*The Model Teacher;*" Geo. Bradburn, of Cleveland, lectured on "*Progress of Educational Sentiment;*" and Emerson E. White, principal of Portsmouth schools, read an essay on "*The Inner Life of the Teacher the True Source of Power.*"

Resolutions were adopted, appointing a committee to inquire into the history and disposal of land grants for universities in Ohio, and, after consultation with educators and public men, report upon the feasibility or propriety of a movement to secure for the Miami and Ohio universities direct relations to the common schools. The resolutions offered by Prof. Merrick, of Delaware, at a previous meeting, against what is known as the "code of honor" in schools and colleges, were unanimously adopted. One of the resolutions read as follows:—

That just in proportion as the students of any institution will co-operate with its government, in maintaining order and good morals, just in the same proportion should the government of such institution become more lenient and parental; substituting private expostulation for public censure, and healing counsel for wounding punishments.

Resolutions were also adopted approving the management of the McNeely Normal School, and instructing the executive committee to memorialize the legislature for an appropriation to take its care from the association and make it the property of the state.

After animated discussion, it was determined that the association ought no longer to publish the "*Journal of Education.*" It had not been self-sustaining. It was, therefore, deemed wise that, for its business management, the association should not be responsible. The executive committee was authorized to contract with publishers and employ an editor. To enable the association to contract through the executive committee, the proper steps were taken to secure a charter of incorporation. M. F. Cowdery was elected president; John Lynch, chairman of the executive committee; and Lorin Andrews, chairman of the finance committee. The executive committee immediately contracted with Follett, Foster and Company, of Columbus, to publish the "*Journal*" for sixty per cent. of the net profits, and elected William T. Coggeshall editor. The first number, under the new arrangement, somewhat enlarged, was issued in January, 1858.

The circulation of the "*Journal*" in Ohio, for the several volumes concluded in December 1858, is shown in the following table:—

OHIO JOURNAL OF EDUCATION.

Vol.	Year.	No. Subs.	Editors.	Salary.
I.	1852	1,285	A. D. Lord,.....	$150
II.	1853	1,920	A. D. Lord,.....	200
III.	1854	2,375	A. D. Lord,.....	1,500*
IV.	1855	2,225	A. D. Lord,.....	1,500*
V.	1856	2,583	Anson Smyth,.....	1,500*
VI.	1857	2,600	John D. Caldwell,.....	600
VII.	1858	3,070	W. T. Coggeshall.....	500

To the legislature, which met in January 1858, school commissioner Smyth made his first annual report. Though he was elected in October 1857, he did not enter upon the discharge of official duties till February 1858—Mr. Barney's term then expiring. Mr. Smyth's report presented the statistics of schools, colleges, and seminaries for 1857, more fully than they had ever been reported for Ohio. He recommended that the library-tax clause of the school law be repealed, or allowed to operate; that teachers' institutes be encouraged; suggested several amendments to the school law; and, in answer to the question, "What is demanded of our schools?" discussed the causes of physical deterioration, the duty of schools to teach manners, the causes of poor schools, teachers, and school-books, and the necessity for moral instruction.

Various propositions respecting schools were discussed in the general assembly. A bill to authorize county superintendents, and one in response to the memorial of the teachers, respecting the McNeely Normal School, were postponed; but the library-tax, for want of votes enough to again suspend it, was authorized; consequently, in March, 1859, books were again distributed to the district libraries.

The respect which the legislature had shown for the opinions of school officers and teachers, in permitting the purchase of school-books, was very heartily acknowledged at the semi-annual meeting of the Teachers' Association, in Delaware, July 8th, 1858. That respect was further shown, in a request from the school committee of the senate, that the association would express itself upon the question of county superintendents; a request which elicited an interesting discussion, and a resolution appointing a committee to confer with the school committees of the legislature, and represent that the association was not in favor of county superintendents at the present time, as authorized in the senate bill.

The other resolutions of the association at that time were that

* During the years maked thus * the editor was also agent for the Teachers' Association, and was required to attend county institutes, and visit schools.

"self-reporting, when judiciously used by competent teachers, is an important aid in school government;" that normal institutes, to continue from two to six weeks, ought to be held in every congressional district of the state; that the semi-annual meetings ought to be discontinued; the annual meeting held in the summer; and that the next one be called by the executive committee, at Dayton, in July, 1859.

The addresses were, by M. F. Cowdery, on "*The Wants and Hindrances of the Association;*" by M. D. Parker, on "*The Best Method of Developing the Elements of a Model Teacher;*" by J. H. Klippart, Secretary of the State Board of Agriculture, on "*Natural History in Schools;*" by Robert Allyn, of Ohio University, on "*Learning and Teaching—Doing and Theorizing;*" and, by Rev. D. Clark, editor of the "*Ladies Repository,*" in Cincinnati, on "*Mental Power.*" Reports were made by I. W. Andrews, on "*Courses of Study for High Schools;*" and, by E. E. White, on "*The Classification and Gradation of Public Schools.*"

I might here close this brief summary of the prominent passages of the educational history of Ohio, but I deem it proper first to recapitulate a few legislative provisions for the support of schools, and then call attention to a few significant facts, showing the influences out of which have grown the chief educational movements of our state.

STATE FUNDS.

The school funds of the state arise from irreducible debt, and from taxation and fines.

Until 1831, the revenues, independent of taxation, arose from the rents and sale of school sections.

In that year, the proceeds of salt-lands were ordered to be funded for the benefit of schools until 1835, when the interest was paid, and provision was made for the reception and preservation of donations.

In 1838, a state common school fund of $200,000 was created out of United States surplus revenue donation, interest on salt-lands, and revenues from banks, and insurance and other companies.

In 1842, this fund was reduced to $150,000; in 1850, it was raised to $300,000; and revenues were ordered from various licenses and fines.

The new constitution provided an irreducible debt out of the funds then existing, from which, at six per cent. interest, the schools realized, in 1857, $141,402.27; in 1858, $148,394.53.

TAXATION.

In 1821, each district determined for itself its taxation for school purposes.

In 1825, there was a tax of one-half mill for schools in the respective counties.

In 1828, three-fourths of a mill.

In 1831, three-fourths of a mill—county commissioners authorized to add one-fourth of a mill.

In 1834, one mill—county commissioners authorized to add one-half of a mill.

In 1836, one mill and a half—county commissioners authorized to add one-half of a mill; or not exceeding one mill and a half by vote of township, if commissioners refused one-half.

In 1838, two mills.

In 1839, discretion was allowed county commissioners to reduce to one mill.

In 1847, reduced to two-fifths of a mill.

In 1848, county commissioners authorized, but not required, to levy one mill.

In 1851, county commissioners authorized and required to levy county school tax of not less than one mill.

In 1853, county tax superseded by state levy, two mills.

In 1854, reduced to one mill and a half.

Boards of education may now authorize a township tax, not exceeding two mills, to prolong the schools after the state fund is exhausted, and may levy special taxes for building school-houses.

SCHOOL EXAMINERS.

1821. There was then no provision for boards of examiners, to ascertain the qualifications of persons teaching school.

1825. Three examiners were authorized for each county, to be appointed for one year, by the court of common pleas.

1829. Five, or at most one for each township, to serve two years, appointed by clerk of court.

1830. Appointed by court of common pleas.

1834. Number limited to five in each county; they to appoint one in each township, to examine female teachers only.

1836. Three to be elected in each township, if court neglected to appoint.

1838. Three for three years, appointed by court.

1853. Three for two years, appointed by probate judge.

TEACHERS' INSTITUTES.

1847, Feb. 8. On petition of forty teachers, county commissioners authorized to appropriate money to pay lecturers from surplus revenue, in eleven counties.

1848, Feb. 24. Law made general.

1849, Feb. 16. County commissioners authorized to appropriate $100 for, upon pledge of teachers to raise $50.

STATISTICS OF INSTITUTES FOR TWELVE YEARS.

Dates.	No. Institutes.	No. Pupils.
1845	2	240
1846	9	997
1847	13	569
1848	19	1,500
1849	20	1,600
1850	25	2,000
1851	41	3,251
1852	31	2,824
1853	38	3,738
1854	41	2,198*
1857	21	1,603
1858	18	1,829

I know that tabular statements are never entertaining, except to a business man, in the form of a balance sheet, which exhibits a handsome profit in ready money; but, hoping the figures may prove encouraging, if not instructive or interesting, I venture to call attention to the tabular statement, on page 548, as a picture, not only of how many schools, how many teachers, how many scholars, and how much money has been expended for public education in Ohio, but as a record, showing that the years in which school interest was widest, were those in which the labors of state superintendents and of teachers' associations were most general.

It should be borne in mind that the statement referred to, is of the condition of schools, as reported by county officers. According to the estimates of state superintendents, in 1838, seventy-one counties in Ohio had 13,049 schools, 458,427 scholars, 12,860 teachers—whose wages were on an average $10 per month for women, and $16 for men. The public money then distributed, including $200,000 state fund, was $488,085; and it paid for the teaching of reading, writing, and arithmetic (in most of the schools,) on an average of four months in the year.

In 1855, 88 counties had 14,714 schools, 669,024 scholars, 21,176 teachers; in 1856, 11,319 schools, 820,624 scholars, 17,813 teachers; in 1857, 12,339 schools, 843,840 scholars, 18,873 teachers—whose average wages per month were $25 for men and $16 for women, in common, and $60 for men and $30 for women, in high schools. They taught not only "reading, writing, and arithmetic,"

* From that time, at which the agent of the Teachers' Association ceased to traverse the state, returns from institutes were partial. Not as many were held in 1855 or 1856 as in 1854. In 1857 and 1858, the returns were incomplete, but while, in 1858, the number of Institutes was less than in any year after 1848, the terms of those held were longer and the range of instruction wider.

REPORTED CONDITION OF COMMON SCHOOLS IN OHIO, FROM 1837 TO 1859.

Date.	No. of Counties.	No. of Counties reported.	No. of Common Schools.	No. of Scholars enrolled.	Average attendance.	Total Number of School Youth.	No. of Teachers.			Amount paid Teachers.			No. of months taught.	Number of school-houses built.	Cost of school-houses built.
							Male.	Fem'le.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.			
1837	75	62	4,336	146,440	.....	468,812	4,757	3,205	7,962	.....	.....	$286,757	22,168	*4,378	*$513,973
1838	76	54	4,030	109,006	73,305	588,590	2,677	1,728	4,403	$154,284	$46,272	200,556	16,796	393	65,732
1839	76	65	7,295	254,612	.....	.....	.....	.....	7,288	.....	.....	392,091	29,199	731	148,959
1840	79	14	.....	.....	.....	618,746	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1841	79	45	3,181	137,870	51,514	.....	1,746	1,400	3,146	94,627	29,809	124,436	10,711	123	21,722
1842	79	53	3,627	9,511	61,430	.....	5,409	1,561	6,870	301,200	30,460	331,660	12,23	153	25,831
1843	79	45	4,284	44,742	74,807	.....	2,693	1,573	4,266	144,631	31,890	176,521	13,574	125	14,930
1844	79	45	3,321	48,870	56,517	.....	2,210	1,179	3,389	112,220	24,482	136,702	11,110	115	17,217
1845	81	52	5,385	19,314	84,476	.....	3,224	2,095	5,319	158,792	45,616	204,408	17,007	194	42,126
1846	83	55	4,332	34,863	78,750	728,638	2,581	1,988	4,569	138,237	55,504	193,741	15,327	164	27,325
1847	83	56	4,882	63,858	78,862	754,193	2,829	2,577	5,106	160,102	62,736	222,838	27,159	175	35,866
1848	85	57	5,062	94,630	90,695	.....	2,799	2,412	5,211	141,967	44,814	186,781	15,744	153	39,727
1849	85	80	11,075	357,608	318,556	.....	8,005	4,374	12,379	435,807	113,302	549,109	40,290	158	36,442
1850	87	79	12,279	421,733	337,875	810,163	7,924	5,168	13,092	493,691	138,428	632,119	43,086	248	64,823
1851	88	81	12,664	445,997	363,247	828,853	8,350	5,706	14,056	510,503	175,590	686,093	55,063	300	109,303
1852	88	70	9,916	437,712	266,267	838,669	7,272	5,292	12,564	599,187	172,958	772,145	25,762	171	61,837
1853	88	70	5,894	.....	.....	866,782	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1854	88	77	10,451	358,417	277,196	817,106	7,540	6,476	14,016	565,026	289,276	854,302	31,129	770	316,944
1855	88	81	12,246	551,939	315,851	820,624	9,091	7,683	16,764	923,280	469,941	1,393,222	.....	740	438,602
1856	88	85	11,319	561,315	322,643	826,680	9,491	8,432	17,923	1,023,212	531,195	1,554,407	.....	627	374,547
1857	88	87	12,339	603,347	350,867	843,840	10,189	8,684	18,873	1,181,819	598,157	1,779,976	.....	570	293,040
1858	88	88	12,602	611,720	352,145	843,227	10,628	9,612	20,240	1,304,037	591,737	1,995,775	.....	589	391,305

* Whole number returned, with the estimated value at the time.

geography and grammar, but natural, moral, and mental philosophy, composition, declamation, vocal music, history, algebra, geometry, chemistry, rhetoric, astronomy, geology, zoölogy, Latin, Greek, German, French, book-keeping, botany, logic, surveying, moral science, natural history, navigation, and various other branches, on an average nearly seven months.

School-houses were worth, in 1838, from $10 to $5,000, and they are estimated now at from $1,000 to $50,000. The total value of 10,287, in 1855, was $3,090,306; an average of $593, against $50 for 1838.

In 1857, $2,299,917 were expended for free education. The state tax equaled $1.27, in 1857, for each school child; while the total expenditure from funds, rents, and taxes, was only eighty-two cents per capita, in 1838.

In his Report for 1858, School Commissioner Smyth was able to give, for the first time in the history of Ohio schools, statistics from all the counties in the state. That Report, in addition to the figures given in the tabular statement on page 548, shows the

SCHOOL MONEYS RECEIVED DURING THE YEAR.

Balance on hand September 1, 1857,	$506,131.00
Fines, licenses, and miscellaneous sources,	37,476.55
Irreducible school funds,	164,946.24
State tax,	1,212,855.52
Township tax for prolonging schools six months, and sustaining high schools,	820,823.71
Township tax for sites, building, repairs, and contingent expenses,	615,445.10
Total,	$3,357,678.12

EXPENDITURES.

Amount paid teachers.	
Common—male,	$1,198,351.55
" female,	653,022.01
High—male,	93,773.35
" female,	34,064.09
Colored—male,	11,913.90
" female,	4,651.04
Total paid teachers,	$1,995,775.04
Sites, building, and repairs,	510,079.84
Fuel, and other contingent expenses,	233,982.14
Grand total,	$2,739,837.02

AVERAGE LENGTH OF SESSIONS.

Common,	6	months,	7	days.
High,	8	"	17	"
German and English,	6	"	9	"
Colored,	5	"	2	"
Private and select,	4	"	10	"

AVERAGE WAGES OF TEACHERS PER MONTH.

Common—males,	$27.89
" females,	12.95
High—males,	61.81
" females,	32.82
German and English—males,	31.72
" " " females,	21.88
Colored—males,	27.24
" females,	23.53
Private and select—males,	33.92
" " " females,	20.41

SCHOOL-HOUSES AND LIBRARIES.

Number of school-houses heretofore erected,	9,795
Value of same,	$3,905,495
Number of school-houses erected in 1857,	589
Value of same,	$391,305
Number of school libraries,	6,437
Value of same,	$135,958
Number of books in libraries,	245,887
Value of school apparatus,	$37,198

EXAMINATIONS.*

	1857.	1858.
Number of teachers' certificates for 24 months,	894	860
" " " 18 months,	1,519	2,073
" " " 12 months,	6,400	6,940
" " " 6 months,	7,474	7,082
" " " less than 6 months,	1,820	1,921
Total,	18,107	18,876
Number of candidates rejected,	4,618	5,373
Total number of candidates,	22,725	24,249
Amount paid examiners,	$7,485	$8,606
Average cost per candidate,	32 cts.	35 cts.

PROGRESS IN FIVE YEARS.

	1853.	1858.
Number of public schools in the state,	5,984	12,602
Number of teachers employed,	13,564	20,240
Number of youth enrolled in schools,	358,417	611,720
Average daily attendance,	271,196	352,145
Value of school-houses,	$2,000,000	$4,296,800
Value of school libraries,		135,958
Value of school apparatus,		37,198
Total expenses for school purposes,	not reported.	2,739,837

These statistics afford a picture of practical results, of which the teachers and the people of Ohio may justly be proud, and upon which they make liberal calculations for the future.

During the year 1858, besides attending to regular office duties, Commissioner Smyth issued an edition of the School Laws in force, with Decisions of School Commissioners, and Forms for School Officers, visited officially thirty counties, and gave sixty-five public addresses, occupying in this service sixty days, and traveling more than five thousand miles.

* It should be borne in mind that the column for 1857 represents eighty-five counties, while that for 1858 represents but seventy-nine counties.

He proceeded, immediately upon the adjournment of the legislature, in April, 1858, to make arrangements for the selection, purchase, and distribution of books for the school libraries. A considerable portion of his report is devoted to an exposition of what has been done and what is to be done with the proceeds of the library tax for 1858. The opinions of prominent men on books fit for school libraries, are quoted—the contract under which D. Appleton & Co., of New York, are to furnish the books is published at length—and the governing motives of the commissioner in making selections and providing for distribution, are carefully stated. Favoring a construction of the law which would establish township libraries, the Commissioner will send but one book of a kind to a township.

The Commissioner devotes considerable space to histories of the graded schools in nine cities, and to notices of eight academies. Under the caption, "Further work for our schools," the necessity of instruction for industry, and against extravagance in dress, is rigorously urged.

An earnest protest is made against frequent changes in the school laws, and it is shown that 35,900 officers are engaged in their administration.

County auditors,	88
County treasurers,	88
Judges of Probate,	88
Prosecuting attorneys,	88
Examiners of teachers,	264
City, village, and township clerks and recorders,	1,642
City, village, and township treasurers,	1,642
Local directors,	32,000
Total,	35,900

If the law must be changed, the Commissioner hopes the changes will be for specified compensation and times of meeting for school examiners, and for the enumeration of youth between the ages of six and twenty-one years of age. He is decidedly of the opinion that children should not be sent to school at an earlier age.

I think it can be safely said that common schools form now, in Ohio, an institution which the public heart and conscience alike approve, and which the public pocket will support. Individual selfishness can not destroy, nor can parental ignorance, or legislative prejudice, permanently impair it. The selfishness and the ignorance which yet embarrass the practical workings of the system, teachers must overcome. Public interest may be relied upon for hearty indorsement of whatever will widen and deepen the available results of common schools—moral training, practical instruction, conferring will and power for usefulness.

Independent of usefulness in the school room, the people of Ohio owe much to common school teachers. A large number, taking living interest in institutes, normal schools, and their county and state associations, not only do honor to our school system, but, as citizens, contribute widely to the social, moral, and political character of our state.

I now invite attention to a summary of what teachers, as public men, have accomplished for popular education.

The Cincinnati College of Teachers called and rendered useful the first state educational convention. When the college was suspended, state conventions were discontinued, till the State Teachers' Association was organized in 1847. It sustained state agents during four and a half years, and established an educational journal; between 1845 and 1856, it recognized 250 institutes, at which nearly 20,000 teachers were instructed; and, with the aid of the generous McNeely, of Hopedale, it has controlled a state normal school.

In what state of our Union have school teachers a nobler record? What legislative assemblies would not grant them, they have for themselves secured, and they appreciate their possessions.

If the people of Ohio had been as true to the interests of common schools, for ten years past, as the State Teachers' Association has been, there would now be no dispute as to the propriety or value of a library clause in a school law; and in ten years more—in 1870, at least—Ohio might enjoy a system of common schools, which would provide two state universities, one normal and one collegiate; and every town and every township would require a central institution, with a central library, lecture and concert hall, gymnasium, and reading-room—a reading-room in which civil, political, and ecclesiastical affairs might be discussed, with honor to the old and profit to the young.

Recommendations of the Ohio Teachers' Association have been embodied in laws for teachers' institutes, for school libraries, for high schools, for township boards of education, for a state instead of a county tax, and for a state commissioner.

In 1838, common schools in rural districts were generally the best. In 1859, the towns have by far the most advantageous schools. Consolidation for townships is demanded now, as consolidation for towns was in 1838.

Union schools for townships (executing the suggestion of Samuel Lewis, in 1836,) is a want which educators urge.

Ohio was fifty years reaching what was contemplated, when congress, in 1785, granted school-lands to the North-West. Half a century have leading men labored to secure to the people the privilege of enjoying

what was all that time constitutional, and what the original pioneers prayed for—practical execution of the great idea that, "religion and morality being essential to good government," the state should provide good and sufficient schools for all its children.

Wise parents and good children rejoice that sufficient schools, in popular estimation, are not those confined to rudimental instruction. While celebrating what has been accomplished, the teacher who values the system under which he is employed, and who respects the obligations it imposes, will not fail to reflect whether his experience affords practical testimony that the state gets its money's worth. If tax-payers have that assurance, they will be cheerful in the present, and liberal for the future.

The instrumentalities upon which the patrons of general instruction in Ohio depend, for the fit education of all the people, are:—

DIRECTLY.	INDIRECTLY.
12,224 common schools.	Teachers' state association.
139 high schools.	Teachers' county associations.
— private schools.	Teachers' county institutes.
11 colleges.	Congressional district institutes.
19 seminaries for young women.	"*Monthly Journal of Education.*"
10 academies.	High school periodicals.
3 normal schools.*	Public lectures.
A state commissioner.	

In addition to the indirect instrumentalities above enumerated, it is proper to mention the Ohio Phonetic Society, and the exponent of the phonetic cause in Ohio, "*The Type of the Times,*" published semi-monthly, by Elias Longley & Bros., at Cincinnati.

In corroboration of what has been said respecting the good favor with which the people of Ohio regard public education, I will conclude this account of the Ohio School System, with a few extracts from the third annual Message of Governor Salmon P. Chase, read to the general assembly, Jan. 3d, 1859. He said:—

The foremost concern of an intelligent and prosperous people is public instruction. The mind of every community is the motive power of its advancement; and the measure of its education is practically the measure of production and of all substantial progress.

In Ohio, the constitution wisely requires the general assembly to secure a thorough and efficient system of common schools throughout the state. The honor of the first act, in fulfillment of the duty thus enjoined, belongs to the legislature of 1852–3. That legislature reorganized common school education in Ohio. It does not at all detract from the honor justly due to it, to say that much had been done by previous legislature and by the intelligent and zealous labors of the first state superintendent, and the State Teachers' Association, to prepare the way for the comprehensive and beneficent measure then adopted, under which the common schools of Ohio have attained their present state of excellence and usefulness.

* McNeely Normal School, A. S. Hayden principal, at Hopedale; South-western Normal School, established, 1855, at Lebanon, A. Holbrook principal; Milan Normal School, Milan, established 1858, Asa Brainard, principal.

Contrasting then the school statistics for 1853 and 1858, Governor Chase continued:—

> There has been a constant and rapid progress which figures can not measure. The character and condition of our school-houses and school rooms have been greatly bettered; the standard of qualification for teachers advanced; the methods of teaching improved; and the results, in acquisition and capacity, largely augmented.

After calling the attention of the legislature to absenteeism, urging liberal provision for the support of teachers' institutes, and recommending the establishment of three or four normal schools in different districts of the state, giving the preference within each district to the city or town which would provide the best buildings for the purpose, without cost to the state; declaring that the people must not be satisfied so long as one person, capable of instruction, remains untaught or ill-taught; and suggesting that the state school commissioner be authorized to employ one or more competent agents to visit every township, and urge upon parents, teachers, and children, the duties essential to the highest efficiency of our schools; Governor Chase said:—

> A very large proportion of all the public income is expended directly for the common good. The levies for schools, school-houses, and libraries, amounts, for example, to $2,781,822, or nearly one-third of the taxes in all forms and for all purposes. Yet, who would dispense with our schools, school-houses, or libraries? Who does not know that this expenditure is more than reimbursed in the enhanced value of property, and the augmented power of the people? To taxation for these and similar purposes, the proceeds being honestly and economically applied, the people cheerfully consent.

X. THOMAS H. BURROWES.

WITH A SKETCH OF THE HISTORY OF COMMON SCHOOLS IN PENNSYLVANIA.

Continued from No. 16, page 124.

THE years 1837 and 1838 were periods of much activity in the educational life of Mr. Burrowes. Early in the summer of the former, he prepared and transmitted to each school district, an engraved plan of the interior arrangements and furniture of a primary school room. This was rendered necessary by the fact that the legislature of 1836–7 had appropriated the sum of $500,000, to be distributed amongst the districts, "for the erection and improvement of school-houses, or such other purposes as the directors might determine." This plan was the first effort of the kind in the state, if not in the Union; and, though much below the requirements of the better informed of the present time, and rude in execution, it was of service, by at least turning attention to the subject. Being designed more for the improvement of old school-houses than as a model for new, it went at once into pretty general use.

During the latter part of the summer and the autumn of the same year, and again in 1838, after due public notice of time and place, he met such directors, teachers, and others interested in the schools, as could be induced to attend, in the county towns of a large number of counties, till all except eight were visited. At these meetings, after brief addresses by the Superintendent, the directors and teachers present were induced, as far as possible, to state the condition of their districts and schools, with the difficulties encountered, and the successful remedies, if any, employed. Such disputes and differences, also, as were made subject to his official decision, were heard and disposed of. In this way much information, useful to himself in his public capacity, was obtained and some imparted. Many difficulties were settled or removed, that in all probability would not have been made known officially by the tedious method of written correspondence, and a considerable degree of life was infused into the school affairs of the state.

It is honorable to the legislature, that these extra services, even the traveling expenses of which were not charged to the public, were not allowed to pass without recognition. At the session of 1837–8, five

hundred dollars a year (embracing also the past year,) were added to the $1,600 then forming the salary of the Secretary of the Commonwealth; and this was done without solicitation or even suggestion by the recipient. The most gratifying part of the transaction was, that all parties concurred in it;—some leading political opponents stating in their places that they had watched this progress over the state, and felt compelled to admit that no political use had been made of the opportunity which the tour had presented.

The annual report, made on the 19th of February, 1838, was the fourth in the series, and the last presented by Mr. Burrowes. It is a document of sixty-two pages, with numerous and full tables and statements; and as it presents the result of his experience and thought up to that time, several extracts are given:—

The momentous question, Can education be made as general and as unbought as liberty? has been determined in the affirmative by the intelligence of Pennsylvania.

In other countries the edict of an emperor, or an unconditional act of the legislature, forms a system of public instruction, and wills it into operation. No choice between acceptance or rejection, and little control over the details of the law, or the conduct of its agents, are intrusted to the community. With us it is different. Here, the system being intended solely for the benefit of the people, and not of the government, its adoption necessarily depends on their estimate of its advantages, and its administration is wholly in their hands. That their action should be slow and their decision not altogether unanimous on a subject so important, is therefore not surprising.

The whole Commonwealth is divided into one thousand common school districts. Of these about seven hundred had the system in operation previous to the first Tuesday of May, 1837, when its continuance or rejection was to be decided by a direct vote of the people. On the day which was thus to determine the fate of the system, so far as information has been received (and it has been carefully sought after,) not a single district declared against the cause of free education. All stood firm. And during the same season sixty-five additional districts for the first time came out for the system.

Thus the momentous question was forever settled, and at a time and under circumstances too, the most unpropitious for such a result. The common school system had been in existence for three years, but really had been in operation, in a majority of accepting districts, only as a system of *taxation* and not of *instruction*. Its funds from the state were small, and, whether from the state or from taxation, were necessarily devoted for the first years to the procuring of school-houses. Thus little or nothing was left for teaching. Neither was the deficiency supplied generally by private schools. Parents in many cases could not afford, both to pay a school tax and the schoolmaster; and even where they were inclined to do so, there were frequently no private schools for their accommodation, the preparatory arrangements of the common system having discontinued them. In the interim, time did not stand still with the youth of the Commonwealth. They were growing up in ignorance, by operation of the very means which had been devised and adopted for their instruction. It would not have been strange, therefore, if public patience had become worn out, and the system been generally voted down. That such has not been the case, is proof alike of the intelligence of the State and of the popularity of the cause of common schools. * * *

But our people will not—no people will, in the present age—rest satisfied with the mere rudiments of learning. They will reach after the branches next in order, and, as they are their own legislators, they will assuredly have them. In obtaining them they will adapt the means to their own *convenience* as well as *wants*.

In other ages and countries, the lower orders might be confined to the rudi-

ments of knowledge, while the higher branches were dispensed to the privileged classes, in distant and expensive seminaries. But here we have no lower orders. Our statesmen and our highest magistrates, our professional men and our capitalists, our philosophers and our poets, our merchants and our mechanics, all spring alike from the mass, and principally from the agricultural portion of the people. Of that portion few can afford to send their sons to the distant boarding-school, to satisfy the thirst for increased knowledge acquired in the primary school. But satisfied it must be. The result will be that, if their sons can not be sent to the distant higher schools, the higher schools will be brought to their sons. This must be the case, because the parents thus circumstanced form the majority, and their decision will effect the object. Thus secondary common schools will rise up in every district in the state, and within reach of all. The pupils who attend them will be of more advanced age and greater strength than the primary scholars. They will consequently be able to walk much further, to and from school, and in this fact will be found the limit of their number. Three miles to school will be about as far as the most distant should walk, and thus we shall have the secondary schools within six miles of each other over the whole state. Even now, this arrangement is in progress. In some towns and thickly peopled country districts, which have common schools in operation, their classification into different grades, not according to wealth and rank in society, but to merit and advancement, has already taken place. In many others its necessity is acknowledged.

The want of competent teachers of primary schools, which is now felt in every district, and which must increase as the system rises and spreads in usefulness, will of itself build up *Teachers' Institutes*. The necessities of the youth who pass through secondary schools, and are anxious to complete a sound ordinary business education, will create *practical Colleges*. These will, however, be the same institutions, for the simple reason that both classes who enter them will approach from the same point, viz., the secondary district school, and will be in pursuit of the same kind of knowledge, with the single difference that the latter class will seek it for their own use exclusively, and the former for that of others. He who undertakes to impart the rudiments of education to the youth intended for the ordinary and practical business of life, should himself be possessed of all the details of that education. On the other hand, he who has completed such an education should in a great measure be fit to teach it; so that the same institution which completes the particular kind of education, will be the most proper to prepare the teacher whose task is to commence it.

The graduates of these institutes will take different paths on leaving them. The one-half will probably plunge at once into the active pursuits of life, as farmers, merchants, mechanics, manufacturers, surveyors, or engineers. One-fourth will become teachers of primary, and finally, as their experience and knowledge increase, of secondary schools. That proportion will be sufficient; because the business of teaching will then be a respectable, well-rewarded profession, and men will be found devoting their whole lives to it, and not, as now, adopting it as a mere temporary refuge from want or labor, so that a comparatively small number added to the aggregate annually will keep up the supply.

The remaining fourth will be such as desire a classical and more finished literary education, to fit them for the learned professions. To obtain this, the system of *County Academies*, long since most munificently commenced, and now to be perfected by the state, will afford ample means, and form the next grade.

These institutions, which now dwindle or are wholly disused, will soon occupy their proper position in the system. Under the care of experienced classical graduates and furnished with proper apparatus, they will form the proper preparatory seminaries for the colleges. By the bounty of the state, annually and permanently given, instruction in them can be afforded so cheaply as to place it within the reach of all. Many will enter them from the local private schools, and some from the secondary common schools. But to the well-trained student, from the practical institute, should he enter them, they will form a short and easy step in his scholastic course. One year, or at most two, will suffice to prepare him to contend for the highest honors of academical learning in the *College*.

Upon the COLLEGE proper, such as is now in existence, the correct classification and permanent operations of the inferior institutions of the system, will have the happiest effects. It will then receive a regular influx of students, trained from

to the schools of Europe—that tract having been commended to the attention of the legislature by the state superintendent.

During the remainder of the year 1838, the operations of the school department were carried on with unabated energy; though the duties of the office of secretary occupied a full portion of his time, and the chairmanship of the state committee of the political party to which he belonged was also thrown upon him. The result of the election, in October, was adverse to Governor Ritner, and a change in the administration of the school department, in common with the other offices of state, took place in January, 1839. Previously to removing from Harrisburg, however, Mr. Burrowes prepared and submitted to the legislature the draft of a revised common school law, and of a law for the appointment of a commissioner to report on the proper manner of establishing normal or "Practical" schools. Though these bills, with the accompanying remarks, were printed and distributed in large numbers by the legislature, yet neither of them was ever enacted into a law. Several of the proposed provisions of the general bill were, however, subsequently incorporated into the school law by occasional amendments.

To conclude this part of the subject, it may be stated that the report of the succeeding state superintendent (Francis R. Shunk, Esq.,) made on the 25th of March, 1839, but only embracing the school transactions within the last year of Mr. Burrowes' term, showed the following results:—

Whole number of districts,	1,033
Number of accepting districts,	840
Number that reported,	628
Number of schools in these,	5,269
Number of teachers,	6,732
Duration of instruction,	5¾ months
Salaries of male teachers,	$18,95
Salaries of female teachers,	$11,30
Number of scholars,	174,733
Amount of state appropriation,	$308,919
Amount of state appropriation paid,	$214,944
Tax in 840 accepting districts,	$385,788

On retirement from office, Mr. Burrowes returned to Lancaster county, and devoted the next seven years to agricultural pursuits, on a farm which he owned near the city of Lancaster. He had always been attached, and in his youth somewhat enured, to rural affairs, and proved to be a good, though by no means a money-making, farmer.

During this period he issued proposals for the establishment of an agricultural school on his farm; but, though several applications were made by students, they were not sufficiently numerous to justify the opening of the school, and the project was abandoned.

In the meantime, pecuniary losses, in which he became involved with others, rendered it necessary for him to sell his farm, and return to the practice of the law in the city of Lancaster, in 1845. Immediately afterward, he commenced a series of papers, in the Lancaster "*Intelligencer*," on the nature, defects, and improvement of the common school system of the state. These articles, which were signed by him, were more elaborate than newspaper communications usually are, and went into considerable detail. Amongst other things, deemed essential to the efficiency of the system, they strongly urged the restoration of the office of county superintendent, which, under the name of "County Inspector," had been created by the 12th section of the common school law of 1834, but repealed by the supplement of 1835. As no salary had been attached to the office, it had never gone into operation. The necessity of it was now becoming obvious, and about the same time the state superintendent (the Hon. Jesse Miller,) strongly urged the same measure upon the attention of the legislature. These articles were copied, or otherwise noticed, by several papers in different parts of the state, and aided in uniting and directing the public sentiment, then beginning to manifest itself, in favor of school improvement.

The spring after his removal into Lancaster, he was chosen one of the directors of the district, and at once applied himself to the improvement of its schools. His former relation to the system, and his known devotion to the cause of general education, at once gave him considerable influence in the board; and from that time to the present—except during one year, when, owing to frequent absences, he was unable to attend, and therefore declined an election—he has been an active member. It does not seem to have been his policy to propose or effect violent or sudden changes, but gradually to raise the schools, so that they might be sufficient for the education of all classes and conditions in society. The erection of costly or ornamental buildings, was less advocated than the grading and elevation of the schools themselves. This object has been, to a considerable extent, effected; a pupil now graduating in the male or female high school, after passing through all the grades, and exercising moderate industry, being of equal attainments with those sent forth by the best academies or seminaries in the land. In fact, several of the young men having actually entered respectable colleges, in the sophomore and junior classes, directly from the high school of Lancaster.

In 1848, the right given each district, by the school law of 1836, to accept or reject the common system for itself, and, in case of acceptance and failure to realize its advantages, again to reject it after

a trial of three years, had, as was expected, effected its object. So generally was this felt to be the case, that a single line in the general appropriation bill of 1848 enacted, that the common school system "shall be deemed, held, and taken to be adopted by the several school districts of this Commonwealth." And when this important change in the law became known, it was received by the people of the state almost without remark, certainly with scarcely perceptible opposition.

In 1849, the same provision was included in the general revisory school act of that year, and has continued in force ever since. This law of 1849 introduced no new feature of any importance into the system; its sole object being to codify into one act all the existing acts and supplements relating to the system. It was probably a premature movement. It conferred no new agency or benefit on the system, to compensate directors and others for the labor of making themselves acquainted with a new law regulating old duties.

The next prominent school movement in the state was the holding of a convention of the friends of education, from fifty-six of the counties, in Harrisburg, on the 16th and 17th of January, 1850. Of this body Mr. Burrowes was temporary chairman, and the Hon. J. M. Porter, of Easton, the permanent president. The educational movement was then beginning thoroughly to attract the attention of all classes. Of this fact the politicians of the legislature were fully aware; for not only did they voluntarily represent such counties as had no delegates in the convention, but they published its proceedings at the public expense.

Mr. Burrowes—as chairman of the committee "to consider and report the best means for invigorating the general superintendence of the common school system, harmonizing its local operations, and spreading the knowledge of its true nature and benefits, its progress and necessities"—presented a detailed report; the following extract from which presents the conclusions to which his mind had arrived as the best mode of remedying some of the radical defects in the administration of the school system:—

The committee unhesitatingly urge the convention to express plainly and decidedly the opinion, that the establishment of a separate department of education is not only the first step necessary for the improvement of the system, but that by its agency all other improvements will soon be effected; while the want of it, much longer continued, may jeopard the whole system.

With regard to the best means of harmonizing the general operations of the system, and spreading information of its nature and benefits, its progress and necessities, there can be but one opinion. An intermediate agency between the great body of directors, who are and must continue to be, the depositories of the real power of the system, is required; not of control and dictation over them, but of co-operation, advice, and assistance with and for them.

The two forms of this agency—both of which ought, as soon as practicable, to to be put into activity—are the same which are used to accomplish all reforms in

this land of free opinion. They are the press and oral communication—in other words, a common school journal and county superintendents: the one a means of cheaply, speedily, and simultaneously carrying information, on all matters of a general nature relating to the system, to every mind in the Commonwealth; the other, of meeting on the spot all local difficulties, harmonizing minute details, and exciting that degree of interest and energy, which can be most effectually accomplished by personal communication.

The committee will not occupy the time of the convention in proving the power of the press to improve and reform. Neither will they argue the question of its utility in connection with the management of our school system; but they will offer some remarks on the question of its *safety* and of its *cost*.

It has been suggested that a periodical paper, published by the department of education, might be made to exercise an influence on questions foreign to the subject of general education, and from which the holy cause of free and general instruction has hitherto been kept altogether aloof. Now it seems to the committee, that this very statement of the objection is its own answer. If the active politicians who have, without a single exception, guided the system from its first establishment—if the thousands of directors in every part of the state, who wield its real powers, and who are, with probably few exceptions, politicians more or less active—if the people, who are periodically and often warmly excited on political questions—in a word, if all, whatever be their feelings on other subjects, have hitherto kept this as a sacred ground, upon which all have united for the common good, what fear is there, that their agent, in the management of such a journal, dare to do openly that which neither they, nor any of them, have attempted secretly? And it must be remembered that a newspaper, spread before the whole state, is a different affair from a letter, guarded by a seal and intended for particular eyes.

The committee, therefore, think that, in the adoption of this public medium of communication between the department and its local officers, instead of a new risk being incurred, an existing one will be escaped.

To this it may be added, that actual want of space would exclude every such subject, if the superintendent were corrupt enough to attempt, and the people tame enough to submit to it—neither of which is at all supposable;—for the whole columns, even of a large weekly sheet, would be beneficially filled with matter connected with its proper object.

As to cost, the committee believe that the proposed journal can be so established as to defray its own expense from the beginning, and soon to become a source of income.

There are now over 1,300 school districts in the state, exclusive of the city and county of Philadelphia. If three copies of the proposed journal were sent to each, say one to the president, one to the secretary, and one to the treasurer, for each of which the sum of one dollar per annum were to be charged and deducted from the district's share of state appropriation, here would be an income of $4,000 to begin with. This sum, thus collected without loss or delay, it is believed would more than defray the cost.

If in addition to this, teachers and citizens generally were permitted to subscribe on reasonable terms, paying in advance to the treasurer of their proper district, a large additional sum might be brought into the treasury. And, when it is borne in mind that the actual cost of printing decreases in proportion with the increased number of copies required, till finally a very small addition to the actual expense of paper and press-work suffices, it must be obvious that such a journal, if patronized as it is hoped it may be, would defray the whole expense of the department of education.

The publication of such a journal would reduce almost to nothing the item of postage in the office of superintendent. With scarcely an exception, all letters could be answered through its columns. This too would reduce very largely the postage on letters received; for a published reply to one letter would prevent the writing of hundreds of others on the same subject. Thus also would the time of directors be saved, and, in many instances, meetings on questions of doubt and difficulty avoided; whereby more would be saved to them than the annual price of the journal.

Its publication would also reduce, in the same proportion, the expense of print-

ing in the department, which is now considerable. Through its columns, the annual report of the superintendent, all changes of the school law, and all forms for reports and other official documents, would properly and actually, without cost to the state, be published.

Resolutions were passed by the convention indorsing the views of the committee, as well as other important measures, such as the establishment of normal schools, the encouragement of teachers' institutes and associations, the formation of district libraries, and the opening of public night schools in towns.

In June, 1851, a number of teachers of Lancaster county met in convention, in the city of Lancaster, and adopted measures for the formation of a permanent educational association, for the promotion of education in the county. This was effected at an adjourned meeting, held on the 4th of the following October, when Mr. Burrowes was chosen president, and delivered an elaborate address upon the condition of the school system and the duties of teachers, which was printed and largely distributed. This association is still in active and useful existence, though his official connection with it ceased as soon as the members would permit his withdrawal. It is one of the very few county associations that has never missed a regular meeting, and it has been the means of effecting much good.

At the second regular meeting of this association, in January, 1852, a member (Mr. J. C. Martin,) offered a resolution that the president commence the publication of "a monthly paper, devoted exclusively to the spread of information relative to education." This was carried unanimously; and, though the first intimation Mr. Burrowes had of the project was the reading of the resolution in the association, yet he obeyed the call, and the proposed publication commenced early in the following month. Such was the origin of the "*Pennsylvania School Journal*," now in its seventh volume—a work which has ever since occupied much of the time and thought of the editor, and has exercised no slight influence upon the educational condition of the state.

During the autumn of 1852, an evident desire became manifest for the formation of a State Teachers' Association. "The Philadelphia Association of Principals of Public Schools" invited correspondence upon the subject. The Lancaster association approved of it; and finally the Alleghany county association issued the call for a meeting, at Harrisburg, on the 28th of December, 1852, to effect the object. This meeting took place at the time and place appointed, about fifty teachers and friends of education were present, and the session continued two days. John H. Brown, of Philadelphia, was chairman, and James Thompson, of Pittsburg, secretary of the temporary organization. The permanent officers were Thomas H. Burrowes, presi-

dent; John H. Brown, James Thompson, A. O. Hiester, and J. M. McElroy, vice-presidents; James Barnwell and A. K. Browne, secretaries; and Conley Plotts, treasurer.

The State Teachers' Association was established, by the adoption of a constitution and the election of officers—John H. Brown, Esq., being elected president—and the city of Pittsburg was agreed on as the place for holding the first semi-annual meeting. The association thus formed has ever since held two meetings in each year—one in August and one in December, at such places in the state as presented the strongest inducements—till December, 1857. At that time it became evident that the winter meetings were not sufficiently largely attended to justify their continuance. They were accordingly abandoned, and the association now only holds one meeting annually, in August.

In the first meetings, Mr. Burrowes took a very active part—generally reading a report or an essay, and always entering actively into the discussions. But latterly, though never absent from a meeting, he seems to have left the more active duties of membership to others, mainly confining himself to the duty of reporting the proceedings for the "*School Journal*," which has, from the first, been the organ of the association.

The benefical effect of this association upon the school system of the state has been marked and unquestionable. To its suggestions, efforts, and influence, are mainly attributable several of the improvements in the laws and the schools, recently effected; and though never as largely attended as the magnitude of its object demands, yet the character of its members, the wisdom of their measures, and the growing interest of the cause they advocate, have given it a degree of success equal to all reasonable expectations.

Having acquainted himself with the nature and mode of conducting a teachers' institute, by attending a very spirited one held by the teachers of Indiana and Westmoreland counties, at Blairsville, in October, 1852, Mr. Burrowes exerted himself to introduce this effective agency into eastern Pennsylvania. Under the auspices of the county association, one was held in Lancaster, in January, 1853, with over two hundred teachers and others present, and a degree of success achieved which has rendered the institute not only a regular yearly gathering ever since in that county, but the precursor of similar assemblages, with the most beneficial result, in many other parts of the state.

About this time—from 1852 to 1856—the growing interest in school affairs caused a demand for public addresses and lectures on

educational subjects, in nearly all the counties. Mr. Burrowes performed a full share of this duty, preparing and delivering elaborate essays on many topics of interest, which were generally published. Amongst these may be named: The use of the Bible in schools; the effects of the co-education of the sexes; compulsory attendance of pupils; normal schools; the duties of directors; the social administration of the common school system; the past, the present, and the future of the teacher in Pennsylvania; the slowness of educational progress; the effect of intellectual culture on manual labor, &c.

In 1854 the school law of the state was again revised by the legislature; but this time with the introduction of such new features and agencies as gave the system that vigor of activity which the twenty preceding years of slow but steady growth enabled it effectually to put forth. The office of deputy superintendent of common schools was created; and though the secretary of state still retained the title of state superintendent, yet the deputy, with increased clerk force to aid him, became the actual and efficient head of the system. The long-desired office of county superintendent was also established, and, under a more energetic state administration, at once infused life and vigor into every part of the state. These, with the examination of teachers, the grading of the schools, and the uniformity of text-books, also provided for, were the main improvements introduced by the memorable act of 1854.

This law was mainly framed and carried through the legislature by Henry L. Dieffenbach, who was chief school clerk before its passage, and became the first deputy superintendent under it. Mr. Burrowes suggested some and concurred in most of its provisions, but several important sections prepared by him did not meet the approbation of the legislature, and were omitted.

As an obvious mode of rendering the county superintendency harmonious and efficient in its operations, a state convention of these officers was called, soon after their first election, which meeting has been annually held since. Mr. Burrowes has always been present, by special invitation of the state superintendents, contributing his advice and services whenever required.

A very important feature of the act of 1854 was the abolishing of all smaller school districts than those composed of whole townships, or of the wards of boroughs or cities—several having been created by special legislation. It also repealed the provision in former laws for the division of a main school district into what had been called "sub-districts"—each with its one school and its local committee, exercising important powers independently of the district board of

directors. The total repeal of the special and sub-districts gave rise to dissatisfaction in some parts of the state, which induced the legislature in 1855 to provide a mode—cautiously guarded however—for the creation of "independent districts" out of parts of regular districts, when the convenience of the people clearly demands it. This wise concession to local wants seems to have remedied the evil complained of, and saved the large district feature of the Pennsylvania system from material mutilation.

By the same act of 1855, the "*Pennsylvania School Journal*" was made the organ of the school department, and one copy directed to be sent, at the expense of the state, to each school district. It has continued to occupy this position ever since; the state superintendent publishing such official matter, under the official head, as his own discretion from time to time suggests, and the editor preserving his free and independent control of the rest of its columns.

By one of the sections of the school law of 1854, the state superintendent was "authorized to employ a competent person or persons, to submit and propose plans and drawings for a school architecture for different grades and classes of school buildings; and to have them engraved and printed, with full specifications and estimates, for building in accordance therewith; and to furnish a copy of the same to each school district." This section was enacted in May, but no steps were taken to put it into operation till December, 1854. During the month last named, the state superintendent (the Hon. C. A. Black,) having first selected the architects to prepare the plans, invited Mr. Burrowes to consult with them, and the officers of the school department, on the subject. The result was that he consented, for $500, (afterward increased to $1,000,) to prepare the text, or descriptive matter, of the work, and to take charge of it while going through the press. He had little control over the plans themselves, which had been mainly prepared before he was consulted about the work. The book—a large 8vo volume of 276 pages, with numerous plates, entitled the "*Pennsylvania School Architecture*"—was published in 1855. A year before the passage of the law authorizing this work, Mr. Burrowes had attempted to secure the passage of an act providing for the purchase of Barnard's "*School Architecture*" for the use of the districts; but having failed, he felt himself at liberty to perform the duty, assigned without any solicitation on his part; and in the discharge of it adopted a plan quite different from that of the larger and more valuable work just named, or any other then in existence.

The frequent applications to the legislature—each meeting a re-

fusal--for the establishment of state normal schools, in all of which Mr. Burrowes had concurred, and in most of which he had been prominently active, till 1855—finally led him, first to doubt the possibility of success, and finally to question the propriety of the measure. That the legislature, which had granted almost every other demand of the advocates of the system, should so persistently and often reject this, was of itself a circumstance calculated to engender doubt. But when the direction and kind of efforts made for self-improvement by the teachers of the state, under the act of 1854, in their ordinary and their prolonged normal institutes, were closely watched, and their results duly estimated; and when the difference between European and American institutions was taken into account, he no longer hesitated. The opinion became confirmed that a normal school, established and supported by state means, and governed by state authority, was neither consistent with the political, professional, and religious institutions of the United States, adequate to the wants of the schools—which needed, not fifty or one hundred trained teachers, but many hundreds, annually—nor calculated to enlist heartily in favor of the system that spirit of private enterprise which, before the revulsion of 1857, was so ready to make investments in all educational projects. This change of views was first announced at the convention of county superintendents, at Williamsport, in 1856, and has since been advocated on all proper occasions.

During the session of the legislature of 1857, he was requested by the state superintendent (Hon. A. C. Curtin,) to prepare a bill to be presented to the educational committee, embodying his views on this subject. This was done on a very short notice, and the bill reported and passed, very unexpectedly to the author, without alteration or amendment.

The governing idea of this plan is, that of placing the profession of teaching on the same footing, and in the same relation, as to the state, with the other learned professions. The training institutions for other avocations are all of private ownership and under private or at most incorporated management. Their only authority derived from the state, is that of conferring the diploma, certificate, or license to practice the profession. This bill places the teacher on the same ground—committing the establishment of his professional institutions to private enterprise, and leaving it open also to the same enterprise to establish as many institutions, for the purpose, as the wants of the people shall require.

The author of the plan has never hesitated in the belief of its adaptation and practicability, notwithstanding the adverse times,

which immediately followed the passage of the law. His confidence has, no doubt, been increased by the remarkable success of the Lancaster county normal school, at Millersville—an institution as nearly conformed to the act in question as may be, and now in its third year of regular existence, with as many students as it can accommodate; yet founded by liberal and enlightened enterprise, and wholly sustained by the proof of its intrinsic merits and the need of its thorough professional training.

During the same session of 1857, the administration of the common school system was entirely separated from the office of secretary of the Commonwealth, and an independent common school department established. This measure was not cordially approved by Mr. Burrowes, for the reason that it did not confer sufficient force and scope of action on the new department. He believed that it would have been better to bear with the existing state of affairs a few years longer, and till a full and efficient department could be created, than to incur the responsibility of entire independence, without the full power requisite to success. Still, on all proper occasions, he has sustained the step as one, though a short one, of progress—at least to the extent of opposing its repeal.

Thus have been effected—in some cases wholly, in others partly—all the great measures so long advocated and urged by the schoolmen of Pennsylvania:—

1. A separate school department, though incomplete, is in existence.

2. An educational periodical, though owned by an individual, is the organ of the school department.

3. The county superintendency is in full operation.

4. A plan for the training of teachers has been adopted, and is likely to succeed.

During the two years just passed, Mr. Burrowes has been less active in school affairs—with the exception of editing the "*Pennsylvania School Journal*"—than previously. He is now mayor of the city of Lancaster, elected independently of party politics, and devotes most of his time to home duties. Though in his fifty-fourth year, his vigor—physical and mental—is unimpaired; temperate habits and a hopeful spirit having enabled him to bear the wear of life with less than the ordinary degree of exhaustion.

The following statistics from the report of Hon. Henry C. Hickok, superintendent of common schools for 1858, exhibit the progress and present condition of the system :—

STATISTICS FOR 1858.

Whole number of common schools, exclusive of Philadelphia,	11,281
Number of scholars, exclusive of Philadelphia,	569,880
" " including Phil., (58,321,)	628,201
Number of teachers, (exclusive of Phil.,) male,	8,191
" " " " female,	4,637
" " " " total, males and females,	12,828
" " in Philadelphia, male,	81
" " " female,	947
" " " total,	1,028
Total number of common school teachers in 1858,	13,856
Average salary of male teachers, (exc. of Phil.,) per month,	$24.25
" " female " " " "	17.22
" " male " in Philadelphia, "	120.00
" " female " " " "	30.00
Average cost of instruction for each scholar per month, including only teachers' wages, fuel, and contingencies,	53 cts.
Average cost of instruction for each scholar per month, including building expenses, rent, &c.,	65 cts.
Amount expended for sites and school buildings, (exc. of Phil.,)	$454,343.53
" " for teachers' wages, fuel, &c.,	1,488,663.63
" " in Phil., for all purposes,	484,625.25
Total expenditures, including school-houses,	2,427,632.41
Amount appropriated by the state,	188,646.00
" levied by local tax,	2,009,437.00
Average number of mills on the dollar levied for school purposes,	5.71
Whole number of school-houses reported	10,423
Ages of teachers.—Number under seventeen years	481
" " " between 17 and 21,	3,978
" " " " 21 and 25,	4,179
" " " " 25 and 30,	2,251
" " " " 30 and 40,	1,188
" " " over 50 years,	260

PROGRESS OF THE SYSTEM FROM 1835 to 1859.

	1835.	1859.
Whole number of districts,	907	1,722
" " schools,	762	11,281
" " scholars,	32,544	569,880
" " teachers,	808	12,828
Average salary.—Male teachers,	$18.34	$24.25
" " Female "	11.96	17.22
Average cost per scholar per month,	1.12½	.53
State appropriation,	98,670.50	188,646.00
Tax levied for school purposes,	207,105.37	2,009,437.00
Tax levied for school-houses,	111,803.01	464,343.00

XI. PUBLIC INSTRUCTION IN BAVARIA.

I. Primary or Common Schools.

(Continued from Number 16, page 292.)

We intended to have continued in this number the Account of the System of Public Instruction begun in our last, by a full description of the Secondary Schools—including 1. High Schools for Girls; 2. *Latin Schools* and Gymnasia for boys under eighteen years, covering substantially the studies and intellectual training of our best colleges; 3. *Real Schools*, and Institutions for special instruction in the various departments of business, as well as Orphan Houses, and Rescue Institutions, in which the instruction is elementary but combined with industrial training. But as these subjects will harmonize with topics which we have reserved for the next volume, we shall postpone the consideration of Secondary Education in Bavaria to Number XVIII., and of Universities and Superior Education to Number XIX. In the mean time we add the testimony of Joseph Kay, Esqr., in his "*Education in Europe*," to the excellence of the common schools of Bavaria, and shall give also, in a subsequent article from Prof. Bache, an account of Dr. Grazer's system of instruction pursued in the common schools of Bayreuth.*

Mr. Kay remarks on the common schools and teachers of Bavaria as follows:—

When I was in Nuremburg, in the Kingdom of Bavaria, I asked a poor man, whether they obliged him to send his children to school. He said, "Yes; I must either send them to school or educate them at home, or I should be fined very heavily." I said, "I suppose you don't like these rules?" He answered, "Why not, sir? I am a very poor man; I could not afford the time to teach my children myself, nor the expense of paying for their education myself; the municipal authorities pay all the school fees for my children, and give them good clothes to wear at school; both my children and myself are the gainers by such an arrangement; why should I object to it?"

In Ratisbon, I spent the whole of one day in company with a poor peasant, who acted as my guide. I said to him, "Have you any good schools here for your children?" He answered, with an air of astonishment, "Oh dear yes, sir: all our

* Johann Baptist Graser was born in 1766, at Estmann, and after completing his studies, and receiving the degree (Ph. D.) of Doctor in Philosophy, he was made principal of the Catholic Ecclesiastical Seminary at Wurzburg, and subsequently of the Archepiscopal Seminary at Salzburg. From 1804 to his death, in 1841, he held an official relation to the public schools of Bavaria, and devoted himself with zeal and intelligence to their improvement. He was a voluminous writer on education and schools, and from 1803 to 1805 was editor of the "*Archives for School Instruction*," and in 1805 and 1806 of the "*Bavarian Franconian School-Mercury*." The most important of his publications are:—(1.) "*Examination of the practical religious instruction of the Catholics;*" (2.) "*Observations, &c., on Schools and Education;*" (3.) *Godliness, or the only true aim of human culture;*" (4.) "*The child's first instruction the child's first torment;*" (5.) "*The Elementary School and Practical Life.*"

children go to school; the law obliges us to send them to school, and provides good schools for them." I said, "But don't you dislike being *obliged* to send your children to school?" He answered, "Why should I, sir; the teachers are good and learned men, and our children learn from them many things, which enable them afterward to get on in the world much better than they would be able to do, if they were ignorant and incapable of studying." I asked again, "But what sort of men are the teachers?" He answered, "Oh, they are very learned men; they are all educated at the colleges." I said again, "But are the teachers generally liked by the poor?" He answered, "Oh, yes, they are learned men, and teach our children many useful things."

When I reached Munich, I engaged, according to my usual custom, a poor man as my guide. I asked him to take me to see some of the schools, where the children of *poor* people were educated, and told him, that I did not wish to visit the best, but the worst school in the city. He answered me, "Sir, we have no bad schools here; the government has done a great deal for our schools, and they are all very good." I said, "Well, take me to the worst of those you know." He answered again, "I don't know any poor one, but I will take you to the one where my own childen go. I am a poor man, and can not afford to pay any thing for the education of my children, and many of the children that you will see there, are like my own, sent to the school at the expense of the city."

Accordingly, after passing several very large and handsome schools for primary instruction, we proceeded to the one, which the children of my poor guide attended. It was a lofty and handsome building, four stories high, and about 60 feet broad. In the two upper stories, all the teachers, of whom there were ten educated men attached to the institution, resided. On the lower floors, there were ten class-rooms, each about 20 feet long, 15 broad, and 14 feet high, and fitted up with parallel rows of desks, maps, drawing-boards, and school-books. Five of these spacious class-rooms were for the boys, and five for the girls. The children were all classified, according to the time of entering the school. All those who had been less than a year in the school were put in the first class. These children, after remaining a year or a year and a half in the first class, moved on into the second class, and thence into the higher classes, the same teacher accompanying them through their five changes, and continuing to instruct them, until their leaving the school. Each school-room was filled with parallel rows of desks and forms; the desk of the teacher stood in front of them all, and the walls were covered with maps, pictures, and blackboards.

The desks, forms, maps, pictures, and apparatus of each school-room were suited to the age, size, or attainments of the children for whom the class-room was destined. The children sat during their first year or year and a half's education, in the first class-room, during their second year and a half's education in the second class-room, and so on.

I went first into the second class-room. The children were so clean and respectably dressed, that I could not believe they were the children of poor persons. I expressed my doubt to my guide. His answer was, "My children are here, sir;" and then turning to the teacher, he requested him to tell me, who were the parents of the children present. The teacher made the children stand up one after another, and tell me, who their parents were. From them I learned, that two were the sons of counts, one the son of a physician, one of an officer of the royal household, one of a porter, and others of mechanics, artizans, and of laborers, who were too poor to pay for their children's education, and whose children were clothed and educated at the expense of the town. They all sat at the same desks together. They were all clothed with equal respectability. In their manners, dress, cleanliness, and appearance, I could discern no striking difference. My inference from this interesting scene was, that the children of the German poor must be in a very different state to that of the children of our English poor, to allow of such an intercourse, and to enable the richer classes to educate their sons at the same desks with the children of the peasants.

After spending some time in the different class-rooms, the quiet and order of which were admirable, I went to the town-hall to see the chief educational authority for the city itself. Outside his door, I found a poor woman waiting to see him. I asked her what she wanted. She said, she had a little girl of five years

of age, and that she wanted to persuade the minister to allow her to send her little daughter to school a year before the legal age for admission, which in Bavaria, is the completion of the sixth year. I said to her, "Why are you so anxious to send your child to school so early?" She answered, smiling at my question; "The children learn at school so much, which is useful to them in after life, that I want her to begin as soon as possible." I thought to myself, this does not look as if the people dislike being obliged to educate their children.

I had an interview with the head inspector of Bavaria, and asked him, whether he was certain, that all the young men below thirty years of age could read and write and understand arithmetic. He said, "I am certain of more than that; I know, that they all know their Scripture History, and that they all know something of geography, and of the elements of Natural History."

At the time I visited Munich, the Jesuit party was in power. The ministers, however, showed the greatest willingness to furnish me with all the information I required, and supplied me with all the statistics and documents I wished to procure.

I visited a priest, who directed one of the large educational establishments in the city. He told me, that they had established eight normal colleges in Bavaria for the education of teachers, and that two of these had been specially set apart for the education of Protestant teachers. He seemed to make very light of all difficulties arising from religious differences, and spoke of education as of a national work, which it was *necessary* to accomplish, by the joint efforts of all religious parties.

It is said, greatly to the honor of the late king, that, careless as his government was to many of the internal wants of the kingdom, and profuse and lavish as his expenditure was upon art, he never neglected the education of the people, but that he effected a great advance in this part of the national administration.

The Minister of the Interior for Bavaria, supplied me with all the laws and statistics relating to the educational institutions of the country, The laws have been most carefully compiled and codified; and perhaps there is no country in Europe, which possesses such an admirable and minutely considered series of enactments on the subject of national education.

Mr. Kay makes the following remarks on the social equalization of good public schools, by bringing the children of the rich and poor, of nobles and peasants under the same roof, and under the influence of the same good teachers.

In Bavaria I found the same proofs of the excellence of the primary schools. I remember particularly a visit paid to one school in Munich, which may be fairly taken as an example of all; for all the schools in that city are remarkably good. When I entered I did not know any thing about the children, or to what ranks of society they belonged. The appearance of all was so clean, respectable, and orderly, that I imagined they were all the children of trades-people. I therefore asked the teacher to tell me what their parents were. He answered: "The two boys you see here are the sons of counts; yonder is the child of a tradesman; there is the son of a physician; there, a son of one of the court servants;" and so he continued to point out others, who were the children of professional men, shoemakers, tailors, &c. I then said, "Have you any here, whose parents are so poor, as not to be able to pay any thing for their education, and who are consequently dependent on the town charity for their instruction?" "Oh! yes," he immediately answered; "the one you see yonder (pointing to a very clean and respectable-looking child) is one, and there is another;" and so he continued to single out several others, who were paid for, and clothed, at the expense of the city.

The very fact of the children of such different classes of society being mingled together in the same schools, will serve to prove to any unprejudiced mind the excellence of the schools themselves, as well as the civilization of the poorer classes; for if the schools were not good enough for the children of the rich and noble, or if the poor children were as rude and unrefined, as the children who frequent our ragged schools in England, we may rest assured, that the richer pa-

rents would not allow their children to attend the same classes with them. The same association of children of different ranks of society takes place, to even a greater degree in Switzerland.

I could mention a lady who moves in the first circles of London society, and who is rich enough and sufficiently interested in the improvement of her young relations to engage private tutors for them, if it were necessary, whose young grandchildren I found attending a village school for peasants, situated near the Lake of Geneva, where her son, who was till lately a member of the government of the canton, resided. To prove to me, that it was not carelessness about the children, that had led the parents to remain satisfied with the education given in the village school, she gave me an introduction to the teacher, and begged me to visit his classes. I accordingly went, and found there, what you may find in nearly every village in Germany and Switzerland, an educated and gentlemanly man, who appeared qualified to act as private tutor in any gentleman's family.

The statistics, with which the Minister furnished me show, that, in 1846, there were in the kingdom of Bavaria, for a population little more than double that of our own metropolis, a much more effective system of national education, and much more perfect means for the education of the people, than we have in England and Wales.

In 1846, the population of Bavaria was 4,440,000, and for this there were—

8 normal colleges for the education of teachers for the elementary schools.

696 students in the normal colleges, who were being educated as teachers.

7,353 schools, (many of them containing as many as *ten* class-rooms and ten teachers.)

8,978 classes open on Fridays and Sundays, for young people attending the manufactories, and for men and women desirous of improving themselves in any particular branch of instruction.

556,239 scholars of both sexes attending the schools;

565,876 persons of both sexes attending the Sunday and Friday classes.

8,797 teachers, who have the management and direction of the schools and classes.

615 industrial schools, where some particular art is taught.

2,517 teachers of the industrial schools.

85,681 persons attending the industrial schools.

These statistics give the following results: that, in 1846, exclusive of the number of persons attending the Sunday and Friday classes, and the industrial schools, about 1 person out of every 7 of the population was attending a daily school; that there was 1 normal college for every 555,000; 1 school for every 603, and 1 teacher for every 508 persons in the kingdom.

DR. GRASER'S COURSE OF INSTRUCTION

IN THE

COMMON SCHOOLS OF BAYREUTH, IN BAVARIA.

Dr. Graser of Bayreuth, has developed a system of instruction, the principles of which he claims, are founded in the nature and purposes of education, and of man as its recipient. This system has been introduced into the common schools of his native place, and has attracted much attention from a class of teachers in Germany. Dr. Bache gives the following sketch of its general principles, and of its development in one of the common schools of Bayreuth:

After considering the constitution of man, Dr. Graser lays down the principle, that he is destined to live in accordance with it, and in the pursuit of holiness, (godliness, divinität.) The child must be educated in reference to this destination. Man requires strength of body, hence physical education, and of soul (virtue,) hence moral education. His bodily strength must be rendered available by dexterity, his virtue by prudence. Both must be directed by intelligence, hence intellectual education. Besides, he must have a just sense of the harmony in the relations of life, or a feeling of fitness, or beauty, hence aesthetical education. As a condition of his being, man stands in certain relations to external nature, to his fellow men, and to God. Instruction in nature, man, and God, must, therefore, form the materials of his education. Nature must be viewed in its productions, the objects of natural history, or its phenomena, the objects of natural philosophy, or physics. To complete the study of nature, geography, arithmetic, geometry, and its applications, and drawing, must be called in, and the practical application of the study includes technology and domestic economy. The study of man requires that of the theory of gymnastics, dietetics, history, and geography. To approach to God, man must know him. The first form of godliness is truth. God's truth, then, as revealed, should be man's study. The second form is justice; jurisprudence in higher education, or the laws of the land in power, should, therefore, also form a part of man's studies, and as accessory subjects, history and grammar. The third is love, taught through morals or practical religion. The fourth is beauty, requiring the study of painting, music, poetry, and decorum. Dr. Graser next endeavors to modify the several subjects of education, according to the special wants of those who are to receive it, which he considers to depend upon their political situation. Thus, for his country, he divides men into three classes, the people, or governed; the nobles; and the reigning family, or governors. The first he considers as more concerned with material objects, the others with the ideal, or spiritual, and hence adopts two divisions of the subjects of study, as calculated for their schools.

In the arrangement of instruction, his principle, that the school must prepare for actual life, is brought into play. He admits no separation into branches of study, no natural order of succession in the branches, but insists that all instruction shall be grouped according to the wants of some particular mode of life. Taking society as the state of man's existence, he begins instruction with the paternal mansion of the child and his family relations, and attaches to these all the elementary knowledge of morals, manners, speech, number, form, objects, drawing, and writing, which would be found necessary in this sphere. He next widens the sphere to include the place of residence, with its community; extends it to the circle or judicial district, to the province, to the country, to the assemblage of the German states, the division of the earth, the entire earth, the universe.

The application of Graser's principles to a common school will be best understood by following up the course of instruction as far as it has been developed in one of the schools of Bayreuth.

The *sixth*, or *lowest class*, is instructed in what relates to family life. The exterior of the house. Its interior. Its inhabitants. Their wants.

The classification followed in Würst's reading book will show, generally, the way in which these subjects are taught.

1. The paternal mansion, considered as the dwelling place of the family. Houses and huts. Stones and lime. (Story of an accident from playing with lime.) The walls and the roof. Doors and windows. (History of the discovery of glass.) Earth, fire, water, and light. Comparison of building materials. Gloom, darkness, light, shadow. Property. Owner. Rectitude. Goodness. Decorum. Politeness. (Story of the polite and the rude boy.) Pilfering. Theft. Robbery. Robbers. 2. The inmates of the house. Enumeration of them. Exterior distinctions between the men and animals. Distinctive qualities of the different domestic animals. The poultry. Further distinctions between men and animals. Voice. Speech as a characteristic of man. Power of induction. Moral order of the family. (The intractable child.) Uses of the domestic animals, obligations toward them. (Tormentors of animals.) Noxious domestic animals. Conduct toward them. Flies. Spiders. Review of conduct toward animals in general. 3. Wants of the inmates of the house. The dwelling itself. Furniture and clothing. Arrangements for their preservation. Inviolability of the property of children and servants. Activity and offices of parents. Duties of children toward their parents.

This course is commenced between six and seven years of age, and occupies about six months. I shall go into some particulars in regard to parts of the instruction. 1. The dwelling-house. The teacher shows a model of a simple dwelling-house, of which the gable end may be removed, and is a rectangular block, surmounted by a triangle. The teacher takes off the triangle, and counts the number of its sides audibly; this part of the house has how many sides? is his question. Three. He shows that it has also three corners, or asks how many corners, leaving to the more intelligent pupils to lead the class in the answer, and when the answer is obtained, causing it to be repeated by all. Watching the class, if he finds inattention, he addresses the question where it prevails, giving the pupils as much as possible to find out, in order to keep up their attention as long as their physical constitution will permit. A change of subject, physical exercise, or rest, should be allowed when the attention is exhausted, the habit of which may be gradually established by training. This inductive course, combined with repetition, is always employed, and in what follows I shall merely indicate the order of the instruction. The figure in question is three-cornered. Interior corners are called angles.* It is a three angled figure, and called a triangle. Next, the four-sided figure is similarly treated. Then the triangular cap is set upon the rectangle, forming a five-sided figure. This part of the model is now placed before the children to draw upon the slate, with the following preliminary instruction. Each group of three or four children, or, if convenient,

* In German, the space formed by the meeting of two lines viewed from the interior, or from the exterior, has different names, and the compounds of these, with the numerals three, four, five, &c., constitute the names of the figures, as drey-eck, viër-eck, &c.

each child, is furnished with a rectangle of pasteboard, or thin wood, in which five holes are pierced, corresponding to the five angular points of the pentagon to be drawn. These are marked on the slate by inserting the points of the pencil through the holes, and the child is practiced in joining the points by hand. Practice in this constitutes his first drawing lesson. Returning to the rectangular part of the model, the positions of the vertical and horizontal boundary lines are pointed out, and a plummet and common mason's level are shown, to give a notion how these lines are established in practice, and a correct idea of their actual positions. Attention is next called to the horizontal side of the triangular cap, then to the sloping sides. A comparison of the angles which they form with the horizon, and that formed by the horizontal and vertical lines, leads to the distinction between acute and right angles. The objects of a triangular roof, and of the rectangular lower part of the house, are next stated. An obtuse angled polygonal roof is substituted for the one already mentioned. The form gives an illustration of the obtuse angle, placing it upon the model leads to counting as far as seven Dividing the house into stories by lines, to counting to nine. The children are next led to enumerate the parts of the house as shown in the model, and with the names of which they are of course familiar, as the doors, windows, &c. The distinction between squares and rectangles is made obvious. The parallelogram and rhomb are also here introduced. The distinction between curved and straight lines, &c. Different simple drawings of cottages are made. Counting is continued to ten. Addition is commenced by referring to the number of panes in the windows of the model, covering up those not to be added, and proceeding from smaller to larger numbers, within the limits of ten. These are extended to one hundred, stating to the children the mode of formation of compound numbers, to assist their memory. Subtraction is introduced by reference to the same illustrations. Mental arithmetic alone is practiced. In adding numbers which exceed ten, the tens are first added, then the units, carrying to the tens, if necessary; thus, in adding twenty-two and thirty-nine together, their process would be, twenty-two is two tens and two ones; thirty-nine, three tens and nine ones; two tens and three tens are five tens; two ones and nine ones are eleven ones, or one ten and one one; five tens and one ten are six tens, and one, sixty-one. Multiplication is begun also by a reference to the window-panes, which afford, usually, many combinations. Division is similarly treated, the question being such as the children would take an interest in solving, and their coins are early explained to them, and made the subjects of their exercises. Fractions grow naturally from division. The foregoing instruction is interspersed with other matters yet to be described.

In fact, there is no fixed order of exercise, or school plan, according to Graser's method, but the teacher is relied upon to advance the different parts of the instruction duly, according to his observation of the progress of the class.

The elements of physics, natural history, technology, and domestic economy, are thus introduced, it being understood that the same mixed method of question and answer, and of direct and inductive teaching, is used throughout. Men did not always live in houses, but once in caves and huts. The inconveniences of such places from cold, damp, &c., are pointed out. The materials required for a house, as stone, mortar, wood, iron, &c. Most of the children have seen the operation of building, and can tell the materials required; those who have not observed, will probably not let an opportunity pass afterward of so doing. Whence the stone is procured, quarries, quarrymen. The hewing of stone. Limestone and lime; the objects being presented to them. The conversion of the limestone into lime. The slaking of lime, making of mortar, its hardening, laying the stones. Digging of the trench for the foundations, &c.

Next the wood is taken for the subject of a lesson. The distinction of wood from fruit-trees and forest trees is shown. Shaping of the wood by sawing. Beams. Planks. Boards. Laths. Trade of house carpenter. Of joiner, &c. In the same way iron is treated of. Bricks and tiles. Glass.

In recapitulating these matters, or in presenting new ones, the elements of grammar are begun. The nouns and adjectives are easily distinguished from the other parts of speech by the induction of the pupils themselves, when directed in the right way.

Used as incidental matters of instruction, but not as forming its ground work.

it appears to me that the foregoing subjects are of value, and that useful hints may be gathered from the way of treating them; hence, I am led to remark upon certain sources of difficulty in their execution. The instruction may be rendered wholly ineffective by the teacher treating the subject in a mechanical way, so that what is intended to excite the observing and reflecting faculties, especially the former, shall become a mere memory of words. It may be rendered actually mischievous by the teacher inculcating erroneous ideas of natural phenomena and natural history. The teacher's guide should be prepared with care, and revised by adepts in the sciences, to avoid such mischief, which I have known to occur in many cases.*

Elementary ideas of right and wrong, of goodness, of "fitness," ("the beautiful,") are inculcated in the following way: The dwelling being still under discussion, the attention is called to the parts of the door, its lock, &c. The object of the door and its fastenings. Who may rightfully enter a house. The right to put out those entering wrongfully. A story is told here of a poor child begging for admission to a house during a storm, cold, hungry, and ill clothed. The child is received and supplied. The moral is drawn from the children, and benevolence, love to man, is inculcated. In entering a strange house or room, leave must be asked. The contrast of good and bad manners in making or answering the request is brought home to the children. The subject is next followed up by supposing an unlawful entry made into the dwelling, and the difference between theft and burglary, or stealing and robbing, is brought out. The smallest possible theft of any kind, or pilfering, is immoral. A story is told to illustrate the fate of the pilferer.

Next the inmates of the house and out-houses form subjects of instruction, the mode of treating which will easily be conceived by referring again to the general enumeration of the arrangement of the subjects. Exercises of speech and thought, natural history of domestic animals, and much elementary technological information, are thus introduced. Proverbs are committed to memory, inculcating moral lessons or duties.

The next head furnishes an opportunity to examine the wants of the inmates of the house, the topography of the dwelling and its grounds, as introductory to geography, the construction and uses of the furniture in continuation of technology, and to introduce the drawing of simple articles of furniture. Speech is considered as the means of communicating between the members of a family. Other modes of communicating ideas by signs and gestures are adverted to. The sight may be addressed through pictures as substitutes for verbal descriptions addressed to the ear. Hieroglyphics or signs may be substituted for pictures. Trials of these are resorted to, as, for example, the curve of the fore-finger and thumb forming a C, may be imitated on the slate, and understood to stand for "come here." A number of signs, having reference to letters subsequently to be formed, and to their actual use in the spelling of words, are taught to the children, who at first are delighted with these acquisitions, but after a time find the accumulation of signs very troublesome. This is supposed to prepare the way for a zeal in acquiring writing and reading. To connect the written with the spoken language, Dr. Graser goes back to the origin of the former, and imagines that the forms of the letters result, in general, from an attempt to imitate the position of the lips, or lips and tongue, in sounding the component parts of a word. This requires a difficult and in many cases a most fanciful† connection to be formed in the mind of the pupil between the sound and its sign. Four different

* To show that this is not imaginary, I may mention that, in a school where the subject of the caustic nature of lime, and of its heating during slaking, were under examination, they were explained thus: the limestone was turned into lime by heat, in which process it absorbed a great deal of heat, which made it burning, or caustic; when water is thrown upon it, the water unites with the lime, and this heat escapes.

† I have called this fanciful, for so it appears to me, but speak in no spirit of disrespect. This method is connected, in Dr. Graser's school, with the instruction of the deaf and dumb with other children. The maxim prevailing in the principal schools of Germany for the instruction of the deaf and dumb is, that they must be restored to society by enabling them to understand speech and to speak. Hence the first attempt is to make them understand the motions of the organs of speech, and to imitate them, forcing air through them so as to produce the sounds. The perseverance and zeal expended in attempting to carry out this idea are almost incredible. In some of the institutions for deaf mutes much of the instruction is actually communicated through the means of speech.

series of lines are ruled by the pupils upon the slates, on which they write; one is a set of two parallels for the standard letters; another of three parallels for the letters which project above the standard lines, the interval between the upper two being less than that between the lower; another set, also of three parallels, for the letters which extend below, and a fourth for those which extend in both directions. Words are formed as soon as possible, and of a kind intelligible to the child, and sentences of the same character. I doubt much if the pupil receives any real aid from the connection assumed between sounds and signs. The determinate sound of the letters in the German renders the spelling easy, when the true sound and the signs of the letters have been connected in the memory.* The previous practice of drawing has prepared the hand, so that there is a remarkable facility in requiring the manual part of writing. The selection of intelligible sentences carries out the habit of understanding every thing as it is brought forward. Reading the written hand soon becomes familiar, and the transition to the printed letters is easy. In all this instruction the blackboard is used for illustrating the lessons. Elementary principles of grammar are inculcated in connection with the writing and reading.

In the next class, occupying also six months, the instruction is connected with "life in the community." This includes the political organization of the community, with the reasons for it; the geography of the place; the continuation of the exercises of thought and speech; the commencement of Bible history; an extension of instruction in morals, technology, and natural history; of the elements of form; of grammar; of drawing and writing; so at least they would be called in the other schools. The plan of arrangement is as follows:

LIFE IN THE COMMUNITY. History of the formation of communities, with their wants and obligations. Original existence of man. Union of several families. Fatal accidents in communities. Necessity of mutual aid in misfortune. Necessity of a magistracy. Arrangements for safety. Taxes. Laws and punishments. Wants of the community. Roads, bridges, &c. Watchmen. Servants. Council-house. School-house.

2. IN REFERENCE TO MAN. The five senses. Their abuse exposes to punishment. Information in regard to the organs of sense. Their injury or deficiency. Their preservation and exercise. The mind. Perception not required for thought, or for distinguishing the true from the false, the good from the evil. She soul. Man has reason and will. Stories of good actions. The good is not always rewarded in this world, but there is a God.

3. RELATION OF MAN TO GOD. Attributes of the Deity. God is the creator, the supporter, the governor of the world, the father of all men, the high and righteous judge, a spirit. Duties to God. Honor, love as of a child, trust, thankfulness, reverence. Constant remembrance of God. Conscience. Stories related. The evil conscience. Conscience makes a man anxious and uneasy when he does wrong. The moral to be inculcated is, that man has within him a monitor which warns him against doing evil. Story of a pleasant evening. There is also approval within one's self of good deeds. Necessity of a revelation to man. Stories from the Scriptures related. The creation. Cain and Abel. The deluge. Those saved. The prophets. Expectation and coming of the Messiah. The three wise men. The child Jesus. John. Jesus the teacher, saviour, and founder of the kingdom of godliness.

4. RELATION OF MAN TO NATURE. The native place and its environs. The village as the dwelling of the community. The cardinal points. Position of the buildings. Streets. Roads. Springs. Stories of the village. Review of the position of the village. Natural history. Beauties of nature. First walk in the garden. Fruit trees, shrubs, herbs, flowers. The fields, hills, valleys, woods, and forests. Morning ramble in the woods. Morning song. Insects. Stories of cruelty to insects. *Natural philosophy.* Heat. The sun. Sunrise. Song. Division of time. The calendar. Vapor. Storms. Thunder and lightning. Rules for protection.

5. RELATION OF MAN TO SOCIETY. Age and youth. Infirm persons. The able bodied and the sick. Duties toward and protection of the sick. Employments. Laborers and tradesmen. Peacefulness. Willingness in service. Uprighteousness. Respectfulness. Disposition to work. Poverty and riches. Contentment.

The same elements of instruction are, in the next class, grouped about the next political division, the circle, the course occupying, as before, six months. Beginning here, the division restricts some portions of instruction unnecessarily. In general, however, I was satisfied with the progress of this class. I had no opportunity of judging of the results of the following division, namely, "life in the province," no class being in that stage of progress.

In the next following, or "life in the kingdom," the political circumstances became too abstruse for the intellectual development of the children, and the attempts at induction in regard to the government failed almost entirely. All

* I have a specimen of writing from one of a class who had been five months under this instruction, remarkable for the correctness of spelling and execution. It was written from dictation. The pupil was seven years of age.

the circumstances, except those relating to the army, were out of the pale of their ordinary experience, and the complex mechanism of government was beyond the power of their reason to grasp. The German language is taught grammatically in this class, and, besides the geography and natural history of Bavaria, its history, the biography of its most distinguished men, arithmetic, mental and written, geometry, drawing, singing, and morals from the Bible. At this stage of progress, it is quite apparent that the branches require a different mode of instruction, that they must be separated, and the progress of each regulated according to the adaptation of the mind of the pupil to its reception, and not according to any extraneous theoretical circumstances.

The two highest classes being joined under a teacher who pursued altogether the old method of instruction, I had no opportunity to put to the test the judgment formed in the lower class, which I have just expressed. Social or political circumstances do not afford, I am satisfied, a just method of arranging the details of instruction, though a knowledge of them should doubtless form a part of education. The reasons why the arrangement of Graser produces satisfactory results in the lower classes are, first, that elementary instruction does not require a systematic division of its subjects, in order to apply them to cultivating the intellect or morals, or for communicating knowledge: and second, that the subjects are within the pale of the child's experience, and refer to his every day wants and perceptions. Just the reverse, however, is the case in the higher divisions, and hence a different method becomes absolutely necessary.* Still the leading idea of the system, that to develop the intellectual, moral, and physical faculties of man is not sufficient, but that he must be educated in reference to the life in which he is to take a part, strikes with the force of truth, independently of the details which may be devised to carry it into effect.

The institutions which Dr. Graser considers necessary to give the entire public instruction of a nation are:

POPULAR SCHOOLS.	SCHOOLS FOR HIGHER INSTRUCTION.
1. The elementary school.	1. The elementary school.
2. The real school, ("real gymnasium.")	2. The gymnasium.
3. The real institute, ("real university.")	3. The university.

The character of the instruction appropriate to these establishments may, according to his views, be thus expressed. In the elementary school, it should be popular and inductive; in the real school, practical and scientific; and in the university, scientific and practical, or applying science to practice.

* This view is also taken by Dr. Kröger, whose experience and skill as a teacher I have already so often referred to. See his journey through Germany. (Reise durch Deutschland, &c., pp. 132, 133.)

XIII. METHODS OF TEACHING LATIN.

[Translated, for the American Journal of Education, from the German of Karl von Raumer.]

I. CHANGES WITHIN THE LAST THREE HUNDRED YEARS.

THE purpose of learning Latin having itself become very different in the course of time, the methods naturally change accordingly; as new roads are taken to new destinations.

After the revival of classical learning, there was an effort to denationalize the young, and to train them into complete Romans. How this was sought to be done in the schools, is shown by the course of Sturm's Gymnasium, at Strasburg. After the peace of Westphalia, this ideal of education was very much altered by the introduction of new elements. It was the knowledge and understanding of the Roman classics which gradually came to be sought, instead of the facility of the ancient Roman in writing and speaking Latin. How the methods of teaching Latin changed in a corresponding manner, we have already stated under the definition of the term grammar. Melancthon's definition was, "*Grammatica est certa loquendi et scribendi ratio.*" With this agreed the authors of the "*Grammatica Marchica,*" which appeared in 1728. They say "*Grammatica* is the art of speaking and writing correctly." Almost one hundred years later, Otto Schulz gave the following definition: "Latin grammar is an introduction to the knowledge of the Latin language. It shows how the laws of speech are developed in one special language, the Latin." Kühner says, "Grammar is an introduction to the correct knowledge of a language, as forms of words, and of speaking." These definitions, I think, show how there has been a progress from the practical study of Latin, as an art of speaking and writing, to the theoretical, aiming at a real knowledge and understanding of it.

II. THE OPPONENTS OF THE OLD GRAMMATICAL METHODS.

In Sturm's school, speaking, reading, and writing of Latin went hand in hand, even from the lowest classes. Most teachers in the sixteenth century, and later, must have used an exceedingly hard and unintelligible mode of teaching the grammatical portions of Latin; as the complaints of distinguished men in relation to the schools testify. We give a few of them.

The theologian Lubinus, in 1614, published a New Testament in

several languages; and in his preface contended strenuously against the usual method of teaching languages.

"It seems," he says, "as if a method had been worked out with all imaginable pains, by which teachers and scholars, alike, were to teach and to acquire the knowledge of the Latin language, only by immense labor, great weariness, infinite misery, and by the expenditure of a very long time." Some one of a low order of intellect, he continues, may have introduced this method in the time of monkery; and he sketches the consequences as follows:—"Nothing is taught except Germanisms, solecisms, barbarisms, disgrace. * * What is this sort of grammatical instruction in schools, but the delay of learning; the destruction of the years of childhood and of youth; a butchery of liberal minds; and the best portion of youth spent, even to the twentieth year." He speaks further of the useless and abominable grammatical rules (*Regelchen*,) which after a short time became altogether impracticable. The unnatural method of beating the grammar into the pupils, had the effect of making them hate both parents and teachers, and of making the teachers cruel. School instruction by rules and precepts is always contrary to nature.*

In like manner, the eminent Gerhard Vossius opposed the usual grammatical instruction. He says, "I see with pleasure that a method of learning Latin has been found, different from the common one. I consider the great mass of rules and exceptions, with which the minds of boys are at present overwhelmed, not only unnecessary, but excessively injurious. And I wish that this were its only fault. For those who set to work to learn every thing thoroughly, accumulate a great mass of false rules, and, in spite of the vast piles of comments and commentaries, never touch many of the first importance." In his work "*De studiorum ratione*," Vossius writes, "The boy should soon learn the rules of grammar; which are so few that they may be included in twenty pages. Many rules of a plainly philosophical character are commonly stuffed into grammars, quite unintelligible to the young. This is absolute butchery. Not that these things are not at some time to be learned; but they should be deferred until the nature and causes of language itself can be understood."†

Justus Lipsius complains that, from his eighth to his thirteenth year, his progress in learning was delayed by "grammatical trifles."

* "There are," says Lubinus, "in the compendiums of grammar in common use among us, one hundred and eighty technics and more; and, in syntax, seventy and more rules, with so many exceptions, mostly very obscure, that they could scarcely be learned by a man of adult age, advanced in judgment and learning."

† "The writings of Vossius," says F. A. Wolf, "are very valuable; in comparison with them, all those of the later grammarians are insignificant."

No less earnest is Johann Matthias Gesner, in his preface to the Grammar of Cellarius, against the unreasonable method of studying grammar. "There are a thousand miserable examples," he says, "of the unfortunate fact that the unintelligent study of grammar has had no result whatever, except to kindle an inextinguishable hatred to all study, hopelessly to perplex the mind, and to make it unfit for other business." It would be inexcusable to permit such a state of things to continue.

Let us now listen to one of the most distinguished complainers of modern times, in the same direction; to a very eminent educator, Meierotto:*—"Let any one imagine himself a boy, forced to learn ten or twenty paradigms of declensions, and as many of verbs; who must make himself master of the rules for their formation and inflection, of their analogies and anomalies, and of so many exceptions to rules themselves scarcely understood; in short, of all the peculiarities and contradictions of the whole language. This is little pleasure for him; to be obliged at once to learn what is wearisome by its uniformity, and what is scarcely endurable for its contradictions. And he must learn it all by himself, and in silence; which incredibly increases the difficulties of the undertaking. Let me not be answered, this has always been done; that so many boys every year are not only doing it, but emulating each other in it.

"I know very well that a great fear of punishment, or steady application, will accomplish much with the common run of people; that a better stimulus is exerted by the teacher, who has the rare faculty of making even this method enlivening; or even by emulation; in short, that one or another external influence may force boys to apply themselves steadily and diligently to the business. I also know that the boys do not perceive the fact, and of course do not feel distressed about it, that, except the memory of forms, they must give up all other intellectual activity. And how seldom can the schools show a boy, after half a year's study, who shows as much pleasure in his learning as boys naturally show. How commonly has it been observed, on the contrary, that, even for the smartest boys, the Latin recitations are hours of martyrdom!"†

Many more complaints might be quoted against the caricaturist methods by which grammar has been taught, but we have given

* Joh. Heinrich Meierotto, "*Latin Grammar in Examples*, (*Lateinische Grammatik in Beispielen*;") Berlin, Fr. Nicolai, 1785; second part, p. 10, &c. We shall see, further on, how Meierotto would cure the evil of which he complains.

† Let not these opinions of Meierotto, Gesner, &c., be misunderstood; they are directed, not against the use, but the abuse of grammar. For Melancthon's very forcible expressions against those who undervalue grammar, see "*History of Pedagogy*," Vol., I., p. 198.

enough of them. We proceed to the methods which are recommended in their stead.

III. NEW METHODS.

A. *To learn Latin as the native language is learned.*

Some have set out to pursue the same method by which they have learned their native language; that is, the practice of speaking. The example of Montaigne has been appealed to, whose father gave him a private teacher, who was to speak Latin and nothing else, even from his very earliest years. Such arrangements were also made, that all those with whom the boy came into contact should speak only Latin. "Without art and without a book," says Montaigne, "without grammar or rule, without whip or tears, I learned to understand Latin as well as my teacher understood it." In his seventh year he read nothing with more pleasure than Ovid's "*Metamorphoses;*" in fact, Latin was his native language.

Locke prescribed the same way of learning French. But he adds, it is practicable to employ a French woman for one's children, but not an ancient Roman woman; and he therefore recommended another method for learning Latin.

The strange experiment which was tried with the boy Montaigne might succeed with a few fathers, but would hardly bear repetition. It has been proposed for masses of children. Lubinus suggested a plan of a *cœnobium*, where all the teachers, masters, servants, and assistants, and even the cooks and butlers, should use no language but pure Roman Latin. In this institution the youths who were staying there were to learn the language as they formerly did at Rome, only by habit, conversation, and use.

Maupertuis afterward proposed to found a Latin colony. It is hardly necessary to waste a word upon the impracticableness of such a proposal. Gerhard Vossius wished for a nation that spoke Latin. Then we should have, he says, the very best way of learning Latin. But, he continues, since people at present give one very little credit for being able to write good Latin, and still less for being able to speak it well, and, as usually, only those who are somewhat advanced can give any assistance about it, and beginners are rather troublesome, there seems to be no other way to improve our Latin, than to read the ancients and to imitate them.

J. M. Gesner, like Vossius, prefers speaking Latin to all other ways of teaching its grammar. Speech, he says, (preface to Cellarius' Grammar,) is earlier than grammar; and therefore it is easier to learn a language by use and practice, without grammar, than by grammar

alone, without use and practice. This last is impossible. But, like Vossius, and for the same reason, namely, necessity, Gesner declines advising to teach Latin practically in that manner. He says that all the instruction in higher and lower schools should be given in German.* We have already seen that, in his zeal for pure Latinity, he declares himself strongly against barbaric Latin, and in favor of German lectures.

"It is a fact," he says, "that polished men, who know Latin, are indifferent to the German language, and recommend it to be taught afterward. The semi-barbarians, on the other hand, contend for the Latin only."†

Although Wölke and Trapp, the teachers of the Philanthropinum, were in favor of teaching Latin by speaking, their opinion is not worth much attention.‡

If F. A. Wolf is right in saying that of one hundred gymnasium teachers scarcely six can speak Latin, his opinion is clear upon the method by speaking. "*Ultra posse nemo obligatur.*"

B. *Latin and real studies taught together. Comenius.*

Comenius was in favor of teaching Latin and real studies together. His "*Janua*" and "*Orbis Pictus*" are composed upon this principle. Both school-books are much praised by some, and much dispraised by others. Among those who approve of them is one high authority, J. M. Gesner. He says: "At the beginning, scholars should learn from books which, at the same time, will increase their knowledge of things, such as are those of Comenius for younger scholars. For this reason, I very much like his books, especially the '*Orbis Pictus;*' not because they are the best possible, but because they are the best we have."

In the "*Orbis Pictus*" the boys easily learn many words by the pictures attached to each. For instance, at the words *torrens*, *stagnum*, *mare*, there are pictures of a waterfall, of a pond, and of the sea.

Only, the "*Orbis Pictus*" should not contain so many things of late date, and pertaining to modern arts and sciences, as, for instance, to printing. Comenius included all manner of things; the world of speech, according to him, being equal in extent to the world of things, and desiring to leave as few omissions as possible.

* Gesner's opinion that boys should learn short sentences in Latin, is, of course, not inconsistent with this.

† Semi-barbarians; the Jesuits, for example.

‡ At least not that of the realist Wölke. For if he said, at an examination, as Schummel says he did, "*Imitate sartorem*," this is enough against his method by speaking. See "*History of Pedagogy*," 2. 240, where, however, supposing an error in writing or of the press, I have substituted *Imitamini*.

If this motive had not prevailed with Comenius, if he had confined himself to the world of the Latin classics, and had omitted every thing of which the Romans did not know, his "*Orbis Pictus*" would have been, at least, twice as small and twice as useful. In the seventeenth century several gymnasiums adopted the "*Orbis Pictus*" as a school-book, but its use did not last long. In private instruction, it may perhaps be more valuable, especially if the boys should find pleasure in taking it up themselves. Else, it must be considered only an auxiliary, and not as an efficient elementary school-book.

C. *Combination of methods A and B.*

Some have advised to combine, as far as possible, the two methods above described.

Thus, the native language is sometimes taught by showing the pupil distinct things, and at the same time naming them to him; as by showing him, for instance, a watch, and pronouncing the word watch. Instead of reading the "*Orbis Pictus*," Latin names of things are to be given orally, and perhaps a few phrases made at the same time.

D. *Ratich's and similar methods.*

(a. Ratich.)

Ratich and his school of teachers approach the teaching of Latin from a different point of view. Instruction, says Ratich, should not begin with grammar, but with the reading of some author, from whom grammar must gradually be developed. Ratich's model author was Terence, who was to be gone through with nine times, and more; the teacher first making an interlinear translation, the scholar translating it back again. Afterward came the instruction in grammar from the author chosen, then imitation, &c.

(b. Locke.)

Locke advises to begin in the same way. He directs to commence with the fables of Æsop, to use an interlinear version, to read repeatedly one fable after another, and to cause it to be written, until the scholar understands it thoroughly. Since the rules of grammar are derived from those of speech, and not the latter from the former, those rules are not to be taught until the scholar has attained a certain degree of facility in the understanding of the language.

(c. Hamilton.)

At a later period an Englishman, Hamilton,* invented a method similar to that of Ratich, which had much success. The means

* Hamilton can not have known Ratich's works; can he Locke's?

by which he fell upon this method are too characteristic to be here omitted. Hamilton was a merchant. In 1798 he went from England to Hamburg, and there learned German from a French emigrant, named Angely, under the condition that his teacher should not trouble him with the grammar, as his head was too full of other things. Angely began by translating a German anecdote into English, word for word, and making Hamilton translate it back again. After twelve lessons he found himself able to read in an easy German book; and afterward, at Leipzig, he proceeded further in the language by reading and speaking. "This," says Hamilton himself, "is the origin of the Hamiltonian system; but I had as little idea of ever teaching it, as I now have of flying."

He was afterward unfortunate in business, and went to North America. In 1815 he went to New York, and began to give lessons in French, after Angely's method, at a high rate—$24 for twenty-four lessons. He taught with increasing reputation in Philadelphia, Baltimore, and other American cities. In 1823 he returned to England, and, rather quackishly, advertised "to teach Greek, Latin, French, Italian, and German, in a few weeks, to those entirely ignorant of them." In eighteen months he had six hundred scholars, and taught in several English, Scotch, and Irish cities. He died at Dublin, in 1831.

These few points in Hamilton's life, and the way which he made his appearance as teacher, and even inventor of a new method, can not make a very favorable impression regarding it, upon men of solid learning and thorough educators. He seems to have undertaken only to give his scholars, in the shortest time possible, a superficial knowledge and tolerable facility in speaking and reading a language. To grammar, and to the value of instruction in language as a means of intellectual training, he appears to have paid but little attention. His method seems to be well adapted to instruct traveling agents, rich people who travel for pleasure, and such persons, for roving about in foreign lands.

Still we must not be in haste to condemn. Let us first examine Hamilton's own method of teaching, and then observe how it was modified by others, especially Germans. Hamilton began his instruction in Latin with a Latin book, usually the Latin version of the gospel of St. John, with an interlinear translation. This translation must agree with the original in gender, number, and case, of nouns and adjectives; in mode, tense, and person, of verbs; and in idiom; peculiarities of the German or any other native language being entirely neglected.

In translating each single word of the original, he came upon the question whether this interlinear version is to give the meaning of the word in that connection, or the radical meaning, as far as it could be ascertained. The German Hamiltonians, says Pfau, give the first etymological, or primary meaning; for example, προσωπεῖον, fore-face instead of mask; for γεωργὸς, earth-worker instead of farmer. Hamilton himself says, "In Philadelphia I first advocated the doctrine that words in all languages, with few exceptions, have only one meaning, (the proper or radical meaning,) and should always be translated by that equivalent which will come nearest to supplying its place at all times and in all circumstances." In another place he says, "Translations must be analytical, that is, word for word; and must give, not a derived and remote meaning, but the radical and proper meaning of each word."

Ratich and his followers had already declared themselves in favor of translating words by their principal etymological meaning.* "The translation," says a Ratichian, "must be most strictly conformed to the letter of the radical meaning, as far as possible; although it may not correspond to the sense in that place."

In the beginning of the Andria of Terence, for instance, where he says "*Poeta cum primum animum ad scribendum adpulit,*" the interlinear version gives, for *adpulit*, "had impelled toward." And still, in agreement with Hamilton, he says, further, "Nor must this translation vary; but each word, as often as it occurs in the whole book, must be translated by the same equivalent."

As an example of the interlinear version, we give the following, from John.

Initio omnium rerum fuit Verbum, Verbum
(*In the*) *beyinning of all things was* (*the*) *Word*, (*the*) *Word*
apud Deum fuit; Deus fuit Verbum. Illud igitur verbum
with God was God was (*the*) *Word. That therefore word*
initio fuit apud Deum. Omnia ejus
(*in the*) *beginning was with God. All* (*things*) *of him* (*by the*)
ope creata sunt. In ipso erat vita, quæ vita hominibus
help created were. In him was life, which life (*for*) *men* (*of*)
lucis fons exstitit. Lucebat lux inter tenebras, quæ
light fountain existed. Shone (*the*) *light in* (*the*) *darkness, which*
eam non comprehenderunt.
it not comprehended.

From French he translates as follows:—

* Pfau observes that Hamilton's translations did not entirely carry out his principle.

C'était en elle qu' était la vie, et la vie était la lumière des
It was in it that was the life, and the life was the light of
hommes. Et la lumière luit dans les tenèbres, et les tenèbres
men. And this light shone in the darkness, and the darkness
ne l' ont point reçue.
not it have point received.

We add a specimen of Tafel's interlinear version of John, 18: 25, 27.

Pierre était là et se chauffait; et ils lui
Peter was there and himself was warming; and they to him
disent: n' es-tu pas aussi de ses disciples? Il le nia et
said: not art thou step also of his disciples? He it denied and
dit: Je n' en suis point. Et l'un des serviteurs du
said: I not of it am point. And the one of the servants of the
pontife, parent de celui à qui Pierre avait coupé l'
high-priest, relative of that one to whom Peter had cut off the
oreille, lui dit: Ne t' ai-je pas vu en le jardin avec
ear, to him said: Not thee have I step seen in the garden with
lui? Pierre le nia encore une fois; et aussitôt le coq
him? Peter it denied again one time; and immediately the cock
chanta.
crew.

Before proceeding to the controversy to which the school-books of Hamilton and the Hamiltonians gave rise, we will examine the methods which were practiced, along with these books, by the master and his scholars.

Hamilton himself first translated, word for word, from the gospel of John in French into English, for his scholars, and made them translate back again. This was the turning of the first course; in the two following courses he used other books, in the same way. In the third course he introduced grammar, and commonly made them recite the regular rules, and a dozen or so of the irregular ones, in rhyme. Afterward they translated the gospel of John, orally and by writing, into correct French. After six or eight such exercises, they were commonly to make no more mistakes. "Thus," says Hamilton, "the pupil is to proceed to translate the whole New Testament, until he can do it without the aid of the teacher. Then comes a daily exercise in French; a friendly or business letter, or a narrative, until the style is free from Anglicisms; whose avoidance is very difficult, and which must be gradually cured by industrious practice." He states

thus the object at which his French scholars aimed: "They read French as easily as English; can write, correctly and easily, a letter of business or friendship in French; and can speak correctly, if not with facility."

This statement of the object of the Hamiltonian instruction in French shows that his whole aim was to train his scholars, by the shortest and easiest way, to a point of ability to speak and write French, which very many wish to reach and to go no further. He taught only adults, probably mostly merchants; who found Hamilton, a practical merchant, precisely the man for them. But how was it with his instruction in Latin, for which language there is no practical use? He read and translated the gospel of John in Latin, in the same way, giving three lessons to the first chapter. At the fourth lesson, from fifty to seventy verses had been translated. "At the tenth lesson," says Hamilton, "it will be found that the class can, without trouble, translate the whole of the gospel of John. For the next two steps, which also occupied ten lessons, they read an *Epitome Historiæ Sacræ*. With this, some of the forms of the language were taught; a grammar which he had had printed being put into the hands of the scholars; not, however, for learning by rote, which he entirely forbid. In this respect he fully agreed with the principle of Ratich, "nothing is to be learned by rote."*

At the third step comes syntax, and the reading of Nepos; at the fourth, Cæsar; and, at the fifth and sixth, Virgil and Horace: all these others, except the last, being read with an interlinear translation.

"Five or six months," says Hamilton, "of continued attention by the scholar and the teacher, will be found sufficient to secure the former a knowledge of Latin which would heretofore seldom have been attained in as many years. Having come so far," he continued, "the scholar may now practice writing Latin, in a course of ten lessons, from which he will now derive more advantage than by writing over whole reams of paper on the old plan in our schools."

Hamilton printed, with interlinear translations, the gospel of John, *Epitome Historiæ Sacræ*, Æsop's Fables, Eutropius, Aurelianus Victor, Phædrus, Nepos, Cæsar, two volumes of selections from profane authors, Sallust, Ovid's "*Metamorphoses*," and six books of the Æneid. After an examination of some of his scholars of from ten to thirteen years old, he writes, "Had I then been supplied with translations, as at a

* In the Praxis Ratichianorum it is said. "Prove your pupils, whether they are ready in the conjugations and declensions; but let it all be done from the book, and not by the memory; nor let the scholar be permitted to recite the inflections from memory." Basedow also writes "with us there is very little memorizing."

later period," (with interlinear ones, that is,) "they must, during the six months over which their course extended," (in Latin,) "have gone through the whole thirteen volumes" (those above named) "which I afterward published."

How many remarkable things are there here, aside from the silly bragging, which show ignorance of language and bungling in teaching! Of the gospel of John, which he selected for a first book, with its interlinear translations, we shall speak further on. After this follows the Epitome, then Nepos, Cæsar, Virgil, Horace: John the beginning, and Horace the end, of his course! In six months the scholars shall learn as much in this way as usually in six years on the common plan. If then he will buy ten lessons more, this will carry him to as great facility in reading Latin, as years would do "on the old plan in our schools." He even engages to carry children of from ten to thirteen years old, in six months, through thirteen volumes of Latin authors, so that they shall understand them. This reminds one of Basedow's bragging. Indeed Hamilton exceeds Basedow; perhaps because he had not, like him, studied, and therefore did not know what he was doing. The German Hamiltonians were mostly educated men; and it was therefore to be expected that, like practical and prudent men, they would avoid the follies of their master and predecessor. A few made some improvements; others, on the other hand, have increased the evil.

Tafel,* like Hamilton, makes an interlinear translation of the gospel of St. John the basis of all his instruction. This contradicts that maxim of the natural philosophers—*Fiat experimentum in re vili.* Strict men, like Klumpp, Schmid, Strebel, &c., saw in this a disrespect to the gospel, on account of the distorted interlinear versions, of which I gave a specimen. This was liable to make too deep an impression upon scholars, and to become a serious hindrance to their future devout perusal of the books. It is not very clear, however, why pious men, and even these very ones, advocate the use of the Greek Testament as a school-book.

The fundamental idea of the Hamiltonian system, according to Schmid,† is this: "The teacher of the foreign language must first, as to the material, introduce the scholar to the language as to a living one, and one containing thoughts; and must likewise give him complete expressions and sentences. Second, as to the form or method of

* The methods of Hamilton and Jacotot, (*Die Sprachmethoden Hamilton's und Jacotot's,*) by Dr. L. Tafel. German quarterly, (*Deutschen Vierteljahrsschrift.*) 1838, 3d part, p. 179.

† Jahn's Annual (*Jahrbuch,*) 1839, XXV., p. 406, Klumpp's edition. Strebel; "*The Educational Institution at Stetten*" (*Die Erziehungsanstalt zu Stetten,*) p. 48.

his instruction, he must furnish him, as far as possible, with an independent knowledge of the laws of the foreign language."

We shall first consider the material—the complete expressions and sentences which are laid before the beginner in a foreign language. The "Mene, Mene, Tekel, Upharsin," which was written on the wall, was a sentence which Belshazzar did not understand; Daniel was obliged to translate the unknown and enigmatic words. To the German beginner, Latin words are precisely as unintelligible as those words; and it is therefore quite indifferent to him whether the sentences are connected together or separate.

Herr Director Meiring expresses himself very forcibly on this point against the Hamiltonians.* "If words have character and meaning only in sentences, so have sentences character and meaning only in parts of the organization of a whole work, chapter, &c.; and, therefore, neither should they be taught separately to the scholar. But, besides this," continues Meiring, "it is only in the case of the native language that instruction can proceed analytically, from the whole to the parts. It is not so with Latin. In the case of Latin we have, instead of immediateness, continual indirectness; instead of the analytical proceeding, from the whole to the parts, a synthetical one, from the most separate parts to the whole. The scholar finds himself in the presence of a language entirely strange to him. How is he to get at the meaning even of the simplest sentence—to reproduce in his own mind the thoughts expressed in it? Had he within his own sphere of thought the suitable forms for the foreign sentence, the use of them would be tolerably simple; he would exchange the one for the other, and arrive at a whole. But he has no such forms, or he has them very rarely; and even Hamiltonism itself, which seeks to supply them by means of distorting the native tongue, fails of its object. The beginner must also obtain an understanding of the characteristics of the sentence; he must have the lexicographic meaning of the words, and their grammatical form. Word for word must be explained, before the scholar is ready to put the single words into a sentence, and then make them intelligible in his own language. What similarity is there here," continues Meiring, "with the organized and animated delivery of a native language? Whatever may be the dreams of the inventors of certain modern methods for language, immediateness and life of expression in Latin can only be aimed at in a higher grade of instruction."

Thus far this intelligent educationist. He here suggests a subject

* On the learning of vocables in Latin instruction (*Über das Vokabelnlernen im Lateinischen Unterricht,*) 1842. In the programme of the Gymnasium in Düren.

which has been ably discussed by Professor Schwarz, of Ulm. The question is, can the foreign text in this manner be truly rendered into the native language? Is the text a formless mass, upon which any stamp will make a correct impression? By no means. German has a form of its own, as well as Latin; and, therefore, the German interlinear version, instead of being a true representation of the Latin original, is much more like the impression of one seal stamped over another, where the two are confounded in one distorted image. Schwarz says that this is attempting to teach the scholars a foreign language by means of one made foreign; an unknown one by means of one made unintelligible; Latin by Latinized—or barbarized—German; in short, the unknown by the unknown.

Tafel explains that "one of the chief advantages of the new method is, that it teaches the meanings of words, not isolatedly, but in connection—in whole sentences and periods." In another place he says, "The Hamiltonian method has an advantage by its use of the laws of the association of ideas, so little regarded in the usual teaching; and produces the good result that on the one hand it furnishes the scholar with a store of words in complete sentences, and on the other it gives him the radical meanings of words; that it presents the language taught, not only as to its words, their inflections, relations, and places in sentences and periods, but exhibits them thoroughly, with all their idiomatic peculiarities in the mother tongue; so that the scholar obtains a complete picture of the foreign idiom. This principle of translating words by their radical meanings is of the utmost importance in the study of language, and has until lately never been sufficiently regarded. It is by means of this principle that the first real progress is to be made in the actual thorough knowledge of foreign tongues."

We have seen that a Latin sentence is first presented to the beginner wholly unintelligible; and that it becomes gradually understood by him, only by the lexicographic and grammatical explanation of single words; and also that the interlinear version neither does nor can give a true picture—a fac-simile—of the Latin or other original.

Upon a close examination of the above quotation from Tafel, it will be seen to contain a flat contradiction in terms. He praises the method because (with the help of the interlinear version) it gives the scholar, not the significations of isolated words, but their meaning in their connection—in whole sentences; and at the same time because its translation furnishes only the radical meanings of words. It claims on the one hand to explain to the pupil the meaning of each word as to its situation and force within the period or sentence, instead of giving it isolatedly; and on the other hand that, notwithstanding this,

each Latin word, let it occur in what sentence it will, is always translated by one and the same radical meaning. But how seldom is the radical meaning of the majority of words used; in how many is it modified or entirely out of sight; in how many is there a long history of the developments between its radical meaning and that used in the sentence under consideration! Examine now the interlinear translation above given from Tafel. Where he translates *Ne t'ai-je pas vu*, by *Not thee have I* STEP *seen*, and *Je n'en suis point*, by *I not of it am* POINT, the scholar will make no sentence whatever out of that translation, because a sentence must have some meaning, whether it has any thing else or not. This not existing in the case quoted, the scholar can not from the meaning of the sentence learn the meaning of the words *pas* and *point*. It is only by means of really advanced and learned study, such as he is not at this point capable of, that he could get at the relations of the particles *pas* and *point* with the words *passus* and *punctum*; he would not find it at all in the usual dictionaries and grammars. The truth is, that the radical meaning should only be given in the interlinear version, when that meaning belongs to the word in the particular place where it stands.

There is an antique statue which represents Achilles naked, and with his helmeted head thoughtfully inclined. What would be said of an artist who should set about covering the pedestal of the statue with bas-reliefs which should represent the hero in the most various situations—among the women, mourning in his tent, in combat with Hector—and every where should hold fast to the expression and costume of the statue? Would this not be preposterous and impossible? Precisely as preposterous is it, and as absurd, for a reasonable man to adhere to the radical meaning of words throughout the variations of different sentences.

A word, in conclusion, upon the manner in which the Hamiltonians deduce their knowledge of forms and of syntax from their elementary author. I exceedingly doubt whether, from the gospel of John, for example, a single complete paradigm could be made out, even of the most common words, and of those used themselves in constructing paradigms. What then is left to be done, except to supply the deficiencies by the help of some grammar? This is what happens in the Institute at Stetten, even within the first half-year; the paradigms are there very sufficiently practiced by the scholars. If the grammar is to be deduced exclusively from the author, it will be impossible to have it come in any scientific and methodical order. The most uncommon cases may appear immediately; and the most common ones may be slow in occurring. For example: Marx published, in 1822, an "Intro-

duction to Greek, with the beginning of the Odyssey," and in it he printed the first book of the Odyssey, with an interlinear translation. The third word of the book is ἔννεπε, of which Buttmann says, in his grammar, that it is "very anomalous," and therefore he refers, for a fuller examination of it, to his "*Lexilogus.*" In that work the beginner will find additional information about the third Greek word he set eyes on. *Sapienti sat!*

(d. Jacotot.)

Born at Dijon; educated in the polytechnic school at Paris. First an advocate, he was successively professor of humanities, captain of artillery, secretary to the ministry at war, substitute-director of the polytechnic school, professor of languages and mathematics at Paris, and finally, in 1818, professor of French language and literature at Louvain.

Here he wrote his work entitled "*Universal Instruction,*" (*Enseignement Universel.*)* Institutions were soon established at Brussels, Antwerp, Louvain, and other cities, where instruction was given on his plan. Controversies arose about it;† and Englishmen, Frenchmen, and Americans came to Louvain, to make themselves acquainted with it.

Jacotot died at Paris in 1840. He established two fundamental principles, which have been much attacked. The first is, "All men have a like degree of intelligence. There are no geniuses!" he asserted; "no blockheads; no such things as inborn knowledge or learning. Men differ only in will. A reasoning man can accomplish any thing for which he has sufficient will; and only the indolence of a man is to blame for his lack of acquirement."

It is needless to explain the falsity of this proposition. It is sufficiently clear that a teacher, who believes that his less capable scholars only lack good will to make them equal in efficiency to his best, will manage the former wrongly.

The second principle is, "Every thing is contained in each thing." Accordingly, the scholars can and must learn something or other, and refer every thing else to it. Agreeably to this principle, Jacotot required that in each department of study some basis should be laid of matter fixed in the memory, to which the scholar could trace back

* "*Universal Instruction; or Learning and Teaching after the Natural Method of Joseph Jacotot: translated by Krieger.*" ("*Universal Unterricht, oder Lernen und Lehren nach der Naturmethode von Joseph Jacotot, übersetzt von Krieger.*") Deux-Ponts, 1833. I am following principally "*J. Jacotot's Universal Instruction, presented from his own Writings and Exposition,*" (*J. Jacotot's Universal Unterricht, nach dessen Schriften und nach eigener Anschauung dargestellt.*) by Dr. Hoffman, Professor at Jena. Jena, 1835.

† Among his opponents were the "*Journal de Paris,*" the "*Gazette de France,*' and the "*Quotidienne.*"

every thing which he should acquire, at least in that especial study. This basis was to be continually gone over, continually treated anew, continually discussed over again with new comments, in order to its exhibition in all its relations and phases. And further, every thing newly learned was to be compared with what was learned before, so that it should appear how the old is comprehended in the new, and the new in the old.

Jacotot further lays it down, that "Every man is endowed by God with the power of instructing himself, and has no need of a teacher to explain things to him." This principle, according to which all teachers are useless, is even pushed further. An explaining teacher, says Jacotot, does harm, because he hinders the free development, in its own way, of the mind of the learner. It follows of course that he is the best teacher who does no explaining; in fact, who knows nothing whatever. Jacotot actually says, "No one understands the '*Universal Instruction*,' who does not consider himself fit to instruct his son in things which he does not understand himself." He cites his own experience in illustration: he taught Dutch and Russian before he understood them; and he taught music, which he did not then understand.

This reminds one of the old rhyme—

"Hans Voss heisst er,
Schelmstuck weiss er,
Was er nicht weiss, das will er lehren."

"Hans Fox his name is,
Roguery his game is;
And every game he don't know, he still will be teaching."

The inventive method is pushed by Jacotot to the extremest caricature. For instance: he sets before the beginner, who does not even know his letters, the printed sentence, "In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth, and the earth was without form and void." He reads these words to him, and then requires him to consider them carefully, and reflect upon them; that is, to see what like or similar things he sees amongst them. The pupil, he says, "will soon say that he recognizes as similar the n in 'In' and those in 'beginning;' the e in 'the,' 'beginning,' 'created,' &c. By suitable questions he will be brought to observe that these letters are every where sounded alike;* and by this sort of comparison, in this and other sentences, he will himself discover all the sounds, and then their names may gradually be taught him."

We pass to Jacotot's method of teaching a foreign language. In French, he adopts Telemachus as his elementary author; and in Latin,

* This is spoken of the European continental languages.—*Trans.*

an *Epitome Historiæ Sacræ*—apparently the same which Hamilton used—followed by Nepos, and then by Horace. These text-books contain, not an interlinear translation, like Hamilton's, but a marginal translation; so that the Jacototian scholar compares the translation, not word for word, but period for period. According to Hamilton's method, he learned the signification of single words, which must have appeared to him marvelously confused in arrangement, and often so altogether senseless that, even with the help of the teacher, he could not put them together into good German. Jacotot's scholars were set a task the reverse of this. Each period of the marginal translation is in good German; and the problem is, to select the Latin period which corresponds to it, and then to discover the Latin word corresponding to each German word within that period. This is called the "Heuristic," or "Inventive" method (*heuristische methode!*) Jacotot proceeds to explain that when the pupil can sufficiently well pick out the translated periods corresponding to those in the foreign language, then the teacher is to set him at work on the words; to select those that occur more than once within the same sentence, and then to get their meaning. For example: the teacher asks "What words are alike in the first sentence of Telemachus?" The scholar answers, *pouvait* and *pouvait;* and in "my own language the word *could* appears twice; so that *pouvait* must mean *could*." In a similar manner the scholar is gradually to guess out his knowledge of the forms of the language, from what he reads.

"Here, for example, are the words *creavit* and *vocavit*. The scholar observes that past time is expressed by the vernacular translation of each; upon comparison, he will perceive that this is indicated in each by the syllable *av;* and thus he has guessed the meaning of the syllable *av*."

How is the scholar, however, to get at these meanings, if no word or syllable is repeated? Is not this guessing a miserable and insufficient contrivance—a clumsy and childish game at blind-man's buff?

In French, as we said, Jacotot uses the *Telemaque* as an elementary text-book. "Those pupils who have committed to memory not more than the first three books, are to recite all that they have learned every day. Those who have finished the first course, or who know the first six books, are daily to repeat such a portion of them as that those six books shall all be repeated at least twice a week." In a closely printed octavo edition of Telemachus, the first three books occupy sixty-three pages; the first six, a hundred and nineteen.

In learning Latin, "The memorizing of the elementary text-book

is to proceed parallel with the translation of it, until the pupil has committed a quantity equal to the first six books of Telemachus."

What a frightfully mind-destroying martyrdom of memorizing! some reader exclaims. Not at all, answers Jacotot's adherent. "When a few pieces have been committed to memory in a foreign language," says Hoffman, "such is scarcely the case with the words, and not at all with the meaning, if the proper reflections have been made from time to time." But such reflections! Let us give an example (from Hoffman.) The teacher requires from the scholar the true meaning of the two words Wisdom and Virtue. "Both," answers the scholar, "signify the love of goodness, and abhorrence of vice." *Teacher.*—"Why is this?" *Scholar.*—"It seems so to me." *Teacher.*—"Bad. Why abhorrence of vice?" *Scholar.*—"Because he who does not abhor vice can not be virtuous." *Teacher.*—"You do not adhere to the method. What I am asking for is, what in your text-book—in the normal book, the Telemachus—has occasioned to you these observations? Where in that book have you found the words 'Wisdom' and 'Virtue' used with the meaning you are giving them? You are finding out and writing from memory, from inspiration, from genius. This will not do in the method. Take care; you are only dealing in a lottery, in that way. Where now have you read that nature is 'The victory over those passions which agitate the human mind?'" *Scholar.*—"Telemachus underwent the development of passion in the island of Cyprus." *Teacher.*—"Good. Why; which agitate?" *Scholar.*—"He was agitated, because Fenelon compares him to a hind which carries the arrow every where about with her." *Teacher.*—"Very well. But why the human mind?" *Scholar.*—"That is a common expression." *Teacher.*—"Prove it." *Scholar;* shows him the words so used in some place in the book. *Teacher.*—"Very well, indeed."

Thus what the scholar reads is repeated, imitated, varied; there is a continual practice of these reflections; of the most superficial and wearisome so-called drilling of the understanding, (*verstandes-ubungen.*) On Jacotot's principle that every thing is contained in each thing, every thing possible could be found in the Telemachus—or rather dragged into it.

Let us, however, leave the subject of these reflections, and turn our attention to the peculiarities of the system in its instruction in language. Jacotot's scholars, as we saw, learned great part of the *Epitome Historiæ Sacræ* by rote. "But," says Jacotot, "he not only knows it by heart, but also understands it, by the help of the translation which is put into his hands. One who knows the *Epitome* can speak Latin, whether well or ill, and has studied only two months.

He can not only speak it, but can understand what is said to him in it. Probably the *Epitome* contains the whole Latin language; and with the words found in it every thing can be said which can be thought. If one has mastered the *Epitome*, he knows Latin!!" It may be so, on the principle that "All is in each!"

We have seen that Jacotot's scholars were made, at the beginning, to guess the meanings and forms of words. These are further on to be required, in order that they may, as Hoffmann says, "*verify* the grammar; that is, investigate and determine the correctness of the rules given in the grammar. For this pupose," Hoffmann proceeds, "any grammar may be taken which contains the rules in sufficient detail. These are to be read through. The scholar already knows the actual cases to which they refer, and has now only to learn the grammarian's technology, in order to be master of such a clear and vivid view of the rules of grammar, as probably scarcely any good grammarian even at present has, unless his theory of language be under his special consideration. Still more, the scholar thus instructed, who has been accustomed and trained in separating the words into their syllables, and in comparing these according to their composition, will himself originate many shrewd remarks on the subject, and enforce them by reference to facts; and, what is most remarkable of all, he will sufficiently obey and follow these rules." Goethe says, somewhere, "May our posterity be enabled to complete what their predecessors have begun; or, to use the uncourteous phrase of some, to correct it." He did not like the use of the word "correct," even of posterity. What would he have thought of teachers who undertake, by their silly method, to render boys capable of correcting Buttmann, and Lachmann, of "verifying" their grammars, in short of surpassing them? Such instruction of boys in conceit is worse than silly; it is wicked.

Jacotot's commencing to teach Latin with the *Epitome Historiæ Sacræ*, and following that with Nepos, and then with Horace, and indeed his whole method of instruction in language, show that he was consistently true to his maxim, that one must be able to teach things which he does not himself understand.

The greatest wonder is, that any man, in view of this maxim, should have even begun to study Jacotot's system.*

* Hoffmann's book shows how with what monstrous ignorance and presumption Jacotot spoke of instruction at other times. He assures the scholar, for instance, that he can, by persevering industry, enable himself to compose a drama which shall be successful, and equal even to the very best. According to him, it is only the will that is wanting to become equal to Shakespeare. In history, says Jacotot, nothing new can be learned; nothing which can not be gathered from common life or the elementary text-book. In teaching arithmetic, he directs a short abridgement of arithmetic to be committed to memory, &c.

(e. Ruthardt.)

J. C. RUTHARDT, a private teacher in Breslau, first published, in 1839, a "*Proposal and plan for the outer and inner completion of a grammatical method for teaching the classical languages,*" (*Vorschlag und plan einer äussern und innern vervollständigung der grammatikalischen methode die klassischen sprachen zu lernen.*) In 1841, he published his larger work, "*Proposal and plan for the outer and inner completion of a grammatical method of teaching more particularly Latin prose,*" (*Vorschlag und Plan einer äussern und innern vervollständigung der grammatikalischen lehrmethode, zunachst für die Lateinische prosa.*

Upon Ruthardt's method there has appeared an "opinion," apparently by some Saxon educator. According to this "Ruthardt's method is Jacotot's, become sober; or come back to its senses."*

Pfau says, "How nearly related Ruthardt and Jacotot are, any one will observe upon reading the latter's preface to his book on '*Universal Instruction;*' where he says, among other things, 'Let your pupil learn one book; read it often yourself; and examine whether he understands what he learns. Make yourself certain that he can not forget it; and, lastly, instruct him how to refer every thing which he learns subsequently, to this book. That is universal instruction.'"

Ruthardt himself quotes Jacotot's saying, "Teach one book well, and derive every thing else from it." "I depart," he continues, "from the same point. But my road is very different from his."

Let us examine more closely the points of difference and agreement between Ruthardt and Jacotot. The former agrees with the latter in this, that he adopts an elementary text-book—the "*Loci Memoriales*"—and uses this in many respects, but not in all, as Jacotot uses his "*Telemachus,*" and other elementary books.

Prose matter, for teaching and learning, becomes, according to Ruthardt, "the mental property of the teacher and scholar, by continued attentive repetition, variation, separation, reconnection, &c.; and by 'applied use in connected lessons,' (*Verwendung bei verwandten Lectionen.*) It is to serve as the central point, to which are to be referred grammar, comprehensive reading, writing, and speaking." The chief value of Ruthardt's method, he himself ascribes to his "strict reference of all the departments of his instruction in language to a fixed and common central point." This sounds very much like Jacotot's "Learn one book well, and refer every thing to it."

Still, there is a fundamental distinction between him and Ruthardt, in that the former uses his normal book as the text-book, even for

* "*Votum in Sachen der Ruthardtschen methode . . . mit Rücksicht auf deren Einfuhrung in die sächsischen Gymnasien.*" *Leipzig: Barth.* 1841.

beginners, and Ruthardt not. Jacotot, like Ratich and Hamilton, believes that the first instruction in grammar should not be given to the beginner abstractedly from speech and writing; but that a book should be put into his hands, and he should be taught himself to abstract the grammar from it.

Not so Ruthardt. He disposes very briefly of the instructions of beginners, (the sixth class in the gymnasiums;) merely requiring that they should learn by rote the paradigms of declensions and conjugations, the rules of gender and case, except some which may be omitted, the more usual irregular verbs, and lastly some words in an etymological order. He gives no details as to the way in which this is to be done. But it is this very beginning which makes teachers the most trouble; and which has lately occasioned the publication of so many "proposals" and "methods." I agree with the opinion expressed by the author of the "*Votum*," on this point. He says, "The first and most difficult task in instruction in an ancient language is to give the scholar facility in the forms, and a knowledge of some few words; since all further progress depends on these attainments, and deficiency in the forms will bring its own punishment—late, perhaps, but certainly. Precisely in this most difficult part of instruction, where we would gladly have directions, and where a masterpiece of pedagogical art might well have been displayed, Ruthardt leaves us uninformed."

The same author finds further fault with Ruthardt, for giving too little attention to the lowest classes; two printed pages being what he esteems sufficient to bring out the most simplified relations of speech.

And what is required by Ruthardt, would not, he says, occupy so much time as one year. "The acquirement of the forms," continues the anonymous author, "and their exemplification in short sentences intelligible to children, must proceed together; and that is a remarkable school in which this could be sufficiently practiced in two years."

Ruthardt's normal book, the "*Loci Memoriales*," is first introduced in the fifth class, as a text-book for such scholars as have gained some knowledge of forms, and some acquaintance with words. All the extracts in the "*Loci*" are, with a few exceptions, taken from Cicero. "An arrangement according to grammatical categories," says Ruthardt, "is unnecessary, as the principles of grammar have already been taught in the lowest class." The "*Loci*" are to be committed to memory in the methodical order, the easiest for the lowest classes, and gradually increasing in extent and difficulty; and are to be explained, translated, and generally made use of more thoroughly and elaborately, in proportion to the progress of the scholar. The teachers, especially of the classes from the fifth to the first, are also themselves

to memorize the extracts, and to use them in reading as well as in oral and written drill.

Ruthardt's method, as is well known, has a great reputation in Prussia and Bavaria. This appears to be the consequence of the beginning of a reaction. Of late years, grammar has frequently been taught, even to beginners, in a most subtle and abstruse manner; the memory, on the other hand, being neglected. Ruthardt would oppose this tendency, and would reinstate the memory in its rights. He appears just as many teachers are becoming weary of the old superfine and barren grammar, and many of the school authorities of the increasing complaints about the small results of the study of language in the schools. He offers them assistance, and thus meets with great success. His "*Loci Memoriales*" are intended for the most various use, and to become an entirely new element in teaching language; a most important one, since they are to constitute a central point for them all; grammar, reading, speaking, and writing.

Various teachers have announced that passages from the classics were to be committed to memory in their schools; but Ruthardt rejects the matter and the manner of these former memorizings. His objection to the manner is, that it is not methodical. The custom has been, once for all to have the memorized matter recited, without coming back to it and impressing it indelibly on the memory by repetition. Still less has it been thought of to explain what has been so learned from all possible points of view, and to vary it in all ways. The matter he rejects, because merely the first suitable passages have been arbitrarily taken from the most various classical authors, without any definite object in the selection. He is especially opposed to committing poetical extracts; considering them suitable only for the very lowest elementary instruction. On this point, he quotes from Quinctilian:—"If I am asked what is the greatest art of memory, I answer, it is exercise, and labor. To memorize much, and think it over, if possible, daily, is a most efficient practice. (For this reason, as I have directed, boys ought to commit to memory as much as possible; and whatever be the assistance which their age affords in the undertaking, the first effort should be to get over the wearisomeness which attends the first practice of repeating matters so often, and and as it were chewing over again the same food. This will be most easily accomplished by beginning to commit short portions, and such as are not of an irksome kind) . . . and poetical matter in the first place, and next historical extracts, such as are freest from any rhythmical character, and also most different from ordinary speech; such as the productions of the lawyers."

Upon this extract Ruthardt remarks:—"The word *labor* can be

appropriate to the learning of poetical matter, only in case it is of so solid a character as to demand an unsuitable amount of intellectual labor for explaining it; and as little as the word *cogitare* be used of the learning and reciting it, since the rhythm helps the mind forward, and withdraws the attention from the words and the thoughts. But if by learning and reciting poetry the composition of it is meant, a much higher degree of abstraction is requisite for this than for prose; and the attainment of this sort of abstraction can not be accomplished, except by means of prose."

A careful examination of Quinctilian's words will show that he means precisely the opposite to Ruthardt's interpretation of him. The scholar must begin with learning poetry, says Quinctilian, and then proceed to orations, such as are least rhythmic in character; like those of the lawyers. That intelligent author saw that poetry, by reason of its beautiful form, and next to it the euphonious periods of the orators, would most easily impress themselves upon the memory of youth; for youth delights in poetry above all things. Among the most difficult styles to commit, however, according to him, is a prose with the least approach to rhythm; a prose in which not beauty and euphony of periods is sought, but only a sufficient precision of expression; like the prose of the jurists. Quinctilian benevolently proposed to lighten the labor of memorizing, by directing short lessons to be taken first, and such moreover as should not be uncongenial to the learner; poetry, therefore, first of all. This Ruthardt overlooks, and lays all the stress upon the two words *labor* and *cogitare;* in the use of which Quinctilian had reference not to the fifth classes of schools, but to students of rhetoric* who were soon to enter into active life as orators. When, therefore, Ruthardt opposes the memorizing and repeating of poetry, because there goes to it no *labor* and no *cogitare*—"since the rhythm helps forward the learner, and draws his attention off from the words and the thoughts"—it might very naturally be supposed that he recommended the selection of matter the least rhythmic for memorizing, from the apprehension that the beautiful and euphonious periods of the orator, with their "Freer music of prosaic numbers,"† just like the rhythm of the poet, would act unfavorably upon the thinking faculty, and by their beauty of form abstract the attention from thorough thinking.

But that this is not Ruthardt's meaning is evident, or why has he actually set forth a selection of beautiful prose extracts as material for learning? What he meant was only this: that poetical matter was not so well calculated as prosaic for judicious memorizing, for the

* These students of rhetoric, for whom especially Quinctilian was writing, had already completed their studies in grammar.

† An expression of Jacobs.

combination with it of mental drilling, and for developing grammatical principles out of it, &c.

He had, however, a much deeper reason besides for admitting no poetry into his "*Loci;*" for not only has he excluded the poets, but, for the higher classes, almost every prose writer except Cicero. Even Livy is prohibited. As early as the fifth and fourth classes, Cicero is the central point of the exercises in memorizing, a few other authors being resorted to in these classes from mere necessity, to illustrate points which Cicero does not reach.

But why Cicero, and nothing but Cicero? Ruthardt replies, that "Cicero alone is accounted the model of Latin style;" and he zealously opposes Mager, who would select from a variety of prose and poetic writers for his "*Loci Memoriales.*" If this is permitted, he says, the great object of having a fixed standard and central point for the study of language is given up; and the most important requisite for writing Latin is quite passed by.

The writing of Latin is the object, then, that is here steadily aimed at again, whether good or evil come of it. If Ruthardt's views prevail, we shall, without knowing it, be carried back again to the ideals, tendencies, and methods of the earlier Ciceronians and to Pogianus, whom we have quoted. They confined themselves wholly to the study of Cicero. "Since Cicero is evidently the greatest master of Latin eloquence and style," says Pogianus, "I have rejected all the other Latinists." Precisely like Ruthardt, he advises that you "commit to memory much out of Cicero; preparing, as it were, an extensive wardrobe, out of which you may select many splendid garments for varying and changing the clothing of your speeches."

Is it an entirely vain fear, that the time of that unhappy old caricaturing, which called itself Ciceronian, will be coming back upon us? Indeed, we may more reasonably ask, Have the old ghosts yet ever entirely left us? The following extract from a German gymnasium programme for 1841 may serve for a reply. Its author admits—for he can not help it—that the idea of a learned language is obsolete, and can not be revived. But yet he advocates, in the spirit of that idea, the drilling of all gymnasium pupils in a Ciceronian Latin style; maintaining that, "In general, only a standard author should be read in the schools whose style is suitable to be imitated; and any other author, Tacitus for example, should only be read for the purpose of comparison with the standard author, and for a short time; and with the definite purpose of giving lessons in changing his style into that of the writer of the golden age, who is used as the standard."

So far can the jack-o'-lantern of a false ideal lead a teacher astray, as to make him believe that a denaturalized, Latinized schoolboy can

be made capable of transmuting the massive, condensed, and thoughtful style of Tacitus into flowing Ciceronian Latin? That is, that he is able to do no less than to correct, like so many school exercises, the works of the greatest Roman historian! But the scholars must meddle with Tacitus only for a little while, lest a longer intercourse should injure their Ciceronian style!*

Does not Ruthardt's ideal coincide with that bove quoted, and that of so many other teachers? Cicero is the standard classic, his style the standard style, the measure for all others. Other classic authors wrote well only in proportion as their style approached his.

The highest aim of the scholar is to be, to write Ciceronian Latin. Let Cicero, therefore, be his daily guide and companion; let him learn him by heart: and let him always beware of all abnormal Latin; of the abnormal classics; of Tacitus.

If that is classical education, God keep us from it!

An able philologist† has forcibly opposed Ruthardt's exercises for memorizing, so far as they are meant to serve as an introduction to a Latin style. Matter thus committed, he says, be it ever so well explained and understood, "will never carry the scholar to any thing except a clumsy imitation." The scholar who "desires to express his own thoughts, will at once find himself left in the lurch; he will see that none of his thoughts correspond exactly with those of what he has learned. No sentence, which really has life and force in it, will reappear in his mind, entirely in the form in which he learned it.

Real facility in writing Latin, such as F. A. Wolf demands, is diametrically opposed to this clumsy imitation—to this false facility in mimicking Cicero. What is to be understood by this clumsy imitation, and what by real facility, has been shown in the most witty manner, in his "*Ciceronianus*," by Erasmus, a master in writing good Latin. "There is a silly endeavor," he says, "to write in a foreign spirit; to make Cicero's spirit appear to the reader in our works. What is really needed is, that you think over in various lights what you have read, and by meditation upon it introduce it rather into the very veins of your mind than into the memory, or an index; so that your mind, nourished with all manner of intellectual food, will itself furnish a style which shall not smack of this and the other blossom, or twig, or grass-leaf, but of the very essence and character of your own soul; so that the reader may see in your writing, not a patchwork of fragments of Cicero, but the impress of a mind full of knowl-

* A like apprehension deters theological students from reading Augustin and Tertullian. Something unclassical or barbarous will unawares stick to them, and come out in their Latin examination exercises.

† "*Examination of Ruthardt's Plans*," (*Beleuchtung des Ruthardtschen Plans.*) by Dr. C. Peter, gymnasium director 1843.

edge of all kinds. Bees gather the materials for their honey, not from one bush; but, with wonderful industry, they fly about amongst flowers and plants of all kinds. They gather in, moreover, not ready-made honey; but they prepare it themselves in their mouths, and bowels; produce it themselves; and men taste in it nothing of the taste and smell of the single blossom which supplied it."

Is the chief object of Ruthardt, and of his followers, in being so strenuous about memorizing, and about extracts exclusively from Cicero, entirely distinct from the false ideal of those Ciceronians whom Erasmus attacks so keenly in his "*Ciceronianus*," giving at the same time so correct an ideal of training in style? It is not Cicero alone that you must read, he says; the bees fly about to blossoms and shrubs of all kinds. And you must not lodge classical quotations in your memory, like undigested food; but must infuse them into the mental circulation. You must not present to the reader a patchwork of memorized Ciceronianisms, of phrases varied here and there; but your mind, nourished and strengthened by the healthy assimilation of classical works, should appear in its own original character in your writings, without reminding us, directly, of any books whatever. So says Erasmus.

Politian agrees with him entirely. He compares, as we have seen, the imitators to parrots and magpies, who speak words they do not understand. What they write, he says, is untrue; without substance or efficacy; having no power or vitality. He advises to study much and long in Cicero, and in many other good authors. "When the student has mastered these, and gathered together a treasure of knowledge within himself, he will produce independently, without any strict reference to Cicero. One who runs, and insists on treading precisely in the footsteps of his predecessor, can not run well; and he can not write well, who does not dare to vary from a copy. In short, it shows a barren brain, to produce nothing, but only imitate."

Erasmus would side with Director Peter against Ruthardt's method, as calculated to produce nothing but clumsy imitation; not so much to educate, as merely to drill. He would shake his head at Ruthardt's claim, that by his method the scholar would learn to think in Latin. "My great teacher, Rudolph Agricola," he would say, "who surpassed all others this side the Alps in learning, who was the first of Latinists, said that the way to write Latin was, to think and write carefully in the native language, and then only to translate into Latin." Has classical education in the nineteenth century progressed so far that its pupils can surpass Agricola, and without more ado think in Latin?

Who will venture to answer, "Yes; our scholars have arrived at the point where their thoughts arise in their minds, originally embod-

ied, born, in Latin words?" Let none deceive themselves on this point. Their furthest attainment is only this: to have stored away in their memory a mass of Latin phrases, ready at their command, without its being necessary for them first to translate them from German into Latin. But is this thinking in Latin? If a beginner in French has learned the phrase *Comment vous portez-vous?* and takes the first opportunity to use it without first translating it from *How do you do?* is he to have the credit of thinking in French?

There is an unfortunate reaction to be apprehended from drilling youth to write and to speak phrase-Latin; a reaction upon their German style. On the other hand, the classical study recommended by Erasmus, in the above quotation from him, for acquiring a pure Latin style, will have an influence even more strongly favorable upon the vernacular style; and in it the search after Latin words and phrases, to be collected together into a lifeless and mannered Latin composition, is omitted. The right study of the classics improves the man; and therefore it improves his German style.

That Ruthardt's method of studying Latin does not favorably influence the German style, might very well be gathered from the German which he writes himself. Even for an approving reader it is no light task to read through Ruthardt's larger work.

Voices have already been raised in favor of treating the German classics on Ruthardt's plan; to select out some materials for instruction in German, to be used like the "*Loci Memoriales.*" Professor Reuter, for instance, says, "Is it not true that Schiller's "Song of the Bell" alone, explained in its material and formal characters, put in connection with other extracts, and indelibly impressed upon the memory, would be a more valuable acquisition than if he had read the half of Schiller, without working it out thoroughly, comparing it, and committing it permanently to memory?"

I was terrified at reading this, and remembered my youth and youthful companions; how with passionate love we read Schiller's poetical works over and over again, and so far from having to be kept at it by our teachers, they had to restrain us from it. This love made what we read impress itself upon our minds "permanently" and "indelibly," without any man's taking pains to impress it upon us. With Cicero and with Horace, we had already gone through the "explanation of material and formal relations;" but an explanation of our German Schiller was thoroughly repugnant to us; it would have been like poison to our love. In like manner, thousands of the volunteers of 1813 "memorized" Schiller's "Knights' Song;" it was sung very enthusiastically in all the encampments during the war of freedom. Does Professor Reuter believe that, if the "Knights'

Song" had been at school "explained in its material and formal relations, put into connection with other extracts, and indelibly impressed upon the memory," the volunteers would have understood it better, or that, at that great period, it would have been sung with more enthusiasm?

The only thing that remains to be done, is to select some German author—Garve for instance—to constitute him a normal author, and to show that his works are a canon for German style. From these works there should be selected a hundred or two pages of material to be learned; this should be "judiciously" memorized by the scholars, so that they shall have a store of German phrases in their minds for all occasions. Let the ideal object of this course be, to bring the pupils to speak and write German as they do Latin; to make orations that shall fit their mouths as well as those of puppets do theirs, and to have puppet-director Garve speak for them all with one and the same voice—like the performance at a theater of marionnettes.

This is not merely a joke. Many things have happened in our times which intelligent men would formerly have thought impossible.

To return to our Latin. Ruthardt directs that the scholar should take up the same sentence a hundred or even four hundred times, that he may thoroughly understand it, and learn to love it! Reuter agrees with him, on the classical principle *decies repetita placebit.** Peter opposes this view, saying very correctly that the time for the scholar to recur to the sentence is when he has attained to a higher standard of attainment. The sentence remains the same, but the scholar has meanwhile changed. He sees the sentence with new eyes; his power of seeing has increased; and he therefore reads it with new interest, as something new.†

Material to which the scholar is again and again to return can not be too carefully chosen and arranged, and its extent should not be too great. How much in the dark Ruthardt and his adherents are on these three points, appears in the very various material of their "*Loci Memoriales*." As to selection, there is, as we have already remarked, no principle of arrangement, except that short sentences come first and longer ones afterward; and the amount of matter is

* What would the scholar say to this? Compared with this repetition, a hundred or four hundred times of the same sentence, what Gesner calls deliberate reading would be the merest cursoriness.

† I have had a like experience with students of mineralogy. On introducing a beginner, for instance, to the group of quartzes, the clearer and simpler facts struck him at once, as did the great, beautiful crystals, while he observed the smaller and more complicated traits neither with eye nor understanding. Far from attempting to force him to a degree of thoroughness for which he was unprepared, I led him on through other easy groups, and brought him back to the quartzes after eight or twelve weeks. His eye and his intellect had alike now grown more acute; and he was delighted to perceive and understand so much that was new, and wondered only that it had before escaped him.

much too great. If, however, Ruthardt's direction is to be literally complied with, that the teachers also are to commit the "*Loci*" to memory, this would do much to preserve a right proportion!

Ruthardt's method was received at its appearance with great applause, especially by men of influence, and there seemed a fair prospect of its introduction into the educational world. On the other hand, many experienced teachers took decided ground against it, especially against its being brought into practice in the way its originator recommended. It has been the case with many earlier pedagogical novelties, that they have been pushed even to the point of caricature by their originators; and have only by a later hand been reduced within the limits of moderation, relieved of their absurd features, and put into a practical form. Such was the case with Basedow, Ratich, and others. We may hope that, after Ruthardt's method shall have passed through a severe fire of purification, it may exercise a healthful influence upon our schools. It is already doing it negatively, by opposing the overstraining of the scholars' intellects, in abstract and abstruse grammatical studies; and indeed positively, inasmuch as Ruthardt puts the memory in its proper place, by means of exercises for it, arranged in a definite order; although this is not true to an equal degree. There seems also reason to believe that some "material for teaching language," (*sprachlicher Lernstoff*,) as Ruthardt calls it, either a short chrestomathy or some small classical work, might be very usefully introduced, and the scholar required from time to time to come back to it. If, at the first reading, this material should be too hard to be understood, or should be only superficially understood, it would be very pleasant for the pupils, after some years perhaps, to return to it and find themselves able to understand it more thoroughly. At every successive recurrence, in like manner, they would find themselves able to understand it more freely and adequately, and that too with less and less effort.*

(f. Meierotto.)

We shall, by way of supplement, here characterize a method which has been brought forward by Johann Heinrich Meierotto, rector of the Joachimsthal Gymnasium at Berlin; a teacher of such reputation in Northern Germany, that it has been said of him, that what Frederic the Great was among kings, such is he among the rectors.

In 1785 he published his works already referred to, "*Latin Gram-*

* It is the more to be wished that Ruthardt may live to see some actual result from his labors, because they have been performed with very great honesty and care, and bear nowhere the marks of vanity or charlatanery—a fault which belongs to most inventors of new methods.

mar, in examples from the classical writers," (*Lateinische Grammatik in Beispielen aus den Klassischen Schriftsellern.*) It is in two parts. The first contains the examples in the usual grammatical order; its first half, including twenty-seven pages, being entitled "Parts of Speech," and the second, including a hundred and forty-six pages, under the title of "Syntax." The examples for the forms occupy most space; each case, mood, tense, person, &c., being represented by one or more examples. The paradigm for the first declension is,

Nom. *Natura* dux *optima.*

Gen. *Vitæ* brevis est cursus, *gloriæ* sempiternus.

Dat. Non *scholæ* sed *vitæ* discendum.

Acc. *Famam* curant multi, pauci *conscientiam.*

Voc. O *fortuna*, ut nunquam perpetuo es bona.

Abl. Vacare *culpâ* magnum est solatium.

The paradigm for the first conjugation begins: Active voice, indicative mood, present tense, singular:—

Omnia mea mecum *porto.*

Sors tua mortalis, non est mortale quod *optas.*

Optat ephippia bos piger; *optat* arare caballus.

The word to be attended to is distinguished by different print. The sentences are numbered in a regular order, and they come into use more than once, as illustrating different cases;* so that they become more strongly impressed upon the memory.

The second part of Meierotto's grammar contains the "Introduction to the practice of grammar." The introductory chapter contains much valuable matter, founded upon experience in teaching, from which I shall give some extracts.

Meierotto distinctly opposes the idea that Latin, like the mother tongue, is to be taught by mere practice.

"Latin ought not to displace the native language; a boy ought not too early to be removed from relations in which he can acquire facility in his native tongue and in expressing his ideas in it." The teacher must beware that while his pupil acquires facility in the dead language, his command of his own shall not be lost or even diminished. "The boy knows already that he must learn the classic language, while on the contrary he found the living language, like his first ideas which he expressed in it, already in his mind, without having to make any especial effort for it."†

"I give," says Meierotto, "a grammar without definitions, axioms, postulates; in short, without any rules; a grammar of examples;

* Thus, for example, "*Famam curant multi*" gives an instance of 1. 1st decl., acc.; 2. 2nd decl., nom. plu.; 3. 1st conj., 3d pers. plu. indic. act.: 4. The verb governing an accusative.

† This profound thought reminds one of similar observations by W. von Humboldt and E. Wackernage.

from which the boy himself can deduce the rules." Rules so obtained will remain the longer in the memory.

All the quotations are from classic writers. "The strictly ancient and strictly Latin authors, who are wholly distinct from the commoner authors, who merely adhere to the forms, make a much deeper impression upon the memory." "Each extract exemplifies one instance of Latin usage, necessary for the scholar; and to be learned in its proper order." This order corresponds with that which has prevailed from antiquity in the Latin grammar; and in this order the rules are to be developed by induction, by the scholars themselves. This they will easily do, if the requisite material is every day laid before them in the right order and manner. Only, the beginner "must not be plagued with the terrible exceptions to exceptions." "Why should they, like our forefathers in their grammatical studies, instead of confining themselves to what is beautiful, seek, like new Herculeses, the jaws of monsters, and other adventures? and pursue an anomaly-hunt through all the authors, and fragments of authors, that exist?

The more important of these examples are to be committed to memory; a task not very difficult, the scholar having them already half-memorized, by translation, explanation, &c. "These extracts remain as authorities in the boy's mind; and by them he examines and corrects his Latin."

After this introduction, comes a direction to the teacher how to use the collection of examples. The scholar receives first an interlinear version of each extract, in bad German, and unintelligible; which is to be put into good German. The word in each sentence, printed in large characters, is to be especially attended to, and written down by the scholar. The first sentence was *Natura* dux optima. "Natura, nature; dux, guide; optima, the best. Nature guide the best. That does not sound well; can it be improved by varying the arrangement, or otherwise? Nature the best guide. There is still something wanting. Say, nature *is* the best guide; adding only *est*, is," &c.

Meierotto's method is similar to those of Ratich, Locke, and Hamilton, in commencing, not with abstract grammar, but with extracts from Latin classics. It differs from them, however, in that they make a basis of some one author, Terence, Æsop, the gospel of John, &c., and depend upon whatever opportunity such author may offer for abstracting the grammatical rules from it. It is clear, however, that in such a way not even a moderately complete grammar can be formed; scarcely the complete paradigm of one conjugation or declension. Meierotto, on the contrary, has, with unheard of industry, gathered illustrative extracts from all the classics, arranged them in the order of the grammar, and caused his scholars to deduce the gram-

mar from them. He himself taught the beginners on his system a whole half-year, and only then published his method. There was probably more than one reason for this. The system needed skillful teachers; and even then most of the extracts, especially the laconically short ones, were probably too hard for the pupils, perhaps, although the teacher should adapt his interpretation as much as possible to the powers of the scholar. The method also requires too much from the scholar's reasoning faculties. "The understanding," says F. A. Wolf, "must not at first be drawn upon."

But would not Meierotto's book be useful, in the third class perhaps, as the text-book for a thorough review of the whole grammar? Every one will recognize the value of such a refreshing of what is earlier learned; and could it be had in a better and less repulsive way, than by the reading of extracts in a grammatical succession?*

(g. Jacobs.)

Jacobs' Latin elementary books, and still more his Greek ones, agree in one respect with Meierotto's grammar; that is, they begin with extracts, which proceed in the order of the grammar, and exemplify it. These exemplifications, however, do not touch upon the smallest single points, one at a time, like Meierotto's; but for this a reason is given. Jacobs remarks, in the valuable preface to the first edition of his Greek elementary book, that

> It is practicable, by a suitable method, without failing in thoroughness, to save the beginner much labor. On this principle, the proceeding of those is to be disapproved, who put him at once to reading, with the intention that he shall pick up his elementary knowledge, from time to time, as he goes on; as well as that of those who would cause him himself to deduce the elements of speech from examples set before him, and thus to construct his own grammar. The former tends to superficiality, and the last is indescribably wearisome. . . . The training of the mental powers must always be the first object of instructing the young; but not the only object. Whenever practicable, the pupil should do nothing without thinking. But to force him to do every thing by thinking it out, would make his studies miserable, and his life too.

Jacobs is distinctly opposed to Meierotto's method. The arrangement of the extracts in his elementary books, corresponding with the arrangement of the grammar, is not to serve as a source from which to deduce grammatical rules by abstraction, but rather to run parallel with them,† and to form their complement. Thus "the dry skeleton of the paradigms is to acquire a corporeal covering; and an early practice of what is learned is secured. The labor of learning the paradigms should be remitted in no case."

* In a high class of a gymnasium, none of the scholars, otherwise of creditable attainments, knew the full imperative of *hortor*.

† Or, perhaps, rather to follow close behind them. "The first course of the Latin elementary book," says Jacobs, "should be read by the scholar when he has become acquainted with the declensions, and with the paradigms of the regular verbs. The scholar should, in this work, learn not to understand these forms fully, so much as to remember them."

"It is impracticable," says Jacobs, "to arrange sentences in a strict grammatical order, so that nothing shall appear in the text which shall not already have been mastered in the grammar. This I think no great disadvantage; since the teacher will, at first, direct the scholar only to the words distinguished by their print, and will himself translate the others without any further analysis, until the scholar is able to deal with all the words himself." This mode of proceeding is entirely like Meierotto's.

Jacobs' purpose in using extracts in a grammatical order, to obtain a body for the dry skeletons of paradigms, and a prompt applied use of the principles learned, is pursued in other ways by other teachers.* They cause the grammar which has been learned to be brought into practice as far as is practicable, by making simple Latin sentences. For this purpose they depart from the usual arrangement of the grammar. When the pupils have learned the first two declensions (except adjectives,) they learn *esse*, so as to be able to construct short sentences. This construction, again, naturally leads to the use of the first rules of syntax; so that distant parts of the grammar are thus brought into connection with each other. After sufficient drill upon this knowledge, the pupils take up the third declension, and so on. Together with the paradigms, the meaning of the words used in them are acquired; which enlarges the material for making sentences.

CONCLUSION.

Thus we have examined very various methods of teaching Latin; some ignoring the ancient grammatical order, and some supplementary to it. Except Ruthardt's plan, all of them have been for beginners; and from all of them the intelligent educator can learn more or less that is useful. A wise eclecticism is, however, to be recommended, examining the spirit, and considering the judgment, of each master—of Gesner, Wolf, Meierotto, Jacobs; but, on the other hand, not permitting itself to be turned aside by outcries made for the sake of drawing attention.

Before all, I repeat, we must be clear in our idea of what the study of the ancient languages is to be. No right method of instruction can be thought out, without constant reference to its object; to the nearest and furthest objects to be reached by the school.

The ultimate object of classical studies is, thorough comprehension of the classics; enlargement of the sphere of historical knowledge; thorough scientific attainment; in short, cultivation.

* Principal Lauff, on the method of elementary instruction in Latin, "*Annual Report for 1840—1841 of the Royal Gymnasium at Munster*"—(*Jahresbericht über das R. Gymnasium zu Munster in dem Schuljahre*, 1840—1841.) This is a very valuable discussion. In the present work I have discussed, in several places, points on which I differ from the author.

The first-named object, thorough comprehension, must precede all others; since through that alone they become possible. The instruction in language of the schools is directed especially to the acquirement of this knowledge; its first object being, that the scholar shall have a full memory and clear understanding upon all grammatical matters; and, secondly, that he shall acquire a *copia verborum*. For this end is designed the diligent reading of the classics, during which the grammar is reviewed, applied, worked out in more details, and the requisite actual meanings mastered; whereas, by a mere cursory reading, he would obtain barely a foretaste of scientific pleasure.

Johannes Sturm gives a valuable rule for the assistance to be given by the teacher. He says, "Hasten, so that nothing necessary shall be omitted"—this refers especially to cursory reading—"and delay, so that nothing but what is necessary shall be done"—which refers to reading for the purpose of study.

It is very important that these two kinds of reading should be rightly managed, and carried on in the right proportion to each other. If the style of reading is too rapid, there is danger of superficiality, of guessing at meanings, and of slurring over difficulties; from which is afterward apt to be derived a weak, indecisive, and dilettanteish habit of looking for nothing but pleasure in the study. A method of reading which is, on the other hand, too slow, wearisome, and overthorough—which requires too much from the scholar, and which occupies so much time in minutiæ and digressions that the text becomes smothered in the notes—wearies the mind, and destroys all interest in the classics.

All the grammatical labors of the scholar, from the first learning of the paradigms by rote, down to the end of the instruction in syntax, the practice of grammar by writing, and the grammatical side of the interpretation of the classical writers, has, more or less, for its object, the dealing with language itself, in general. The further his progress, the more prominent does this object become; and, most of all, when, either at school or later at the university, he becomes master of several languages, and somewhat acquainted with the nature and historical development of his native language, and with the comparative study of languages, and thus arrives at a more profound view of the nature of language itself. And, with the exception of religion, there is no higher or worthier object of human investigation or knowledge than language.

Even this exception fails, according to the declaration of Luther, that "Theology is only grammar, occupied upon the words of the Holy Spirit." "This declaration," says Hamann, "is sublime, and adequate to the lofty ideal of divine learning."

XIV. EDUCATIONAL MISCELLANY.

THE JESUITS AND THEIR SCHOOLS.

In a former number of the Journal, [No. XIII., p. 213,] we devoted an article to "*The Jesuits and their Schools*"—a chapter from the learned work of Raumer's "*History of Education and Instruction.*" As stated in the article, we omitted a few pages of the original, which seemed to us more theological than educational, and as likely to provoke unpleasant and unprofitable controversy. Since the publication of the article, we have received, through our correspondent, Dr. Wimmer, of Dresden, a message from Prof. Raumer, to the effect that the omission diminished the value of the author's historical survey of the progress of education in Germany, and that the objections entertained by Protestants to the schools of the Jesuits can not be appreciated, without drawing attention to the important part which the confessional and the ethics of the Order, occupy in the internal police and moral training of these institutions.

It should be remembered that these schools are avowedly catholic—that their teachers are an influential Order of the Catholic Church devoted to the maintenance and propagation of the Faith as held by that Church, and that the acknowledgment of sins, conjoined with sincere contrition, and a firm purpose of amendment, to an authorized priest, is obligatory upon all, old and young, who are in communion with that Church. When parents send their children to these schools, they know, or can know, that they will be subjected to the influence and training which the Catholic Church recognizes as favorable to its purposes.

The superiority of the schools of the Jesuits, considered as schools, and apart from their ecclesiastical relations, is to be found in the fact that the director and all the subordinate teachers are selected for their several positions, after a long and careful training, under able and experienced masters, in a system of organization, instruction, and discipline, devised and matured after years of trial by many minds, and embodied in books composed by masters in the several studies.

No thoughtful educator can study the educational policy of the Jesuits without gathering lessons of great value in determining his views as to the best methods of conducting the education of the young. He will find many things to approve and adopt, as well as to condemn and reject.

[The following passages in the original German of Von Raumer, were omitted in the first edition of the American translation.—B.]

Before we proceed to describe the educational system of the Jesuits, it will be necessary to advert to their influence at the confessional. For it was here they brought into play those principles which we find laid down in the various writings of their moralists. To understand these principles, then, is a matter of the utmost importance, since so prominent a place was given to the duty of confession in all their institutions.

The man who first opened the eyes of the world to the true character of the Jesuitic morality, was Pascal; although the Order had, long before, with unparalleled effrontery and shamelessness, embodied the distinctive features of this morality in many of their publications. A doctrinal controversy, into which Pascal's friend, M. Arnauld, had been drawn, occasioned him, under the name of Louis Montalto, to write his famous Provincial Letters. The three first of these are introductory, and of a doctrinal nature; the fourth forms a transition to the peculiar morality of the Jesuits; which subject is continued through the tenth. The letter writer represents himself as a person unacquainted with the maxims of the Order, who betakes himself to an aged father for advice and direction in various cases of conscience. He begins with questions growing out of lighter forms of transgression, such, for instance, as the omission to observe a fast, but gradually proceeds to sins of a deeper dye. The crafty Jesuit assists him out of every perplexity, showing him how, with a good conscience, he may set aside, or directly contravene every commandment of the Decalogue. Nay, he goes to the highest pitch of audacity, proving from his moralists that there may occur cases where a man is absolved from the "*painful*" task of sincerely loving God. At this point the letter writer can no longer contain his righteous indignation, but, throwing off his previous reserve, utters his real opinion as to the abominable nature of these maxims.

To give our readers an insight into this morality, we select the following extract from the ninth of the Provincial Letters.

"I will now enumerate to you," says the Jesuit father, "some of the means which we have devised for men, by the use of which, in their intercourse with one another and with the world, they may avoid sin. And first, most men are greatly troubled to know how to avoid falsehood, especially when they wish to make others believe what is not true. But see how admirably such cases are met by our doctrine of *equivocals*, according to which men are permitted to use

words that have a double meaning, thus purposely conveying a wrong impression. You will find this laid down in Sanchez."

"I know it," good father, "said I."

"All the world ought to know it, indeed," he replied, "for we have made it sufficiently public; but do you know how to proceed, in case you find no ambiguous words to make use of?"

"No, reverend sir, this I have never learned."

"I thought as much," said he, "for our device to meet exigences of this sort is quite new. It is the doctrine of *mental reservations;* you will find it stated by Sanchez in the same place as the above. He says, "A man may take an oath that he has *not* done a thing that he really has done, provided that he mentally adds, 'on a particular day,' or 'before I was born,' or some such qualifying phrase, and yet the words that he uses shall, in no sense, betray his real meaning." This method is serviceable in many instances, and it is always right to resort to it, when health, honor, or property is at stake."

"But is not this adding perjury to falsehood?"

"By no means," replies the Jesuit, "as Sanchez proves in the same chapter, and our Father Filiutius concurs with him. For he says, 'the end sanctifies the means.' The latter adds another and an infallible method to avoid falsehood. It is this. When you have said aloud, 'I swear that I have not done it,' add, in an undertone, 'to-day;' or when you have said aloud, 'I swear,' go on, mentally, as follows: 'that I say,' then, resuming an audible tone, add, 'that I have not done it.' You plainly perceive that this is telling the truth."

"I do," said I, "but I find one objection to it, and that is, truth is spoken in a whisper, while falsehood utters its voice boldly. Besides, I fear you will not find many men who have sufficient presence of mind to avail themselves of this method."

"Our fathers have answered your objection in the same passage," he rejoined, "and, for the encouragement of those who are not shrewd enough to apply this precept, have taught that such persons may say, point blank, that they have not done the things that they have done, provided that they fully intend to give their language the same meaning that, under the circumstances, a wise man would do. Tell me, now, have there not been many occasions in your life, when the knowledge of this precept would have helped you out of trouble?"

"There have," I replied.

"And will you not grant, moreover," he continued, "that it would often be very convenient to be absolved, at the bar of conscience, from the obligation of a promise?"

"This would be the greatest convenience in the world."

"Then hear the universal rule, as stated by Escobar. 'A promise is not binding, when he who gives it does not, at the time, design to keep it.' Now it seldom happens that a man has such a design unless he confirm his promise by an oath: hence when one simply says, 'I will do a certain thing,' he only means that he will do it if he does not change his mind; for thus he does not surrender his liberty. He then lays down other rules, all of which you may read for yourself; and, at the close, he adds, 'all this is from Molina and our other writers; we may therefore trust them with perfect confidence.'"

"I did not know," said I, "that a specific intention had power to vitiate a promise."

"You see what an advantage this principle yields us in our intercourse with the world."

We can scarcely trust our eyes when we read such shameless doctrines openly avowed by the most reputable of the Jesuit moralists; moralists too of that Order to which the confessional was chiefly intrusted. Says Lord Bacon, "In our investigations of nature, multitudes of scientific deductions flow from correct maxims." Who then shall estimate the multitude of abominable deductions and corrupt practices that flow, logically, from this Jesuitical morality?

In view of what we have now quoted, our readers will be surprised to learn that the Order exhibited some moralists in its ranks of quite a different character, stern and unyielding in their principles. And they will naturally ask how such a thing can be without involving an inconsistency? The reply is to be found in the following admission of Pascal's Jesuit. He says, "Men now-a-days have gone so far astray, that we are obliged to seek them out and adapt ourselves to their condition. For otherwise we could never prevail on them to come to us, but they would leave us altogether. For this reason our casuists have treated of the nature of all the vices to which men in all the varied walks of life are addicted, in order, without weakening the cause of truth, to devise maxims of so mild a character that one must be very hard to please indeed if he is not satisfied with them. Our Society has ever, with a view to promote the best interests of religion, acted on the principle, never to give offense to any one, that thus no one may give way to discouragement. Accordingly we have maxims for all classes of persons,—for stipendiaries, priests, monks, noblemen, servants, rich men, merchants, bankrupts, the poor, for pious women and women of the world, the married and the profligate;—in short, nothing has escaped our oversight."

It may well be imagined what a sensation these Letters of Pascal's produced throughout France, particularly among the clergy. But though all the abominable doctrines of the Jesuits were thus exposed in the clearest colors, by quotations from their moralists, yet people were slow to believe that the quotations were correct. And in Rouen the clergy set on foot an investigation of the originals. A full month was spent in a most rigid comparison, and the result proved that all the quotations that Pascal had made were literally accurate. After this examination, the Provincial Letters acquired such an influence that the greater part of the French clergy came together and urgently insisted that these noxious moral principles of the Jesuits should be publicly condemned. It was in vain that they sought, by sophistical argument or by burning the hated Letters, to remove the odium that had been fastened upon them. Many other things conspired also, at this time, to destroy their power, especially controversies with other Orders, and the growing conviction that the wily knaves were every where disturbers of the peace. They maintained their position, however, until toward the middle of the eighteenth century. In the year 1762 France abolished the Order, and Spain and Naples followed her example; in the year 1769, the ambassadors of these powers called upon the Pope to put down the Order universally. On the 21st of July, 1773, appeared the famous Bull, "Dominus ac Redemptor noster," by which, at last, its existence was definitively terminated. In this Bull the Pope said, "The Society, even at its inception, contained manifold germs of jealousy and dissension, not only within its own body, but against other regular Orders, against the secular priesthood, gymnasiums, universities, public schools, yea, even against sovereigns within whose realms it had intrenched itself. There were numerous weighty accusations made against the Society, to the effect that they disturbed, in no small degree, the peace and quiet of Christendom."

The Bull proved its assertions with facts, and mentioned, in express terms, "the advocacy and the adoption of doctrines which the Apostolical See had justly condemned as not only repulsive in themselves, but as directly at war with morality and good order." And, finally, it asserted, "that it is hardly or not at all possible, so long as the 'Society of Jesus' exists, for the true and abiding peace of the church to be again restored."

Thus even the Pope found himself compelled to uproot this Order, although it was founded for the very purpose of extending the power of the Romish hierarchy. There was one reason for this proceeding, however, which we do not find stated in the Bull of Clement XIV.,

nor could it have been, consistently with a due regard to policy. Though the right of appointing the general of the Jesuits was vested in the Pope, yet, when appointed, his authority was absolute. The Jesuitic fathers swayed the consciences of men by the agency of the confessional, and they transmitted annually to their general more than seven thousand reports. "No monarch in the world," says Spittler, "could have been so well advised in respect to the affairs of his kingdom as he. How potent was the scepter that he wielded, and how difficult was it to escape his scrutiny! And what scheme could he conceive, that his power was not fully adequate to carry into effect!" So the Pope must have thought, as he saw, side by side with himself in Rome, this general of the Jesuits, so well informed in respect to all that was transpiring among all the Christian nations of the earth, and, at the same time, ruling these nations with such a limitless power. "There can be but one sun in the firmament." Said Clement the Eighth, of the Jesuits: "their aim is to rule the whole world." As the Prætorian Guard, first organized for the personal defense of the Roman emperors, became afterward their most dangerous foes, so the Jesuits, from being faithful allies to the Popes, after the lapse of years conspired to overthrow them.

Soon the French revolution burst upon the world, and both church and state were rocked to their foundations. In the general confusion that followed, Pius VII. found himself compelled to submit to the superior power of Napoleon. Set free at length, and reinstated in his former position of independence, "the first great act with which he signalized his reinduction into office was the restoration of the Jesuits." The Bull of Restoration appeared on the 7th of August, 1814; it is very circumspectly worded, and discloses but little of the Imperial air and style once so characteristic of the Roman Pontiffs. It commences with the permission to Francis Karnu, a lay priest, formerly a Jesuit, and a resident of Russia, to form, in connection with other priests of the same class, an association, "thereby the better to carry out the purposes of their vocation" both in teaching and preaching. The reader will imagine that it is only Francis Karnu who is here concerned. But a little further on, we find the decision to re-establish the Jesuit order in Russia, is "extended, at the request of King Ferdinand, to the Two Sicilies," then to the "States of the Church," and, finally, "to all other states and countries."

No attempt is made in this Bull to meet the heavy charges against the Order that were embodied in the Bull of Clement XIV. And, without giving any heed to the fact that the name of Jesuits had deservedly been branded with odium, the members of this reorganiza-

tion styled themselves the Society of Jesus; thus boldly proclaiming to all the world that they retained the same principles which had actuated the Jesuits of a former age. Thus was an Order, which had endeavored, in every possible manner, to destroy Protestantism, again revived, by the very Pope who owed his own restoration to the Papal dignity chiefly to Protestant princes. For we find that this same Pius VII. was under the necessity (witness his Allocution of the 4th of September, 1815,) of acknowledging the distinguished services of the King of Prussia, who, in the whole course of the negotiations, had steadily advocated his claims.

The Order now undertook to battle, not against the Reformation alone, but, at the same time, against the Revolution, and, through its zeal in this latter direction, to win the favor of princes. And every effort was put forth to blend the ideas of Reformation and Revolution in one, although they were, in fact, totally dissimilar, inasmuch as the former drew both its origin and its increase from the power of a Divinely directed faith; while the other was the fruit of that infidelity into which nations, reared in superstition, are the foremost to relapse.

We have deemed it necessary to say thus much of the peculiar characteristics of the Jesuits, because, without taking into the account the tendency and practical operation of their organization, we should not be in a position to judge aright of their system of education. The dark and loathsome morality of the Order, I have felt constrained to give chiefly from Catholic, and of course impartial, authorities, and the rather, since men of eminence in the ranks of Protestantism have been misled even into warm panegyrics of the education and the schools of the Jesuits. I need only to refer to Bacon and John Sturm. Perhaps, however, they are somewhat excusable, from the fact that, in their day, the corrupt character of the Order had not made itself fully manifest; for even a Pascal was not able wholly to strip off their mask.

Thus the ties of natural affection were, by slow gradations, perceptibly weakened. And, after a time, the young Jesuit was expressly taught to abnegate his misplaced affection for his kindred; and, accordingly, if any property came into his possession, he was expected to surrender it to the Order.* And then there remained to him in the wide world no relation, and, if the term is not a misnomer, no love, but that which he cherished for the body of which he was a member.

With regard to heretics, the sole feelings that the pupils were permitted to cherish toward them, were those of hatred; in proof of

* From this single source, in Upper Germany alone, the Order accumulated, within the period from 1620 to 1700, the sum of 800,000 gulden (about half a million of dollars.)

this assertion we need only appeal to the catechism of Canisius, a book in almost universal use among the Jesuits.* For instance, after a general interdict against attending upon executions, there comes a single exception in the instance of the execution of heretics; thus early was a thirst for blood developed in the tender minds of youth.

But I will not continue the subject. I should not have given so much space to the schools of the Jesuits, if they had been merely an institution of the past. This they certainly are not. These crafty fathers, reinstated in their former position by Pope Pius VII., and having effected a lodgment anew in many lands, are but waiting the wished-for day when they shall every where reassert their former dominion. The same in character and aim as at the first, they have merely assumed a more refined exterior, adapting themselves to the times, until their time of triumph shall come. It behooves Protestants to be wary, and not suffer themselves to be deceived by the false colors which their institutions of learning have raised to disarm suspicion.

Have we not evidence enough against them in the fact that they themselves have repeatedly proclaimed their vile and godless tenets to the world through the medium of the press, and that too under the seal and authority of their general?

Let us watch them with care. For amid every apparent change of direction, their ultimate purpose is never lost sight of. This fact we must bear in mind too, in our estimate of their schools. What though the butcher seeks out the greenest and fairest pastures for his lambs, shall we, on that account, praise him? But the pasture of youth in the schools of the Jesuits was neither fair nor green.

To view aright these gloomy and sinister institutions of the Jesuits, with their dark, joyless, and soul-destroying aims, it will be well to call to our minds the open-hearted admonitions of Luther, to his "beloved Germans," admonitions prompted by the love of a true pastor. "And, though there be some who deem me of too little consequence to give heed to my counsel, yet I hope that one day they will see that I did not seek my own, but only the welfare and the interests of the entire German nation."

* How different the teachings of Luther! Says he: "The schoolmaster should seek to impart to children that knowledge that will make them good men. He should not minister to dissension and hatred, nor speak evil of monks or any other class, as many indiscreet teachers are wont to do."

INDEX TO NUMBER XVII.

OF

BARNARD'S AMERICAN JOURNAL OF EDUCATION.

Academies, county, 557, 559.
Agricultural school, 580.
Antioch College, 438.
Arithmetic, 454.
  Graser's method, 577.
Austria, school system of, 495.

Bacon, Rev. L., article by, 325.
Barney, H. H., 533.
Bavaria, schools of, 571 to 575.
Bayreuth, schools of, 575.
Beans in teaching arithmetic, 454.
Beers, S. P., 355, 424.
Bible as a text-book, 588.
Blocks for children, 451.
Boston, Lincoln School, plans &c., 519.
Burrowes, T. H., article on, 555.

Caldwell, J. D., 539.
Cambridge University, 491.
Charitable endowments, abuses, 473.
Chase, S. P., 553.
Chicago, plans of Newberry School at, 515.
Church of England and education, 478, 492.
Cicero as text-book, 604 to 609.
Cincinnati College of Teachers, 552.
City superintendents, association of, 539.
Classics, study of, 434.
Cloister schools, 429.
Coggeshall, W. T., article by, 532.
Colleges in Pennsylvania, 557, 559.
Comenius, views of, 463, 585.
Connecticut school fund, 348 to 352.
  history of, 367 to 425.
Contents of No. XVII., 392.
County superintendents, 561, 566.
Course of study, Wirtemberg Teutsch schools, 426.
  cloister schools, 429.
  university, 430.
  Saxon schools, 432.
  Burrowes on, 558.
  Bayreuth schools, 576.
  Hill on, 449.
Crime and ignorance, 494.

Debating, 498.
Degrees at English universities, 491.
Denmark, school support in, 495.
Desks, Woodcock's arrangement of, 531.
Dieffenbach, H. L., 566.
Dissenters in English universities, 492.
Dwight, Timothy, 329.
  sermon on Western Reserve, 408.

Education, European systems, 495.
  benefits of, 497.
  English public department, 500, 503, 509.
  Brougham's resolutions, 1854, on English, 513.
  Pennsylvania, public department of, 502.
  Brougham's labor for popular, 471, 481.
  Graser's theory of, 575.
Educational conventions, 539, 502, 564.
  endowments, abuses of, 473.
  institutions, system of, 557.
  periodicals, 563.
England, Brougham's labors for schools in, 471.
  abuses of charity schools in, 473.
  educational deficiencies in, 494, 499.
  " department in, 500, 503, 509.

England, Brougham's resolutions on schools in, 513.
  annual grant for schools, 503.
Erasmus, 462, 472, 606.
Europe, education in, 495.

Fletcher of Saltoun, 496.
Fractions, 455.
France, school system of, 495.
Franklin, Benjamin, 441.
Franklin medals, 441.
Free schools in Pennsylvania, 556.
French, Hamilton's method, 589.
  Jacotot's method, 596 to 598.

Geometry, in order of studies, 450.
  Graser's instruction in, 577.
Germany, early school codes of, 426.
  progressives of seventeenth century, 459.
Gesner, on teaching Latin, 583 to 584.
Government department of education, 500.
Grammar, defined, 581.
  Latin, early methods, 581 to 583.
Graser, method, 575 to 579.
Greek, study of, opposed, 471.
  early studied in France, 472.

Hamilton, life, method, 586 to 595.
Health in schools, 444.
Heuristic method, 597.
Hickok, H. C., 570.
Hieronymians, 459.
Hill, T., article by, 449.
Hillhouse, James, memoir, 325 to 363.
Hillhouse, J. A., 427.
Hillhouse, J. A., poem by, 421.
Hillhouse, William, 327.
Holland, schools in, 495.
Honor among students, 539, 543.
Hopkins, Gov., 328.

Ignorance and crime, 494.
Imagination, cultivation of, 465.
Infant schools, 502.
Informing by students, 539, 543.
Instruction, German, seventeenth century, 463.
  Graser's system, 576.
Interlinear versions, 588 to 589.
Inventive method, 596, 598.

Jacob's method in languages, 612.
Jacotot, life of, method of, 595, 600.
Jesuits, schools of, 459 to 462.
  article on same, 615 to 622.

Kay, J., on Bavarian schools, 571.

Lancaster, Penn., schools, 561.
  educational convention at, 561.
Land grants in Ohio, 543.
Language, German " progressives " on, 465.
  Graser's method, 578.
  Graser on origin of written, 578.
  See Greek, French, Latin.
Latin, in Wirtemburg Teutsch schools, 426.
  cloister schools, 429.
  Saxon schools, 433.
  Sturm's method in, 462.
  in German, seventeenth century, 462.
  methods of teaching, 581 to 613.

Liverpool Mechanics' Institute, 497.
Locke, 584.
  on teaching Latin, 586.
Logarithms, 456.
London, model school at, 475, 479.
  Brougham and schools of, 472.
London Mechanics' Institution, 480.
London University, 483, 485
Lord, A. D., 534, 537.
Lubinus, on grammar, 582.
Luther, 614, 622.
Manchester Mechanics' Institution, 497.
Maupertuis, 584.

McNeely, Cyrus, 534, 535, 536.
McNeely Normal School, 534, 535, 536, 543, 544.
Mechanics' institutions, 480.
Meierotto on teaching Latin, 583.
  method of, 610.
  text-books by, 610.
Meiring, on Hamilton's method, 592.
Melancthon, definition of Grammar, 581.
Memory, cramming, 464.
  training, 592, 599.
Mental arithmetic, 455.
Montaigne, 584.
Munich, schools of, 572.
Music, in early Saxon schools, 432.
  and algebra, 457.

National Assoc. for Promotion of Social Science, 511.
New York Public School No. 33, plans &c., 524.
  School No. 20, same, 528.
Normal schools, Pennsylvania, 560.
  Burrowes on, 568.
  Ohio, 533 to 537.
Nuremberg, schools, 571.

Ohio, history of schools, 532 to 548.
Ohio Journal of Education, 535 to 543.
Ohio Phonetic Society, 553.
Ohio State Teachers' Association.
Order of studies, article on, 449.
  Graser's, 576.
Oxford University, 491.

Pennsylvania, T. H. Burrowes on, 555.
  school statistics of, 570.
  free education in, 556.
Pennsylvania School Architecture, 507.
Pennsylvania School Journal, 564, 567.
Pennsylvania State Teachers' Association, 564.
Phonetics in Ohio, 532, 553.
Politian on study of Latin, 606.
Poor, education of, in England, 471.
  same, ancient provisions for, 473.
Potter, Bishop, on Brougham, 512.
Progressives of seventeenth century, German, 459.

Quinctilian, on training memory, 602.

Ratich, 463, 586.
Ratisbon, schools of, 571.
Raumer, articles by, 426, 459, 581, 616.
Reader, Wurst's, 576.
Reform school, Ohio, 538.
Religion and Bavarian schools, 573.
Reuter, on study of language, 607.
Rewards in schools, article on, 435.
Royce, C. S., 532.
Russia, school support in, 495.
Ruthardt, method in language, 600 to 609.
  books by, 600, 601 to 609.

Saxony, schools and school codes in, 432.
Schools, health in, 444.
  deficiency of English, 494.
School age, 556.
School architecture, article on, 515.
  Burrowes on, 567.
School codes, ancient German, 426.
  Wirtemberg, 426.
  Saxony, 432.
School committee, Brougham on, 500.
School desks, Woodcock's plan, 531.
School districts, small, abolished, 566.
School examiners, Ohio, 546.
School funds, Connecticut, 348, 367.
  Ohio, 545.
School libraries, Ohio, 533, 539 to 543, 550, 551.
School statistics, Ohio, 545 to 551.
  Pennsylvania, 570.
  Europe, 495.
  Bavaria, 573.
School systems, Pennsylvania, 556.
  Ohio, history, 532 to 548.
  Wirtemberg, 426.
  Saxony, 432.
  Bavaria, 571.
School taxes, Ohio, 545.
Schoolmaster, Brougham on, 498.
Science, pleasures &c. of, 486.
Scotland, beggary and crime in 1698, 496.
  late progress of schools in, 496.
Sears, E. I., article by, 468.
Sedgwick, Hon. A., 424.
Sherman, R. M., on Hillhouse, 350, 351.
Shunk, F. R., 560.
Shuttleworth. *See* Kay.
Smyth, Anson, 537, 538, 544, 549, 550, 551.
Social life, Graser's teaching in, 579.
Society for Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, 486.
State normal schools, 568.
Studies, order of, article on, 449.
Study, excessive, 444.
Sweden, education in, 495.

Tafel, on language, 591, 593.
Teachers, dignity of, 498.
  English, ignorance of, 499.
  Pennsylvania, 558.
  Burrowes on training, 568
  examined in Ohio, 536.
Teachers' associations, 564.
  Ohio state, 532 to 545.
Teachers' institutes, 557, 565.
  Ohio, 546.
Telemaque, 597 to 599.
Teutsch schools, 426.
Text-books, in Wirtemberg Latin schools, 427.
  cloister schools, 429.
  university, 430.
  Saxon royal schools, 432.
  Comenius', 585.
  Hamilton's, 588 to 595.
  Jacotot's, 595 to 599.
  Ruthardt's, 601 to 609.
  Meierotto's, 610 to 612.
  Jacobs', 612.
Thayer, G. F., article by, 435.
Trapp, 585.

Universities, Wirtemberg, 430.
  English, bigotry of, 491, 492.
  and common schools, Ohio, 543.

Wirtemberg, schools and code of, 426, 495.
Wolf, F. A., 584, 585,
Wolke, 585.
Woodcock's arrangement of desks, 531.
Writing, Graser's method in, 579.

Yale College, Hillhouse's treasurership, 360.
  his help as to state aid to, 360.
  change in charter, 360.